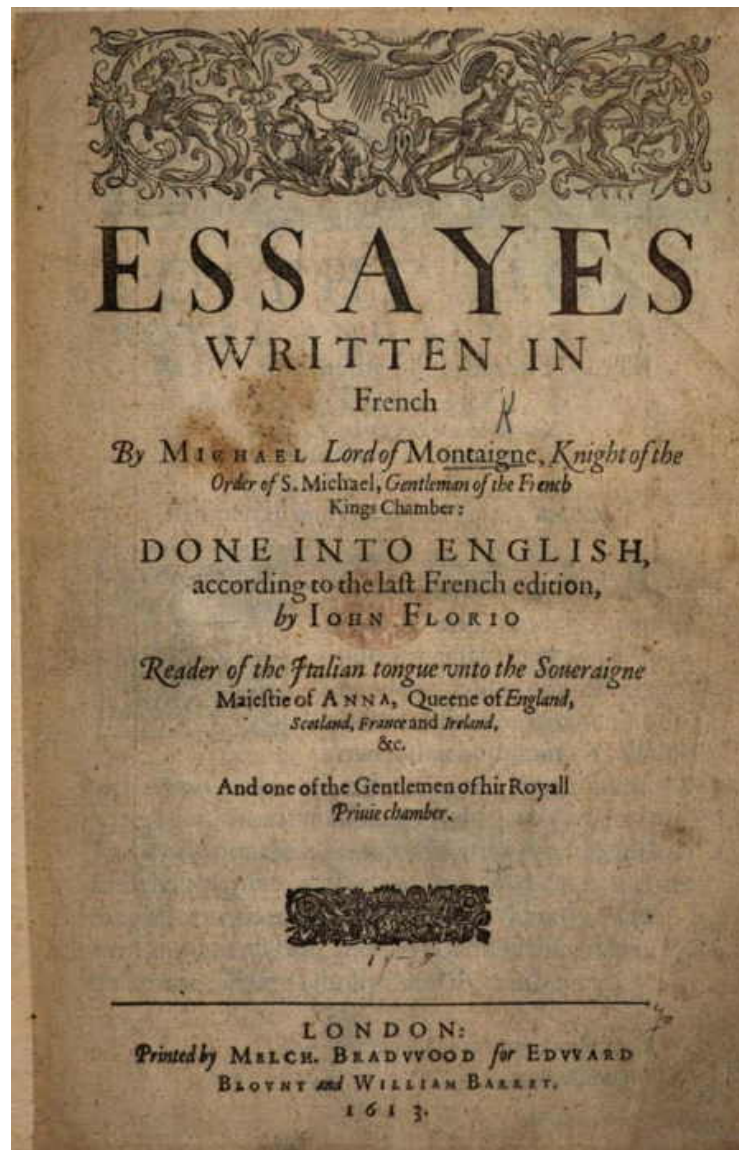


MICHEL DE MONTAIGNE,  
*Essayes written in French done into English*  
by John Florio (1613)



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### *Editor's Introduction*

To make this edition useful to scholars and to make it more readable, I have done the following:

1. inserted and highlighted the page numbers of the original edition
2. not split a word if it has been hyphenated across a new line or page (this will assist in making word searches)
3. added unique paragraph IDs (which are used in the "citation tool" which is part of the "enhanced HTML" version of this text)
4. retained the spaces which separate sections of the text
5. created a "blocktext" for large quotations
6. moved the Table of Contents to the beginning of the text
7. placed the footnotes at the end of the book
8. reformatted margin notes to float within the paragraph
9. inserted Greek and Hebrew words as images



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ESSAYES WRITTEN IN French By MICHAEL *Lord of Montaigne, Knight of the Order of S. Michael, Gentleman of the French Kings Chamber*: DONE INTO ENGLISH, according to the last French edition, by IOHN FLORIO *Reader of the Italian tongue vnto the Soueraigne Maiestie of ANNA, Queene of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, &c.* And one of the Gentlemen of hir Royall *Priuie chamber*.

LONDON: Printed by MELCH. BRADVVOOD for EDVVARD BLOVNT and WILLIAM BARRET.



**TO THE MOST ROYAL AND RENOVMED MAIESTIE of the Highborne Princessse ANNA of DENMARKE, by the Grace of God QVEENE of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, &c.** 

Imperiall and Incomparable Maiestie,

SEeing with me, all of me, is in your Royall possession, and whatsoever pieces of mine haue heeretofore, vnder other starres passed the publike view, come now of right to be vnder the predomination of a Power, that both contain's all their perfections, and hath influences of a more sublime nature, I could not but also take in this part (wherof time had worn-out the edition) which the world hath long since had of mine, and lay it at your Sacred feet, as a memoriall of my deuoted dutie, and to shew that where I am, I must be all I am, and can not stand dispersed in my obseruance, being wholly (and therein happy)

Your sacred *MAIESTIES* most

humble and loyall seruant

IOHN FLORIO.



**ALL' AVGVSTA MAESTA DI ANNA, *Seren.<sup>ma</sup>* ■ REGINA d' Inghilterra,  
di Scotia, di Francia, & d' Irlanda, &c.**

CHe si può dir di *VOI*, somma *REGINA*,  
Che non sia detto delle più lodate  
Di Magnanimità, Virtù, Beltate,  
Incomparabile, Sopra-diuina?  
Anzi, che stile tanto si raffina,  
Che non sia vinto dalla Maestate,  
L' Altezza, la Chiarezza, la Bontate,  
Alla qual' ogni cuor di-cuor s' inchina?  
La qual di tutti honori'l specchio mostra,  
La qual il pregio Sour a tutte tiene;  
*ANNA*, l' anello della Gioia nostra.  
La nostra sicurtà, la nostra spene;  
*VIEN DALL' ECCELSO LA GRANDEZZA* vostra;  
Dalla *GRANDEZZA* vostra'l nostro bene.

Il Candido





## TO THE READER. ↵

ENough, if not too much, hath been sayd of this Translation. If the faults found euen by my selfe in the first impression, be now by the Printer corrected, as he was directed, the worke is much amended: If not, know, that through mine attendance on hir Maiestie, I could not intend-it; and blame not *Neptune* for thy second shipwracke. Let me conclude with this worthie mans daughter of alliance: *Que t'en semble donc lecteur?*

Still resolute IOHN FLORIO.

---

*To my deare brother and friend M. IOHN FLORIO, one of the Gentlemen of hir Maiesties  
most Royall Priiue Chamber.*

BOoks, like superfluous humors bred with ease,  
So stuffe the world, as it becomes opprest  
With taking more than it can well digest;  
And now are turnd to be a great disease.

For by this ouer charging we confound  
The appetite of skill they had before:  
There be'ng no end of words, nor any bound  
Set to conceit the Ocean without shore.  
As if man laboured with himselfe to be  
As infinite in writing, as intents;  
And draw his manifold vncertaintie  
In any shape that passion represents:  
That these innumerable images  
And figures of opinion and discourse  
Draw'n out in leaves, may be the witnesses  
Of our defects much rather than our force.  
And this proud frame of our presumption,  
[Page] This *Babel* of our skill, this *Towre* of wit,  
Seemes only checkt with the confusion  
Of our mistakings that dissolueth it.  
And well may make vs of our knowledge doubt,  
Seeing what vncertainties wee build vpon,  
To be as weake within booke as without;  
Or els that truth hath other shapes then one.

But yet although wee labor with this store  
And with the presse of writings seeme opprest,  
And have to many bookes, yet want wee more,  
Feeling great dearth and scarsenesse of the bell;  
Which cast in choiser shapes haue bin produc'd,  
To giue the best proportions to the minde  
Of our confusion, and haue introduc'd  
The likeliest images frailtie can finde.  
And wherein most the skill-desiring soule  
Takes her delight, the best of all delight,  
And where her motions evenest come to rowle  
About this doubtfull *center of the right*.

Which to discover this great Potentate,  
This Prince *Montaigne* (if he be not more)  
Hath more aduentur'd of his owne estate  
Then euer man did of himselfe before:  
And hath made such bolde sallies out vpon  
*Custom*, the mightie tyrant of the earth,  
In whose *Seraglio* of subiection  
Wee all seeme bred-vp, from our tender birth;  
As I admire his powres, and out of loue,  
Here at his gate do stand, and glad I stand  
So neere to him whom I do so much loue,  
T'aplaude his happie setling in our land:  
And safe transpassage by his studious care  
Who both of him and vs doth merit much,  
Having as sumptuously, as he is rare  
Plac'd him in the best lodging of our speach.  
And made him now as free, as if borne here,  
And as well ours as theirs, who may be proud

That he is theirs, though he be euery where  
To haue the franchise of his worth allow'd.

It be'ing the proportion of a happie Pen,  
Not to b'invassal'd to one Monarchie,  
But dwell with all the better world of men  
Whose spirits all are of one communitie,  
Whom neither *Ocean*, Desarts, Rockes nor Sands  
Can keepe from th'intertraffique of the minde,  
But that it vents her treasure in all lands,  
And doth a most secure commercement finde.

Wrap *Excellencie* vp neuer so much,  
In Hieroglyphicques, Ciphers, Characters,  
[Page] And let her speake neuer so strange a speach,  
Her *Genius* yet finds apt discipherers:  
And neuer was she borne to dye obscure,  
But guided by the starres of her owne grace,  
Makes her owne fortune, and is ever sure  
In mans best hold, to hold the strongest place.

And let the *Critick* say the worst he can,  
He cannot say but that *Montaigne* yet,  
Yeeldes most rich pieces and extracts of man;  
Though in a troubled frame confus'dly set.  
Which yet h'is blest that he hath euer seene,  
And therefore as a guest in gratefulnessse,  
For the great good the house yeelds him within  
Might spare to taxe th'vnapt conuayances.  
But this breath hurts not, for both worke and frame,  
Whilst England English speakes, is of that store  
And that choyse stuffe, as that without the same  
The richest librarie can be but poore.  
And they vnblest who letters doe professe  
And have him not: whose owne fate beates their want  
With more sound blowes, then *Alcibiades*  
Did his Pedante that did *Homer* want.

By SAM. DANIEL one of the Gentlemen  
extraordinaire of her Maiesties most  
royall priuie Chamber.

*Concerning the honor of bookes.*

Since Honor from the Honorer proceeds.  
How well do they deserve that memorie  
And leave in bookes for all posterities  
The names of worthyees, and their vertuous deedes  
When all their glorie els, like water weedes  
Without their element, presently dyes,  
And all their greatnes quite forgotten lyes:  
And when, and how they florisht no man heedes  
How poore remembrances, are statutes Toomes  
And other monuments that men erect  
To Princes, which remaine in closed roomes  
Where but a few behold them; in respect  
Of Bookes, that to the vniversall eye  
Shew how they liu'd, the other where they lye.



### THE AVTHOVR TO THE *Reader*.↵

REader, loe-heere a well-meaning Booke. It doth at the first entrance fore-warne thee, that in contriving the same, I have proposed vnto my selfe no other than a familiar and private end▪ I have no respect or consideration at all, either to thy service, or to my glory: my forces are not capable of any such desseigne. I have vowed the same to the particular commodity of my kinsfolks and friends: to the end, that losing me (which they are likely to do ere long) they may therein finde some lineaments of my conditions and humours, and by that meanes reserve more whole, and more lively foster the knowledge and acquaintance they have had of me. Had my intention been to forestall and purchase the worlds opinion and favour, I would surely have adorned my selfe more quaintly, or kept a more grave and solemne march. I desire therein to be delineated in mine owne genuine, simple and ordinarie fashion, without contention, arte or studie, for it is my selfe I pourtray. My imperfections shall therein be read to the life, and my naturall forme discerned, so farre-forth as publike reverence hath permitted me. For if my fortune had been to have lived among those nations, which yet are sayd to live vnder the sweet libertie of Natures first and vncorrupted lawes, I assure thee, I would most willingly have pourtrayed my selfe fully and naked. Thus gentle Reader my selfe 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.



IOANNES FLORIVS AVGVSTAE ANNAE ANGL: SCOT: FRANC: ET HIB:  
REGINAE PRAELECTOR LING: ITALICAE

CHI SI CONTENTA GODE

AET: 58. A.D. 1611

In virtute suâ contentus, nobilis arte,  
Italus ore, Anglus pectore, vter (que) opere  
Floret adhuc, et adhuc florebit: floreat vltra  
*FLORIVS*, hâc specie floridus, optat amans.

Gul: Hole sculp:

Tam foelix vtinam.

[1]



## THE ESSAYES OF MICHAEL LORD OF *MONTAIGNE*.

### The first Booke.

#### The first Chapter.

#### By diuerse meanes men come vnto a like end.↩

THE most vsuall waie to appease those minds we have offended when revenge lies in their hands, and that we stand at their mercie, is by submission to move them to commiseration and pittie: Nouerthelesse, courage, constancie, and resolution (meanes altogether opposite) have sometimes wrought the same effect. *Edward* the blacke Prince of *Wales* (who so long governed our Countrie of *Guienne*, a man whose conditions and fortune were accompanied with many notable parts of worth and magnanimity) having bin grievously offended by the *Limosins*, though he by main forcetooke & entred their Citie, could by no means be appeased, nor by the wailefull outcries of all sorts of people (as of men, women, and children) be moved to any pittie, they prostrating themselues to the common slaughter, crying for mercie, and humbly submitting themselues at his feete, vntill such time as in triumphant manner passing through their citie, he perceiued three French gentlemen, who alone, with an incredible & vndaunted boldnes gainstood the enraged violence, and made head against the furie of his victorious army. The consideration and respect of so notable a vertue, did first abate the dint of his wrath, and from those three began to relent, and shew mercie to all the other inhabitants of the said towne. *Scanderbeg*. Prince of *Epirus*, following one of his soldiers, with purpose to kill him, who by all means of humilitie, & submisse entreatie, had first assaied to pacifie him, in such an vnavoidable extremity, resolved at last, resolutely to encounter him with his sword in his hand. This resolution did immediatly stay his Captaines fury, who seeing him vndertake so honorable an attempt, not only forgave, but received him into grace & favour. This example may happily, of such as have not knowne the prodigious force, and matchlesse valor of the said Prince, admit another interpretation. The Emperor *Courad* [...] third of that name; having besieged *G [...]elphe*, Duke of *Bavaria*, what vile or base satisfaction soever was offred him, would yeeld to no other milder conditions, but only to suffer such gentle women as were with the Duke in the citie (their honors safe) to issue out of the towne a [...]oot, with such things as they could carry about them. The [...] an vnrelenting courage, advised and resolved themselves (neglecting all other riches or jewels) to carrie their husbands, their children, and the Duke himselfe, on their backes: The Emperor perceiuing the quaintnes of their devise, tooke so great pleasure at it, that he wept for joy, & forthwith converted that former inexorable rage, & mortall hatred he bare the Duke, into so milde a relenting and gentle [...] [2]ther of these waies might easily perswade me: for I am much inclined to mercie, and affected to mildnesse. So it is, that in mine opinion, I should more naturally stoop vnto compassion, than bend to estimation. Yet is pitie held a vicious passion among the Stoickes. They would have vs aide the afflicted, but not to faint, and cosuffer with them. These

examples seeme fittest for mee, forsomuch as these mindes are seene to be assaulted and environed by these two meanes, in vndauntedly suffering the one, and stooping vnder the other. It may peraduentvre be said, that to yeelde ones heart vnto commiseration, is an effect of facilitie, tendernesse, and meekenesse: whence it proceedeth, that the weakest natures, as of women, children, and the vulgar sort are more subject vnto it. But (having contemned teares and wailings) to yeeld vnto the onely reverence of the sacred Image of vertue, is the effect of a couragious and imployable minde, holding a masculine and constant vigor, in honour and affection. Notwithstanding amazement and admiration may in lesse generous mindes worke the like effect. Witnessse the Thebanes, who having accused and indited their captaines, as of a capitall crime, forsomuch as they had continued their charge, beyond the time prescribed them, absolved and quit *Pelopidas* of all punishment, because he submissiuely yeelded vnder the burden of such objections, and to save himselfe, imployed no other meanes, but suing-requests, and demisse entreaties; where on the contrary, *Epaminondas*, boldely relating the exploits atchieved 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 absolved: the assembly much commending the stoutnesse of his courage. *Dionysius* the elder, after long-lingering and extreame difficulties, having taken the Citie of *Reggio*, and in it the Captaine *Phyton* (a worthy honest man) who had so obstinately defended the same, would needes shew a tragicall example of revenge. First, he tolde him, how the day before, he had caused his sonne, and all his kinsfolkes to be drowned. To whom *Phy [...]*Jon, stoutly out-staring him answered nothing, but that they were more happy than himselfe, by the space of one day. Afterward hee caused him to be stripped, and by his executioners to be taken and dragged through the Citie, most ignominiously, and cruelly whipping him, charging him besides, with outragious and contumel [...]*ious* speeches. All which notwithstanding, as one no whit dismaied, hee ever shewed a constant and resolute heart. And with a cheerefull and bold countenance went on still, lowdly recounting the honourable and glorious cause of his death, which was, that hee would never consent to yeeld his Countrie into the handes of a cruell tyrant, menacing him with an imminent punishment of the Gods. *Dionysius* plainly reading in his Souldiers lookes, that in lieu of animating them with braving his conquered enemie, they in contempt of him, and skorne of his triumph, seemed by the astonishment of so rare a vertue, to be mooved with compassion, and enclined to mutinie, yea, and to free *Phy [...]*Jon from out the hands of his *Sergeant [...]*s or *Guard*, caused his torture to cease, and secretly sent him to be drowned in the Sea. Surely, man is a wonderfull, vain, diuerse, and wavering subject: it is very hard to ground any directly-constant and vniforme judgement vpon him. Behold *Pompey* who freely pardoned all the Citie of the *Mamertines*, against which hee was grievously enraged, for the love of the magnanimitie, and considederation of the exceeding vertue of *Zeno*, one of their fellow-citizens, who tooke the publike fault wholly vpon himselfe, and desired no other favor, but alone to beare the punishment thereof; whereas *Syllaes* hoste having vsed the like vertue in the Citie of *Perugia*, obtained nothing, neither for himselfe, nor for others. And directly against my first example, the hardiest amongst men, and so gracious to the vanquished, *Alexander* the great, after many strange difficulties, forcing the Citie of *Gaza*, encountred by chaunce with *Betis*, that commanded therein, of whose valour (during the siege) hee had felt woonderfull and strange exploit, beeing then alone, forsaken of all his followers, his armes all-broken, all-besmeared with blood and wounds, ‘fighting amongst a number of Macedonians, who pell-mell laid still vpon him; provoked by so deere a victorie (for among other mishappes hee had newly received two hurts in his body) said thus vnto him;’ *Betis*, *thou shalt not die as thou wouldest: for make account thou must indure all the torments may possibly bee devised or inflicted vpon a caitife wretch, as thou art.* But he, for all his enemies threatens, without speaking one word, returned onely an assured, sterne, and disdainefull countenance vpon him; which silent obstinacie *Alexander* [3]noting, said thus vnto himselfe: *What? would hee not bend his knee? could he not vtter one suppliant voyce? I will assuredly*

vanquish his silence, and if I can not wrest a word from him, I will at least make him to sobbe or groane. And converting his anger into rage, commanded his heeles to bee through-pierced, and so all alive with a cord through them, to be torne, ma [...]gled, and dismembred at a carts taile. May it be, the force of his courage, was so naturall and peculiar vnto him, that because he would no-whit admire him, he respected him the lesse? or deemed he it so proper vnto himselfe, that in his height, he could not without the spight of an envious passion, endure to see it in an other? or was the naturall violence of his rage incapable of any opposition? surely, had it received any restraint, it may be supposed, that in the ransacking and desolation of the Citie of *Thebes*, it should have felt the same; in seeing so many Worthies lost, and valiant men put to the sword, as having no meanes of publike defence; for aboue six thousand were slaine and massacred, of which not one was seene, either to runne away, or beg for grace. But on the contrary, some here and there seeking to affront, and endeavouring to check their victorious enemies, vrging and provoking them to force them die an honourable death. Not one was seene to yeelde, and that to his last gaspe did not attempt to revenge himselfe, and with all weapons of dispaire, with the death of some enemie, comfort and sweeten his owne miserie. Yet could not the affliction of their vertue find any ruth or pitie, nor might one day su [...]ice to glut or asswage his revengefull wrath. This burcherous slaughter continued vnto the last drop of any remaining blood; where none were spared but the vnarmed and naked, the aged and impotent, the women and children; that so from amongst them, they might get thirtie thousand slaves.

### **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 vpon covenant, to grace it with a particular favour. Therewith they adorne age, vertue, and conscience. Oh foolish and base ornament! The Italians have more properly with it's name entitled malignitie: for, it is a qualitie ever hurtfull, ever sottis [...]; and 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 *Psamme [...]icus* king of *Aegypt*, hauing been defeated and taken by *Cambises* king of *Persia*, seeing his owne daughter passe before him in base and vile aray, being sent to draw water from a well, his friends weeping & wailing about him (he with his eies fixed on the ground, could not be mooued to vtter one word) and shortly after beholding his sonne led to execution, held still the same vndaunted countenance: but perceiving a familiar friend of his haled amongst the captives, he began to beat his head, and burst forth into extreame sorrow. This might well be compared to that which one of our Princes was lately seene to doe, who being at *Trent*, and receiving newes of his elder brothers death; but such a brother as on him lay all the burthen and honour of his house; and shortly after tidings of his yonger brothers decease, who was his second hope; and having with an vnmatched countenance and exemplar constancie endured these two affronts; it fortun'd not long after, that one of his servants dying, he by this latter accident suffered himselfe to be so far transported, that quitting and forgetting his former resolution, he so abandoned himselfe to all maner of sorrow and grieffe, 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 sorrow, the least surcharge brake the bounds and barres of patience. The like might (I say) be judg'd of our storie, were it not it followeth, that *Cambises* inquiring of *Psamneticus*, why he was nothing distemper'd at the misfortune of his sonne and daughter, he did so impatiently beare the disaster of his friend: *It is*, answered he, *Because this last displeasure may be manifested by weeping, whereas the two former excede by much, all meanes and compasse to bee expressed by teares.* The invention of that ancient Painter might happily fitte this purpose, who in the sacrifice of *Iphigenia*, being to represent the grieffe of the by-standers, [4]according to the qualitie and interest each one bare for the death of so faire, so yong and innocent a Lady, having ransacked the vtmost skill and effects



of his art, when he came to the Virgins father, as if no countenance were able to represent that degree of sorrow, he drew him with availe over his face. And that is the reason why our Poets faine miserable *Niobe*, who first having lost seaven sonnes, and immediately as many daughters, as one over-burthened with their losses, to have beene transformed into a stone;

Diriguise malis:

And grew as hard as stone, Ouid. M [...]tam. lib. 6. 303.  
By miserie and moane.

Thereby to expresse this mournfull silent stupiditie, which so doth pierce vs, when accidents surpassing our strength orewhelme vs. Verily the violence of a grieffe, being extreame, must needs astonie the mind, & hinder the liberty of her actions. As it hapneth at the sudden alarum of some bad tidings, when wee shall feele ourselves surprised, benumbed, and as it were deprived of al 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 via vix tandem voci laxata dolore est,

And scarce at last for speach, Virg. A [...]n. l. 11. 151.  
By grieffe was made a breach.

In the warres which king *Ferdinando* made against the widow of *Iohn* king of *Hungaria*, about *Buda*; a man at armes was particularly noted of all men, forsomuch as in a certaine skirmish he had shewed exceeding prowess of his body, and though vnknowne, beeing slaine, was highly commended and much bemoaned of all: but yet of none so greatly as of a Germane Lord, called *Raisciac*, as he that was amased 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 sonne; which knowne, 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 sonne, stood still vpright, till the vehemencie of his sad sorrow, having suppressed and choaked his vitall spirits, fell'd him starke dead to the ground.

Chipuo dir com'egli arde è in pi [...]ci [...]l f [...]ōco,

He that can say how he doth frie, Pe [...]]. p. 1. S [...]n. 140.  
In pettie-gentle flames doth lie,

say those Lovers that would liuely represent an into lerable passion.

misero quod omnes  
Eripit sensus mihi; Nam simulte [...]at [...]l. Epig. 48. 5.  
Lesbia aspexi, nihil est super mî

Quod loquar amens.  
Lingua sed torpet, tenuis sub art [...]s  
Flamma dimana [...], so [...]u suopte  
Tinniunt aures, gemina teguntur,  
Lumina [...]octe.

miserably from me,  
This bereaves all sense: for I can no sooner  
Eie thee my sweet heart, but I wot not one word

to speake amazed.  
Tongue-tide as in trance, while a sprightly thin flame  
Floues in all my ioynts, with a selfe-resounding  
Both my eares tingle, with a night redoubled  
Both mine eies are veild.

Nor is it in the liveliest, and most ardent heat of the fit, that wee are able to display our plaints and perswasions, the soule being then aggravated with heauiue thoughts, and the body suppressed and languishing for love. And thence is sometimes engendered that casuall faintnes, which so vnseasonably surpriseth passionate Lovers, and that chilnesse, which by the power of an extreame heate 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 slight.

[5]

‘Curae leues loquuntur, ingentes stupent.S [...]n Hip. act. 2. Scena 2.’

Light cares can freely speake,  
Great cares heart rather breake.

The surprize of an vnexpected pleasure astonieth vs alike.

Vt me conspexit venientem, & Troia circùm Virg. Aenead. lib. 3. 306.  
Arma amens vidit, magnis exterrita monstis,  
Diriguit visu in medio, calor ossa reliquit,  
Labitur, & longo vix tandem tempore fatur.

When she beheld me come, and round about  
Sensel esse saw Troian armes, she stood afraid  
Stone-still at so strange sights: life heat flew out:  
She faints: at last, with long pause thus she said.

Besides the Romane Ladie, that died for joy to see her sonne returne alive from the battell of *Cannae Sophocles* and *Dionysius* the Tyrant, who deceased through over-gladnes: and *Talua*, who died in *Corsica*, reading the newes of the honours the Roman Senate had conferred vpon him: It is reported that in our age, Pope *Leo* the tenth, having received advertisement of the taking of the Citie of *Millane*, 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 Ancients, that *Diodorus* the Logician, beeing surprized with an extreame passion or apprehension of shame, fell downe starke dead, because neither in his Schoole, nor in publique, he had been able to resolve 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 still accuse men for ever gaping 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 than 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 hir worke, doth addresse vs, imprinting (as it doth many others) this false imagination in vs, as more jealous of our actions, than of our knowledge. We are never in our selves, but beyond. Feare, desire, and hope, draw vs ever towards that which is to come, and remove our sense and consideration from that which is, to amuse vs on that which shall be, yea when we shall be no more. ‘Calamitosus est animus

futuri anxius. A minde in suspense what is to come, is in a pittifull case.' Sen. epi. 98.

This notable precept is often all eaged in *Plato*. 'Follow thy businesse and know 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 perceive that his first lesson is, to know what he is, and what is convenient for him. And he that knoweth himselfe, takes no more anothers matters for his owne, but above all other things, loveth and correcteth himselfe, rejecteth superfluous occupations, idle imaginations, and vnprofitable propositions. As if you grant follie what it desireth, it will no-whit be satisfied; so is wisdome content with that which is present, and never displeased with it selfe. *Epicurus* doth dispense with his age touching the foresight and care of what shall insue. Amongst the lawes that regard the deceased, that which ties the actions of Princes to be examined when they are dead, seemes to me verie solide. 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 observe it, and to be desired of all good Princes: who have cause to complaine that the memorie of the wicked is vsed as theirs. Wee owe a [6]like obedience and subjection to all Kings; for it respects their office: but estimation and affection, wee owe it only to their vertue. If they be unworthie, wee are to endure them patiently, to conceale their vices, and to aid their indifferent actions with our commendations, as long as their authoritie hath need of our assistance, and that ought to be ascribed unto politike 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 subjects, the glory to have reverently and faithfully served a master, whose imperfections were so well knowne unto them: exempting posteritie from so profitable an example. And such as for the respect of some private benefite or interest do wickedly imbrace the memorie of an vnwoorthie Prince, doe particular justice at the charge of publike justice. *Titus Liuius* speaketh truely, where he saith, that the speech of men brought up under a royaltie is ever full of vaine ostentations, and false witnesses: every man indifferently extolling the king, to the furthest straine of valour and Soveraigne greatnesse. The magnanimitie of those two Souldiers, may bee reproved, one of which being demaunded of *Nero*, why he hated him, answered him to his teeth; I loved thee whilest thou wast worthie of love, but since thou becamest a parricide, a fir-brand, a juglar, a player, and a Coach-man, I hate thee, as thou deservest. The other being asked, wherefore he sought to kill him; answered, Because I find no other course to hinder thy uncessant outrages and impious deedes. But can any man, that hath his senses about him, justly reprove the publike and generall testimonies, that since his death, have bin given, and so snall be for ever, both against him and all such like reprobates, of his tyrannicall and wicked demeanors? I am sorie that in so sacred a pollicie as the Lacedemonian was, so fained and fond a ceremonie at the death of their kings was ever devised and brought in use. All their confederates and neighbours, all the slave-Heotes, men and women pell-mell, for a testimonie of their grieffe and sorrow did mangle and gash their foreheads; and in their out-cries, and lamentations, exclaimed, that their deceased king, howsoever he had lived, was and had bin the best Prince that ever they had, ascribing in order the commendations due unto desert, and to the last and latter ranke, what belongs unto the first merite. *Aristotle* that hath an oare in every water, and medleth with all things, makes a question, about *Solons* speech, who saith, that no man can truely be counted happy before his death, Whether he that lived and died according to his wish may be named happy, Whether his renowne be good or ill, and whether his posteritie be miserable or no. Whilest we stirre and remove, we transport our selves by preoccupation wheresoever we list: 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 *Solon*, that never man is happy then, since he never is so, but when he is no more.

—*Quisquam*

Vix radicitus è vita se tollit, & eijcit: Lucret. [...]. [...]. lib. 3. 912.

Sed facit esse suiquiddam super inscius ipse,

Nec remouet satis à proiecto corpore sese, &

Vindicat—

Scarse any rids himselfe of life so cleere,  
But leaves vnwitting some part of him heere:  
Nor frees or quits himselfe sufficiently  
From that his body which forlorne doth lie.

*Bertrand of Gelsquin* died at the siege of the castle of *Rancon*, neere vnto *Puy* in *Auergne*: the besieged yeelding afterward, were forced to carrie the keies of the Castle, vpon the deceased body of the Captaine. *Bartholomew of Alviano*, Generall of the Venetian forces dying in their service and wars about *Brescia*, and his body being to be transported to *Venice*, through the territorie of *Verona*, which then was enemie vnto them, the greatest part of the armie thought it expedient to demand a safe conduct for their passage of those of *Verona*, to which *Theodoro Trivulcio* 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 feare of his enemies should now being dead, seeme to feare them. Verily in like matters, by the lawes of *Greece*, he that required a dead bodie of his enemies, with intent to burie the same, 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* [7] loose the advantage he had clearely gained of the Corinthians; and contrariwise, *Agessilaus*, assured that, he doubtfully had gotten of the Boetians. These actions might be 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 to often accompanie vs vnto our grave, and continue in our posteritie. Whereof there are so many examples (leaving our moderne a part) that I need not wade farre into it.

*Edward* the first king of *England*, in the long warres he had with *Robert* King of *Scotland*, having by triall found how greatly his presence advantaged the successe of his affaires, and how he was ever victorious in any enterprise he vndertooke in his owne person; when he died, bound his sonne by solempne oth, that being dead he should cause his body to be boiled, vntill the flesh fell from the bones, which he should cause to be enterred, and carefully keeping the bones, ever carrie them about him, whensoever he should happen to have wars with the Scots: As if destenie had fatally annexed the victorie vnto his limmes. *Iohn Zisca*; who for the defense of *Wickliffs* opinions so much troubled the state of *Bohemia*, commanded that after his death his body should be flead, and a drum made of his skin, to be carried and sounded in all the wars against his enemies: deeming the sound of it would be a meanes to continue the advantages, which in his former warres he had obtained of them. Certaine Indians did likewise carry the bones of one of their Captaines in the skirmishes they had with the Spaniards, in regard of the good successe he had, whilest he lived, had against them: And other nations of that new-found world, do likewise carrie the bodies of such worthie and fortunate men with them, as have died in their battels, to serve them in stead of good fortune and encouragement. The first examples reserve nothing else in their tombes, but the reputation acquired by their former atchievements: but these will also adjoine unto it the power of working. The act of Captaine *Bayart* is of better composition, who perceiving himselfe deadly wounded by a shot received in his body, being by his men perswaded to come off and retire himselfe from out the throng, answered, he would not now so neere his end, begin to turne his face from his enemie: and having stowtly foughten 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 enemie; as indeed he did. I may not omit this other example, as remarkeable for this consideration, as

any of the precedent. The Emperour *Maximilian*, great grand-father to *Phillip*, now King of *Spaine*, was a Prince highly endowed with many notable qualities, and amongst others with a well-nigh matchlesse beautie and comelinesse of body; but with other customes of his, he had this one much contrarie to other Princes, who to dispatch their waightiest affaires make often their close stoole, their regale Throne or Councel-chamber, which was, that he would not permit any groome of his chamber (were he never so neere about him) to see him in his inner-chamber, who if he had occasion but to make water, wold as nicely and as religiously withdraw himselfe as any maiden, and never suffer so much as a Physitian, much lesse any other whatsoever, to see those privie parts that all in modestie seeke to keepe secret and vnseene. My selfe, that am so broad-mouthed and lavish in speaches, am notwithstanding naturally touched with that bashfulnesse. And vnlesse it be by the motion of necessitie or of voluptuousnesse, I never willingly imparted those actions and parts (which custome willeth to be concealed) to the view of any creature. I endure more compulsion, then I deeme befitting a man, especially of my profession. But he grew to such superstition, that by expresse words in his last will and testament, he commanded, that being dead, he should have linnen-slops put about them. He should by codicile have anexed vnto it, that he who should put them on, might have his eies hood-winckt. 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 ascribe it unto some 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 awfull reverence vnto religion. That storie 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 extreame pangs of the stone, he with an earnest and vnwearied care, emploied all his last houres, to dispose the honor and ceremonie of his funerals, and summoned all the nobilitie [8]that came to visit him to give him assured 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 gasp, he made verie earnest sute, he would command all his houshold to wait vpon him at his interment, enforcing many reasons, and all eaging divers examples, to prove that it was a thing very convenient, and fitting a man of his qualitie: which assured promise when he had obtained, & had at his pleasure marshalled the order how they should march, he seemed quietly and contentedly to yeeld vp the ghost. I have seldome seene a vanitie continue so long. This other curiositie meere opposite vnto it (which to prove I need not labor for home-examples) seemeth in my opinion cosin-german to this that is, when one is ever readie to breathe his last, carefully and passionately to endeavor, how to reduce the convoy of his obsequies vnto some particular & vnwonted parcimonie, to one servant and to one lanterne: I heare the humor and appointment of *Marcus Aemilius Lepidus* commended, who expresly forbade his heires to vse those ceremonies about his interment, which in such cases were formerly accustomed: Is it temperance and frugalitie, to avoid charge and voluptuousnes, the vse and knowledge of which is inperceptable 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 part, I would wholly relie on custome, which should dispose this ceremonie, and would yeeld my selfe to the discretion of the first or next, 'into whose hands I might chance to fall. *Totus hic locus est contemnendus 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, Iustini. ci [...] dei. l. 1. c. 12. verb. apost. ser. 32. conditio sepulturae, pompa exequiarum, magis sunt vivorum solatia, quam subsidia mortuorum. The procuration of funerals, the manner of buriall, the pomp of obsequies, are rather comforts to the living, than helps to the*

*dead.* Therefore *Socrates* answered *Criton*, who at the houre of his death, asked him, how he would be buried: *Even as you please*, said he: were I to meddle further with this subject, 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 please themselves to behold their dead countenance in Marble. Happy they that can rejoyce and gratifie their senses with insensibilitie, and live by their death! A little thing would make me conceive an inexpiable hatred against all popular domination; although it seeme most naturall and just vnto me: when I call to minde that inhumane injustice of the Athenians, who without further triall or remission, yea without suffering them so much as to reply or answere for themselves, condemned those noble and worthy captaines, that returned victoriously from the sea-battell, which they (neere the Iles *Arginusae*) had gained of the Lacedemonians; the most contested, bloudie, and greatest fight the Graecians ever obtained by sea with their owne forces: forsomuch as after the victorie, they had rather followed those occasions, which the law of warre presented vnto them, for their availe, than to their prejudice staid to gather and burie their dead men. And the successe of *Diomedon* makes their ruthlesse execution more hatefull, who beeing a man of notable and exemplar vertue, both militarie and politike, and of them so cruelly condemned; after he had heard the bloudie sentence, advauncing himselfe forward to speake, having fit opportunitie and plausible audience; he, I say, in stead of excusing himselfe, or endeavouring to justifie his cause, or to exasperate the evident iniquitie of so cruell a doome, expressed but a care of the Iudges preservation, earnestly beseeching the Gods to turne that judgement to their good, praying that for want of not satisfying the vowes, which he and his companions had vowed in acknowledgement and thanksgiving for so famous a victorie, and honourable fortune, they might not draw the wrath and revenge of the Gods vpon them, declaring what their vowes were. And without more words, or vrging further reasons, couragiously addressed himselfe to his execution. But fortune some yeares after punished him alike, and made him taste of the very same sauce. For *Chabrias*, Captaine Generall of their sea-fleet, having afterward obtained a famous victorie of *Pollis*, Admirall of *Sparta*, in the Ile of *Naxos*, lost absolutely the benefit of it, and only contented with the day (a matter of great consequence for their affaires) fearing to incurre the mischiefe of this example, and to save a few dead carcasses of his friends, that floated vp and downe the sea, gave leasure to an infinite number of his [9]living enemies, whom he might easily haue surprized, to saile away in safetie, who afterward made them to purchase their importunate superstition, at a deere-deere rate.

Quaeris, quo [...]ac [...]as, post obitum, loco? S [...]. Tr [...]as. chor. 2. 30.  
Quo non nata iacent.

Where shall you lie when you are dead?  
Where they lie that were neuer bred:

This other restores the sense of rest vnto a bodie without a soule. Cic. Tusc. qu. lib. 1. E [...].

Neque sepulchrum, quo recipiat, habeat portum corporis:  
Vbi, remissa humana vita, corpus requiescat à malis.

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

Even as Nature makes vs to see, that many dead things, have yet certaine secret relations vnto life. Wine doth alter and change in sellers, according to the changes and alterations of the seasons of it's vineyard. And the flesh of wilde beastes and venison doth change qualitie and taste in the powdering-tubbes, according to the nature of living flesh, as some say that have observed it.

**The fourth Chapter.**  
**How the soule dischargeth her passions vpon false obiects, when the true  
faile it.** ↩

A Gentleman of ours exceedingly subject to the gowt, being instantly solicited by his Physitions, to leave all manner of salt-meates, was woont to answer pleasantly, that when the fittes or panges of the disease tooke him, hee would have some body to quarell with; and that crying and cursing, now against *Bolonie*-sausage, and sometimes by railing against salt neats-tongues, and gammons of bakon, he found some ease. But in good earnest even as the arme being lifted vp to strike, if the stroke hit not, but fall voide, wee feele some paine in it, and many times strike it out of joynt; and that to yeeld our sight pleasant, [...] must not be lost and dispersed in the vast ayre, but ought rather to have a limited bound to sustaine it by a reasonable distance.

Veniens vt amittit vires, nisi robore densae Luca [...]. lib. 3. 362.  
Occurrant siluae, spatium diffusus inani.

As windes in emptie ayre diffus'd, strength lose,  
Vnlesse thick-old-growne woods of their strength oppose.

So seemes it that the soule moved and tossed, if she have not some hold to take, looseth it selfe in it selfe, and must ever be stored with some obiect, on which it may light and worke. *Plutarch* saith fitly of those who affectionate themselves to Monkes and little Dogges, that the loving part which is in vs, for want of a lawfull hold, rather than it will be idle, doth forge a false and frivolous hold vnto it selfe. And wee see that the soule in her passions doth rather deceive it selfe, by framing a false and fantastickall subiect vnto it selfe, yea against her owne conceit, than 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 sometimes with irefull teeth to revenge themselves against themselues, for the hurt or smart they feele.

Pannonis haud aliter post ictum saeuior vrsa Luca [...] lib 6. 2 [...]0.  
Cui iaculum parua Lybis amentauit babena,  
Se rotat in vulnus, telumque irat a receptum  
Impedit, & secum fugientem circuit hastam.

Even so the wound-enraged Austrian beare,  
On whom a Moore hath thir'd his slinged speare,  
Wheeles on her wound, and raging bites the dart,  
Circling that flies with her, and can not part.

[10]

What causes doe wee not invent, for the crosses that happen vnto vs? bee it right, or wrong: what take we not hold of, to have something to strive withall? It is not the golden locks thou tearest, nor the whitenesse of the breast, which thou through vexation so cruelly dost smite, that haue by meanes of an vnluckie bullet, lost thy deere-beloved brother: on something else shouldest thou wreake thy selfe. *Liuius* speaking of the Romane army in *Liuidi* [...]. 3. lib. 5. *Spaine*, after the losse of two great Captaines that were brethren. *Flere omnes repente, & offensare capita: They all wept and often beat their heades.* It is an ordinarie custome: And the Philosopher *Byon*, was very pleasant with the king, that for grieftore his haire, when he said, *Doth this man thinke, that baldnesse will asswage his grieftore?* who hath not seene some to chew and swallow cardes, and wel-nigh choake themselves with bales of dice, only to be revenged for the losse of some money? *Xerxes* whipped the Sea, and writ a cartell of defiance to the hill *Athos*: And *Cyrus* for many daies together amused his whole armie to be revenged of the river *Gyndus*, for the feare he tooke passing over the same:

And *Caligula* caused a verie faire house to be defaced, for the pleasure his mother had received in the same. When I was yong, my countrimen were wont to say, *That one of our neighbour-Kings, hauing received a blow at Gods hand, sware to be revenged on him, and ordained, that for tenne yeares space no man should pray vnto him, nor speake of him, not so long as he were in authoritie, believe in him.* By which report, they do not so much publish the sottishnesse, as the ambitious glorie, peculiar vnto that nation of whom it was spoken. They are vices that ever goe together: But in truth such actions encline rather vnto selfe-conceit, than to fondnes. *Augustus Caesar* having been beaten by a tempest on the sea, defied the God *Neptune*, and in the celebration of the Circensian games, that so he might be avenged on him, he caused his image to be removed fromout the place, where it stood amongst the other Gods; wherein he is also lesse excusable, than the former, and lesse than hee was afterward, when having lost a battell, vnder *Quintilius Varus* in *Germanie*, all in a rage and desperate, he went vp and downe beating his head against the walls, mainly crying out: *Oh! Varus, restore me my Souldiers againe:* For, those exceede all follie, (forsomuch as impietie is joyned vnto it) that will wreake themselves against God, or fortune, as if she had eares subject to our batterie: In imitation of the Thracians, who when it lightens or thunders, begin with a Titanian revenge to shoote against heaven, thinking by shooting of arrowes to draw God to some reason. Now, as saith that ancient Poet in *Plutarch*.

Point ne se faut corroucer aux affaires, Plutar.  
 Il ne leur chaut de toutes noz choleres.  
 We ought not angry be at what God dooth,  
 For he cares not who beares an angry tooth.

But we shall never raile inough against the disorder and vnrulinesse of our minde.

### **The fifth Chapter.**

#### **Whether the Captaine of a place besieged ought to sallie forth to parlie. ↩**

*Lucius Marcius* Legate of the Romans, in the warre against *Perseus* King of *Macedon*, desirous to get so much time, as he wanted to prepare his army, gave out some motives of accord, wherewith the King inveagled, yeelded vnto a truce for certaine daies: by which meanes he furnished his enimie with opportunitie & leasure to arme himselfe: whereof proceeded the Kings last ruine and ouer-throw. Yet is it, that the elders of the Senate, mindfull of their fore-fathers customes, condemned this practise as an enimie to their ancient proceedings, which was, said they▪ to fight with vertue, and not with craft, nor by surprises, or stratagemes by night, nor by set-flights, and vnlookt-for approches, never vndertaking a warre, but after it was proclaimed, yea many times after the appointed houre and place of the battell. With this conscience did they send backe to *Pirrhus* his traitorous Physitian, and [11]to the *Phalis* [...]i their disloiall schoole-master. These were true Romane proceedings, and not Grecian pollicies, nor Punike wiles, with whom to vanquish by force is lesse glorious than to conquer by trecherie. To deceive may serve for the instant, but hee onely is judged to be overcome, that knowes he was not vanquished by craft or deceit, nor by fortune or chance, but by meere valour, betweene troupe and troupe, in an overt and just warre. It appeareth manifestly by the speech of these good men, they had not yet received this sentence.

—Dolus, an virtus, quis in hoste requirat? Virg Aeneid. lib. 2. 390.

Deceit, or vertue, either, in foes, it skill's not whether.

The Achaians, saith *Polibius*, detested all manner of deceit in their warres, deeming that no victorie, where their enemies courages were not quelled. 'Eam vir sanctus, & sapiens sciat esse victoriam veram, quae salua fide, & integra dignitate parabitur. A wise and religious man will know that is victorie indeed, which shall be attained with credit vnimpeached, and



dignitie vntainted, *saith another.*'

Uos ne velit, an me regnare hera, quid-veferat fors, Cic Offic. lib. 1. ex Enn. de  
Pyrrh.  
Uirtute experiamur.

If fortune will have you to raigne, or me,  
And what chance bring's, let vertues triall be.

In the Kingdome of *Ternates*, among those nations, which wee so full-mouthed, call Barbarous, the custome beareth, that they never vndertake a warre, before the same be denounced; thereunto 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 establish as a law, that without reproch or imputation, it shall be lawfull for any man, in their warres, to vse what advantage soever, may in any sort further or helpe them to vanquish. The ancient *Florentines* were so far from desiring any advantage of their enemies by sudden surprises, that a moneth before they could bring their Armie into the field, they would give them warning, by the continuall sound of their common bell, which they called *Mar [...]**nella*. As for vs, who are lesse superstitious, and deeme him to have the honour of the warre, that hath the profit of it, and according to *Lisander*, say, that *Where the Lions-skinne will not suffice, wee must adde a scantling of the Foxes*; the most ordinarie occasions of surprises are drawne from this practise, and as wee say, there is no time, wherein a Captaine ought to be more warie and circumspect to looke about him, than that of parlies, and treaties of accord: And therefore is it a common rule in the mouth of all our modern men of warre, that the Governour or Commaunder of a besieged place, ought never to sallie forth himselfe to parlie. In the time of our forefathers, the same was cast in the teeth, (as a reproach) vnto the Lord of *Montmor [...]* and *Assigni*, who defended *Mou [...]*, against the Earle of *Nanseaw*. Yet in this case it were excusable in him, that should so sallie out, that the assurance and advantage, might still be on his side. As did the Earle *Gu [...]* *Jo R [...]* *ngom* in the Citie of *Reggio* (if credit may be given to *Bellay*: for *Guicci [...]* affirmeth, that it was himselfe) when as the Lord of *Escute*, comming to parlie made his approaches vnto it; for he did so little forsake his fort that whilest they were in parlie, a commotion being raised, the Lord of *Escute* and the troupes which came with him, in that tumult found himselfe to be the weakest, so that *Alexander Trivultio* was there slaine, and hee deeming it the safest way, was forced to follow the Earle, and on his word to yeeld himselfe to the mercie and shelter of blowes, into the Citie. *Eumenes* in the Citie of *Nora*, being vrged by *Antigonus*, that besieged him, to sallie forth to parlie, alleaging that there was reason he should come to him, sith he was the better man, and the stronger: after he had made this noble answere, *I will never thinke any man better than my selfe, so long as I can hold or rule my sword*; nor did he ever yeeld vntill *Antigonus* had delivered him *Ptolomey*, his owne nephew for a pledge, whom he required. Yet shall wee see some to have prospered well in sallying foorth of their holdes to parlie, vpon the word and honor of the assailant; witnes *Henrie* of *Vaulx*, a knight of *Champaigne*, who being beleagred by the English-men in the Castle of *Commercie*, and *Bartholmew* of *Bones*, who at that siege commaunded as Chiefe, having caused the greatest part of the Castle to be vndermined, so that there wanted nothing but the giving of fire, vtterly to subvert the same, vnder the ruines of it, summoned the said *Henrie* to issue out, and for his owne good to parlie with him, which he did, accompanied [12]but with three more, who manifestly seeing the evident ruine, wherein he was vndoubtedly like to fall, acknowledged himself infinitely beholding to hisemie, vnto whose discretion, after he had yeelded together with his troupe, and that fire was given to the Mine, the maine props of the Castle failing, it was vtterly overthrowne and carried away. I am easily perswaded 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, than of a free and voluntary choise, and confidence in his honestie and well-meaning.

### **The sixth Chapter.** **That the houre of parlies is dangerous.** ↪

NOTwithstanding I saw lately, that those of *Musidan*, a place not farre from mee, who with others of their partie, were by our forces compelled to dislodge thence, exclaimed, they were betraid, because during the speech of accord, and the treatie yet continuing, they had bene surprized and defeated; which thing might happily, in other ages have had some apparence 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 vigilancie required, and much adoe shall be found. And it was ever a dangerous counsell to trust the performance of word or othe given vnto a Citie, that yeelds vnto gentle and favourable composition, and in that furie to give the needie, bloodthirstie, and pray-greedy Souldier free entrance into it, vnto the free choise and licence of a victorious armie. *Lucius Aemilius Regillus* a Romane Praetor, having lost his time in attempting by force to take the Citie of the *Phocens* by reason of the singular prowess, which the inhabitants shewed, in stoutly defending themselves, covenanted to receive them as friends vnto the people of *Rome*, and to enter their Citie 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 Souldiers; and with his owne eies saw most part of the Citie ransacked and spoiled: ‘the rights of covetousnesse and revenge supplanting those of his authoritie and militarie discipline. (*Cleomenes* was woont to say, that *What hurt soever a man might doe his enemies in time of warre, was beyond iustice, and not subiect vnto it, as well towards the Gods as towards men:*’ who for seaven dayes having made truce with those of *Argos*, the third night, whilst they were all asleepe mistrusting no harme, hee charged and overthrew them, alleaging for his excuse, that in the truce no mention had bin made of nights.) But the Gods left not his perfidious policie vnrevenged: For during their enter-parlie and businesse about taking hostages, the Citie of *Casilinum* was by surprise taken from him: which happened in the times of the justest Captaines, and of the most perfect Romane discipline: For it is not said, that time and place serving, wee must not make vse and take advantage of our enemies foolish oversight, as we do of their cowardise. And verily warre hath naturally many reasonable priviledges to the prejudice of reason. ‘And here failes the rule. *Neminem id agere, vt ex alterins praedetur inscitia. That no man should indeuour to Cic. Offic. lib 3. pray vpon another mans ignorance.*’ But I wonder of the scope that *Xenophon* allows them, both by his discourse, and by diverse exploits of his perfect Emperour: an Author of wonderful consequence in such things, as a great Captaine and a Philosopher, and one of *Socrates* chiefest Disciples, nor do I altogether yeeld vnto the measure of his dispensation. The Lord of *Aubigny* besieging *Capua*, after he had given it a furious batterie, the Lord *Fabritius Colonna*, Captaine of the towne, having from vnder a bas [...]ion or skonce begunne to parlie, and his men growing negligent and carelesse in their offices and garde, our men did suddenly 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 *Iulio Romero* at [13] *Yvoy*, having committed this oversight to issue out of his holde, to parlie with the Constable of *France*, at his returne found the Towne taken, and himselfe jack-out-of-doores. But that wee may not passe vnrevenged, the Marques of *Pescara* beleaguering *Genova*, where Duke *Octavian Fregoso*, commanded vnder our protection, and an accord between them having so long been 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 vsed it as a full and compleate victorie: and since at *Lygny* in *Barroe*,

where the Earle of *Brienne* commanded, the Emperour having besieged him in person, and *Bartholemey* Lieutenant to the saide Earle being come fourth of his hold to parlie, was no sooner out, whilst they were disputing, but the Towne was surprised, and he excluded, They say,

Fu il vincer sempre mai laudabil cosa, Arist. cant 15. stan. 1.  
Vincasi per fortuna ô per ingegno.

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

But the Philosopher *Chrysippus* would not have beene of that opinion; nor I neither, for he was wont to say, *That those who runne for the masterie may well employ all their strength to make speede, but it is not lawfull for them to lay handes on their adversaries, to stay him, or to crosse legges, to make him trip or fall.* And more generously answered *Alexander* the great, at what time *Polypercon* perswaded him to vse the benefit of the advantage which the darkenesse of the night afforded him, to charge *Darius*; *No no*, said hee, *it fittes not mee to Curt. lib. 4. hunt after night-stolne victories: Malo me fortunae poeniteat, quàm victoriae pudeat. I had rather repent me of my fortune, than be ashamed of my victorie.*

Atque idem fugientem haud est dignatus Orodem Virg. Aen. lib. 10. 732.  
Mezent.  
Sternere, nec [...]actacaecum dare cuspidē vulnus:  
Obuius aduersoque occurrit, sēque viro vir  
Contulit, haud fur to meliôr, sed fortibus armis.

He deign'd not to strike downe Orodes flying,  
Or with his throwne-launce blindely-wound him running:  
But man to man afront himselfe applying,  
Met him, as more esteem'd for strength then cunning.

### **The seuenth Chapter.** **That our intention iudgeth our actions.** ↪

THE common saying is, that *Death acquits vs of all our bondes*. I know some that have taken it in another sence. *Henry* the seventh, King of *England* made a composition with *Philip* sonne to *Maximilian* the Emperour, or to give him a more honorable title, father to the Emperour *Charles* the fift, that the said *Philip* should deliver into his hands, the Duke of *Suffolke*, his mortall 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 expresly by will and testament commanded his succeeding-sonne, that immediately after his decease, he should cause him to be put to death. In the late tragedie, which the Duke of *Alva* presented vs withall at *Brussels*, on the Earles of *Horne* and *Egmond*, were many remarkeable things, and woorthie to be noted: and amongst others, that the said Count *Egmond*, vpon whose faithfull word and assurance, the Earle of *Horne* was come in & yeelded himselfe to the Duke of *Alva*, required verie instantly to be first put to death, to the end his death might acquit and free him of the word and bond, which he ought and was engaged for, to the saide Earle of *Horne*. It seemeth that death hath no whit discharged the former of his worde giuen, and that the second, [14]without dying, was quit of it. We cannot be tied beyond our strength, and meanes. The reason is, because the effects and executions, are not any way in our power, and except our will, nothing is truely in our power: on it onely are all the rules of mans dutie grounded and established by necessitie. And therefore Count *Egmond*, deeming his minde and will indebted to his promise, howbeit the power to effect it, lay not in his hands, was no doubt cleerely absolved of his debt and dutie, although he had survived the Count *Horne*. But the King of *England* failing of his

word by his intention, cannot be excused, though hee delaide the execution of his disloyaltie vntill after his death. No more then *Herodotus* his Mason who during his naturall life, having faithfully kept the secret of his Master the King of Aegypts treasure when he died, discovered the same vnto his children. I have in my daies seene many convicted by their owne conscience, for detaining other mens goods, yet by their last will and testament to dispose themselves, after their decease to make satisfaction. This is nothing to the purpose. Neither to take time for a matter so vrgent, nor with so small interest or shew of feeling, to goe about to establish an injurie. They are indebted somewhat more. And by how much more they pay incommodiously and chargeably, so much the more just and meritorious is their satisfaction. Penitence ought to charge, yet doe they worse, who reserve the revealing of some heinous conceit or affection towards their neighbour, to their last will and affection, having whilest they lived ever kept it secret. And seeme to have little regard of their owne honour, by provoking the partie offended against their owne memory, and lesse of their conscience, since they could never for the respect of death cancell their ill-grudging affection, and in extending life beyond theirs. Oh wicked and vngodly judges, which referre the judgement of a cause to such time as they have no more knowledge of causes! I will as neere as I can prevent, that my death reveale or vtter any thing, my life hath not first publikely spoken.

### **The eight Chapter. Of Idlenesse.**

‘AS we see some idle-fallow grounds, if they be fat and fertile, to bring foorth store & sundrie roots of wilde and vnprofitable weedes, and that to keepe them in vrewē must subject and imploy them with certaine seedes for our vse and service. And as wee see some women, though single and alone, often to bring foorth lumps of shapelesse flesh, whereas to produce a perfect and naturall generation, they must be manured with another kinde of seede: So is it of mindes, which except they be busied about some subject, that may bridle and keepe them vnder, they will here and there wildely scatter themselves through the vaste field of imaginations.’

Sicut aquae tremulum labris vbi lumen ahenis V [...]g A [...]n. lib. 8. 22.  
Sole repperussum, aut radiantis imagine L [...]nae,  
Omnia peruolit at latè loca, iámque sub auras  
Erigitur, summique ferit laquearia tecti.

As trembling light reflected from the Sunne,  
Or radiant Moone on water-fild brasse lavers,  
Flies over all, in aire vnpraised soone,  
Strikes house-top beames, betwixt both strangely wavers.

And there is no folly, or extravagant raving, they produce not in that agitation. Hor. art. po [...]t. 7.

‘—veluti agrisomnia, van [...] Finguntur species.’

Like sicke mens dreames, that faigne  
Imaginations vaine.

The minde that hath no fixed bound, will easily loose it selfe: For, as we say, *To be everie where, is to be no where.*

‘Quisquis vbique habitat, Maxime, [...]squam habitat.’ Mars. lib. 7. [...]pi. 72. 6.

[15]

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

It is not long since I retired my selfe unto 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 weare out the remainder of my well-nigh-spent life; where me thought I could doe my spirit no greater favour, than to give him the full scope of idlenesse, and entertaine him as he best pleased, and withall, to settle him-selfe as he best liked: which I hoped he might now, being by time become more settled and ripe, accomplish very easily: but I finde,

‘Variam semper dant otia mentem.’ Luca. lib. 4. 704

Evermore idlenesse,  
Doth wavering mindes adresse.

That contrariwise playing the skittish and loose-broken jade, he takes a hundred times more carriere and libertie unto himselfe, than hee did for others, and begets in me so many extravagant *Chimeraes*, and fantasticall monsters, so orderlesse, and without any reason, one hudling upon an other, that at-leasure to view the foolishnesse and monstrous strangenesse of them, I have begun to keepe a register of them, hoping, if I liue, one day to make him ashamed, and blush at himselfe.

### The ninth Chapter. Of Lyers. ↩

There is no man living, whom it may lesse beseeme to speake of memorie, than my selfe, for to say truth, I have none at all: and am fully perswaded that no-mans can-be so weake and forgetfull as mine. All other parts are in me common and vile, but touching memorie, I thinke to carrie the prise from all-other, that have it weakest, nay and to gaine the reputation of it, besides the naturall want I endure (for truely considering the necessitie of it, *Plato* hath reason to name it *A great and mighty Goddess*) In my countrie, if a man will imply that one hath no sense, he will say, such a one hath no memorie: and when I complaine of mine, they reprove me & will not beleeve me, as if I accused my-selfe to be mad & sencelesse. They make no difference betweene memorie & wit; which is an empairing of my market: But they doe me wrong, for contrariwise, it is commonly seene by experience, that excellent memories do rather accompany weake judgements. Moreover they wrong me in this (who can do nothing so well as to be a perfect friend) that the same words which accuse my infirmitie, represent ingratitude. From my affection they take hold of my memorie, & of a naturall defect, they infer a want of judgement or conscience. Some wil say, he hath forgotten this entreaty, or request, or that promise, he is not mindfull of his old friends, he never remembred to say, or doe, or conceale 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 infirmitie, and not conclude it to be a kind of malice; which is so contrarie an enemy to my humor. Yet am I somewhat comforted. First, because it is an evill, from which I have chieflie drawne the reason to correct a worse mischiefe, that would easily have growen vpon me: that is to say, ambition; which defect is intolerable in them that meddlewith wordly negotiations. For as divers like examples of natures progresse, say, she hath happily strengthened other faculties in me, according as it hath growne weaker and weaker in me, and I should easily lay downe and wire-draw my minde and judgement, upon other mens traces, without exercising their proper forces, if by the benefit of memorie, forren inventions & strange opinions were present with me. That my speech is thereby shorter: For the Magazin of Memorie, is peradventure more stored with matter, than is the store-house of Invention. Had it held out with me, I had ere this wearied all my friends with prating: the subjects rousing the meane facultie I have to manage and imploy them, strengthening and wresting my

discourses. It is pitie; I have assayed by the trial of som of my private friends: according as their memory hath ministred them a whole and perfect matter, who recoile their narration so farre-backe, and [16]stuff-it with so many vaine circumstances, that if the story be good, they smother the goodnesse 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 easie matter, being in the midst of the carriere of a discourse, to stop cunningly, to make a sudden period, and to cut-it-off. And there is nothing whereby the cleane strength of a horse is more knowne, than to make a readie and cleane stop. Among the skilfull I see some, that strive, but can not stay their race. Whilest they labour to finde the point to stop their course, they stagger and falter, as men that faint through weakenesse. Above all, old men are dangerous, who have onely the memorie of things past left them, and have lost the remembrance of their repetitions. I have heard some very pleasant reports become most irkesome and tedious in the mouth of a certaine Lord, forsomuch as all the by-standers had many times beene cloyed with them. Secondly, (as said an ancient Writer) that, *I doe not so much remember iniuries receiued*. I had need have a prompter as *Darius* had, who not to forget the wrong he had received of the Athenians, whensoever he sate downe at his table, caused a page to sing unto him, *Sir, remember the Athenians*, and that the places or bookes which I read-over, 'do ever smile upon me, with some new noveltie. It is not without reason, mensay, that *he who hath not a good and readie memorie, should never meddle with telling of lies, and feare to become a liar.*' I am not ignorant how the Grammarians make a difference betweene speaking vntue and lying; and say that to speake vntuely, is to speake that which is false, but was reputed true; and that the definition of the Latin word, *mentiri*, whence the French word, *mentir*, is derived, which in English is to lie, implieth and meaneth to go against ones conscience: and by consequence it concerneth onely those, who speake contrary to that which they know, of whom I speake. Now these, either invent, seale, stampe and all, or else they disguise and change a true ground. When they disguise or change, if they be often put to the repetition of one thing, it is hard for them to keepe still in one path, and very strange if they lose not themselves: because the thing, as it is, having first taken vp her stand in the memory, and there by the way of knowledge and witting, imprinted it-selfe, it were hard it should not represent itselfe to the imagination, displacing and supplanting falshood, which therein can have no such footing, or settled fastnesse: and that the circumstances of the first learning, still diving into the minde, should not cause it to disperse the remembrance of all false or bastardizing parts gotten together. Where they altogether invent, forsomuch as there is no certaine impression, to front their falshood, they seeme to have so much the lesser feare to mistake or forget themselves, which also notwithstanding being an airie bodie, and without hold-fast may easily escape the memorie, except it be well assured: whereof I have often (to my no small pleasure) seene the experience, at the cost of those, who professe never to frame their speech, but as best shall fit the affaires they negotiate, and as best shall please the great men they speake vnto. For the circumstances to which they will subject their credit and conscience, being subject to many changes, their speech must likewise diversifie and change with them, whence it followeth that of one selfe-same subject they speak diversly, as now yellow, now gray, to one man thus, and thus to another. And if peradventure these kind of men hoard-up their so contrarie instructions, what becomes of this goodly arte? Who besides, often most foolishly forget themselves, and runne at randon: For, what memorie shall suffice them, to remember so many different formes they have framed to one same subject? I have in my daies seene divers that have envied the reputation of this woorthy kind of wisdom, who perceive not, that if there be a reputation, 'there can be no effect. Verily, lying is an ill and detestable vice. Nothing makes vs men, & no other meanes, keeps vs bound one to another, but our word; knew we but the horror and waight of it, we would with fire and sword pursue and hate the same, and more justly than any other crime.' I see all men generally busied (and that verie improperly) to punish certaine innocent errors in children, which have neither impression nor consequence, and chastice and vex them for rash and fond actions. Onely

lying, and stubbornesse somewhat more, are the faults whose birth and progresse I would have severely punished and cut off; for they grow and encrease with them: and if the tongue have once gotten this ill habit, good Lord how hard, nay how impossible it is to make her leave it? whereby it ensueth, that we see many very honest men in other matters, to be subject and enthralled to that fault. I have a good lad to my tailour, whom I never heard speak a truth; [17]no not when it might stand him in stead of profit. If a lie had no more faces but one, as truth hath; we should be in farre better termes then we are: For, whatsoever a li [...]r should say, we would take [...] in a contrarie sense. But the opposite of truth hath many many shapes, and an vnd [...]nite field. The Pythagoreans make good to be certaine and [...]nite, and evill to be [...] and vncertaine. A thousand by-waies misse the marke, one onely hits the same. Surely I can never assure my selfe to come to a good end, to warrant an extreame and evident danger, by a shamelesse and solemnelie.

An ancient Father saith, *We are better in the companie of a knowne dogge, 'than in a mans societie, whose speech is vnknowne to vs.* U [...] externus al [...]ono non si [...] hominis vice. A stranger to a P [...]n. [...]a [...]. hist. l 7. c. 1. *stra [...]g [...] not [...]ake a man.* And how much is a false speech lesse sociable than silence? King *Francis* the first, vaunted himselfe to have by this meanes brought *Francis Taverna*, Ambassador to *Francis S [...]orz [...]*, Duke of *Millane* to a non plus; a man very famous for his rare eloquence, and facilitie in speech, who had beene dispatched to excuse his master, toward his Majestie, of a matter of great importance, which was this. The King to keepe ever some intelligence in *Italy*, whence he had lately beene expelled, but especially in the Dukedome of *M [...]jane*, thought it expedient to entertaine a Gentleman of his about the Duke; in effect as his Ambassador, but in apparence as a private man; who should make shew to reside there about his particular affaires, forsomuch as the Duke, who depended much more of the Emperour (chiefely then that he was treating a mariage with his niece, daughter of the King of *Denmarke*, who is at this day Dowager of *Lorraine*) could not without great prejudice vnto himselfe discover to have any correspondencie and conference with vs. For which commission and purpose a Gentleman of *Millane*, named *Merveille*, then serving the King in place of one of the Quiers of his Quierie, was deemed [...]t. This man being dispatched with secret letters of credence, and instructions of an Ambassador, together with other letters of commendation to the Duke in savour of his particular affaires, as a maske and pretence of his proceedings, continued so long about the Duke, that the Emperour began to have some suspition of him; which as we suppose was cause of what ensued, which was, that vnder colour of a murther committed, the Duke one night caused the s [...]d *Merveille* to be beheaded, having ended his processe in two daies. Master *Francis* b [...]ng come to the Court, fraught with a long counterfet deduction of this s [...]orie (for the King had addressed himselfe to all the Princes of Christendome, yea and to the Duke himselfe for justice, for such an outrage committed vpon his servant) had one morning audience in the Kings councill-chamber: who for the foundation of his cause having established and to that end projected many goodly and colourable apparences of the fact: namely, that the Duke his master, had never taken *Merveille* for other then a private gentleman, and his owne subject, and who was come thither about his private busines, where he had never lived vnder other name, protesting he had never knowne him to be one of the Kings houshold, nor never heard of him, much lesse taken him for his Majesties Agent. But the King vrging him with divers objections and demands, and charging him on every side, pr [...]st [...]im so farre with the execution done by night, and as it were by stealth, that the [...]eely man, being much entangled and suddenly surprised, as if he would set an innocent face on the matter, answered, that for the love and respect of his Majestie, the Duke his Master, would have beene very loth that such an execution should have beene done by day. Heere every man may guesse whether he were taken short or no, having tripped before so goodly a [...] as was that of our King *Francis* the first. Pope *Iulius* the second, having sent an Ambassador to the King of *England* to animate him against our foresaid King: the Ambassador having had audience touching his charge, and the King in his answer vrging and

insisting vpon the difficultie he found & foresaw in levying such convenient forces, as should be required to withstand so mightie, and set vpon so puisant a King, and alleaging certaine pe [...]ment reasons: The Ambassador fondly and vn [...]itly replied, that him-selfe had long before maturely considered them, and had told the Pope of them. By which answer so farre from his proposition (which was with all speed, & without more circumstances to vndertake and vngergoe a dangerous warre) the King of *England* tooke hold of the first argument which in effect he afterward found true, which was, that the said Ambassador, in his owne particular intent, was more affected to the French side, whereof advertising his master, his goods were all con [...]iscate, himselfe disgraced, and he very hardly escaped with life.

[18]

### **The tenth Chapter. Of readie or slowe speech.**

*One ne furent à tous toutes graces donnees.*

Vnder a Iayler that To all, or of all any one.

So doe we see that in the gift of eloquence, some have such a facility and promptitude, and that which we call vtterance, so easie and at command, that at all assaies, and vpon everie occasion, they are ready and provided; and others more slow, never speake any thing except much laboured and premeditated. As Ladies and daintie 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 lawiers of our age seeme to make profession; the slowe speaker in mine opinion should be the better preacher, and the other the better lawier. For somuch as charge of the first allowes-him as much leisure as he pleaseth to prepare him-selfe; moreover his carriere continueth still in one kinde without interruption: whereas the Lawyers occasions vrging him still vpon any accident to be ready to enter the lists: and the vnexpected replies & answers of his aduers partie, do 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 *Marseilles* betweene Pope *Clemens* the seventh, and *Francis* the first, our King, it hapned cleane-contrarie, where Monsieur *Poyet*, a man of chiefe reputation & all daies of his life brought vp to plead at the bar, whose charge being to make an Oration before the Pope, and having long time before premeditated and con'd the same by roat, yea, & 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, sent the argument, which he at that time and place thought fittest to be treated of, to the king, but by fortune cleane contrarie to that which *Poyet*, had so much studied for: So that his Oration was altogether frustrate, and he must presently frame another. But he perceiving himselfe vnable for-it, the Cardinall *Bellay* was faineto supply his place and take that charge vpon him. The Lawyers charge is much harder than the Preachers: (yet in mine opinion) shall we find more passable Lawyers then commendable Preachers at least in *France*. It seemeth to be more proper to the mind, to have her operation ready & sudden, and more incident to the judgement, to have it slow and considerate. But who remaineth mute, if he have no leisure to prepare himselfe, and he likewise to whom leisure giveth no advantage to say better, are both in one selfe degree of strangenesse. It is reported that *Seuerus Cassius* spake better extempore, and without premeditation. That he was more beholding to fortune, then to his diligence; that to be interrupted in his speech redounded to his profit: & that his adversaries feared to vrge-him, lest his sudden 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 free, a voluntarie, and selfe-pleasing course, it



can never come to a good end. We commonly say of some compositions, that they smell of the oile, & of the lampe, by reason of a certaine harshnesse, and rudenesse, which long plodding labour 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 impeach the-same; even as it hapneth vnto water, which being closely pent-in, through it's owne violence and abundance, can not finde issue at an open gullet. In this condition of nature, whereof I now speake, this also is ioyned vnto it, that it desireth not to be pricked forward by these strong passions, as the anger of *Cassius* (for that motion would be over-rude) it ought not to be violently shaken, but yeeldingly solicited: it desireth to be rouzed and prickt forward by strange occasions, both present and casuall. If it goe all-alone, it doth but languish and loyter behinde: agitation is her life and grace. I cannot well containe my selfe in mine owne possession and disposition, chaunce hath more interest in it than my selfe; occasion, company, yea the change of my voice, drawes more from my minde than I can finde therein, when by my selfe I second and endeavor to employ the same. My words likewise are better [19] than my writings, if choise may be had in so woorthlesse things. This also hapneth vnto me, that where I seeke my selfe, I finde not my selfe: and I finde my selfe more by chaunce, than by the search of mine owne judgement. I shall perhaps have cast-foorth some sottletie in writing, happily dull and harsh for another, but sinooth and curious for my selfe. Let vs leave all these complements and quaintnesse. That is spoken by everie man, according to his owne strength. I have so lost it, that I wot not what I would have said, and strangers have sometimes found it before me. Had I alwaies a razor about me, where that hapneth, I should cleane raze 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 woonder at mine owne faltring or sticking in the myre.

### **The eleuenth Chapter. Of Prognostications.** ↩

As touching Oracles it is very certaine, that long before the comming of our Sauour *Iesus Christ*, they had begun to loose their credit: for we see that *Cicero* labourethCi [...]. diuin. lib. 2. to finde the cause of their declination: and these be his words: ‘Cur isto modo iam oracula Delphis non eduntur non modo nostra aetate, sed iam diu, vt nihil possit esse contemptius? Why in like sort are not Oracles now vttered, not onely 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 anatomie of beasts in sacrifice,*’ to which *Plato* doth in some sort ascribe the naturall constitution of the internall members of them, of the scraping of chickins, of the flight of birds, ‘*Aues quasdam Id. nat. deo [...]. rerum augurandarum causa natas esse putamus.* We are of opinion, certain birds were even bred to prognosticate some things; of thunders, of turnings and backe-recourse of rivers. *Multa cernunt Id. ib. 1. [...]. aruspices: multa augures provident: multa oraculis declarantur: multa vaticinationibus: multa s [...]. nnijs: multa portentis.* Soothsayers see much: bird-prophets foore-see as much: much is foretold by Oracles; much by prophesies; much by dreames; much by portentuous signes, *and others, vpon which antiquitie grounded most of their enterprises, as well publike as private: our religion hath abolished them.*’ And albeit there remaine yet amongst vs some meanes of divination in the starres, in spirits, in shapes of the body, in dreames, and elsewhere a notable example of the mad and found curiositie of our nature, amusing it selfe to preoccupate future things, as if it had not enough to doe to digest the present. *Luca [...]. lib. 2. 4.*

—*cur hanc tibirector Olympi*  
Sollicitis visum mort alibus addere curam,  
Noscant ventur as vt dira per omnia clades?  
Sit subitum quodcunque paras, sit caeca futuri 14.  
Mens heminum fati, liceat sperare timenti.

Why pleas'd it thee, thou ruler of the spheares,  
To adde this care to mortals care-clog'd minde,  
That they their miserie know, ere it appeares?  
Let thy drifts sudden come; let men be blinde  
T'wards future fate: oh let him hope that feares.

*Ne vtile quidem est scire quid futurum sit: Miserum est enim nihil proficientem angi.* 'It is notCic. nat. Deor. lib. 3. so much as profitable for vs, to know what is to come, for it is a miserable thing, a man should fret and be vexed, and do no good.' Yet is it of much lesse authoritie, loe here wherefore the example of *Francis Marquis of Saluzzo* hath seemed remarkeable vnto me: who being Lieutenant Generall vnto *Francis* our King, and over all his forces, which he then had beyond the Mountaines in *Italie*, a man highly favoured in al our court, and otherwise infinitely beholding to the King for that very Marquisate, which his brother had forfeited: and having no occasion to doe it, yea and his minde and affections contradicting the same, suffered himselfe to be frighted and deluded (as it hath since been manifestly proved) by the fond prognostications, which then throughout all *Europe* were given out to the advantage of the [20]Emperor *Charles* the fift, and to our prejudice and disadvantage (but specially in *Italy*, where these foolish praedictions had so much possessed the Italians, that in *Rome* were laid great wagers, and much money given out vpon the exchange, that we should vtterly be overthrowne) that after he had much condoled, yea and complained with his secret friends, the vnavoidable miseries, which he foresaw prepared by the fates against the Crowne of *France*, and the many friends he had there, he vnkindly revolted, and became a turne-cote on the Emperors [...]de, to his intolerable losse and destruction, notwithstanding all the constellations then raining. But was drawne vnto it as a man encompassed and beset by divers passions; for having both strong castles, and all maner of munition and strength in his own hands, the enemies armie vnder *Antonio L [...]*va about three paces from him, and we nothing mistrusting him, it was in his power to do worse than he did. For notwithstanding his treason we lost neither man nor towne, except *Fossan*: which long after was by vs stoutly contested and defended.

Prudens futuri temporis exitum Hor. li. 3. [...]d. 2 [...]. 29.  
Caliginosâ nocte premit Deus,  
Ridétque, si mortalis vltra.  
Fas trepida.—

Ourwise God hides in pitch darke night  
Of future time th'event decreed,  
And laughes at man, if man affright  
Feare more, than he to feare hathneed.

Ille potens sui  
Laetusque deget, cuilicet in diem  
Dixisse, vixi, cras vel atrâ 41.  
Nube pol [...]m pater occupato,  
Vel sole puro.

He of himselfe lives merily,  
Who each day, I have li'd, can say,  
To morow let God charge the skie  
With darke clouds, or faire sun-shine-ray.

Laetus in praesens animus, quod vltra est,  
Oderit curare. Ib. 2. od. 16. 25.  
For present time a mery mind  
Hates to respect what is behind.

And those which take this word in a contrary sense are in the wrong. 'Ista sic

reciprocantur, Cic. divi. l. 1. [...]. vt & si diuination sit, dij sint: & dij sint, sit diuination. This consequence is so reciprocally, as if there be any divination, there are Goddesses: and if there be Gods, there is divination. *Much more wisely Pacuvius.*'

Nam istis qui linguam animi intelligunt, Ib. [...]. Pac.  
Plúsq̄ue ex alieno i [...]cere sapiunt, quàm ex suo,  
Magis audiendum, quàm auscultandum censeo.

Who vnderstand what language birds expresse,  
By their owne, then beastes-livers knowing lesse,  
They may be heard, not hearkned-to, I guesse.

This so famous arte of divination of the Tuskanes grew thus. A husband-man digging very deepe into the ground, with his plough-share, saw *Tages*, a demy-God appeare out of it, with an infantine face, yet fraught with an aged-like wisdom. All men ranne to see-him, and both his words and knowledge were for many ages-after remembred, and collected, containing the principles and meanes of this arte. An of-spring suitable to her progresse. I would rather direct affaires by the chance of dice, then by such frivolous dreames. And truly in all common-wealthes, men have ever ascribed much authoritie vnto lot. *Plato* in the policie which he imagineth by discretion, ascribeth the deciding of many important effects vnto it, and amongst other things would have marriages betweene the good to be contrived by lot. And giveth so large priuiledges vnto this casuall election, that he appoints the children proceeding from them to be brought vp in the countrie; and those borne of the bad to be banished and sent abroad. Notwithstanding if any of those so exiled [21] shall by fortune happen, whilst he is growing, to shew some good hope of him-selfe, that he may be revoked and sent-for backe, and such amongst the first as shall in their youth give small hope of future good to be banished. I see some that studie, plod, and glosse their Almanackes, and in all accidents alleage their authoritie. A man were as good to say, they must needs speake truth and lies. 'Quis est enim qui totum diem iaculans, non aliquando conlineet? Cic. diu. lib. 2. For who is he that shooting all day, sometimes hits not the white? *I thinke not the better of them,*' though what they say prooue 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 ordinarie and infinit; and their praedictions are made to be of credit, because they are rare, incredible and prodigious. So answered *Diagoras* surnamed the Atheist (being in *Samothrace*) to him, who in shewing him diuers vowes and offrings hanging in the Temple, brought thither by such as had escaped shipwracke, said thus vnto him: *You that thinke the Gods to have no care of humane things, what say you by so many men saved by their grace and helpe? Thus is it done,* answered he: *Those which were drowned farre exceeding their number, are not here set-forth.* Cicero saith, *That amongst all other Philosophers that have avowed & acknowledged the Gods, only Xenophanes, the Colophonian hath gone about to root out all maner of divination.* It is so much the lesse to be wondred at, if at any time we have seene some of our Princes mindes to their great damage, relie vpon such like vanities. I would to God, I had with mine owne eyes seene those two wonders, mentioned in the booke of *Ioachin* the Abbat of *Calabria*, who foretold all the Popes that should ensue, together with their names and shapes: And that of *Leo* the Emperor, who fore-spake all the Emperors and Patriarkes of *Greece*. This have I seene with mine owne eyes, that in publike confusions, men amazed at their owne fortune, give themselves head-long, as it were to all maner of superstition, to search in heaven the causes and ancient threats of their ill-lucke; and in my time are so strangely successfull therein, as they have perswaded me, that it is an amusing of sharpe and idle wits, that such as are inured to this subtletie, by folding and vnfolding them, may in all other writings be capable to finde out what they seeke-after. But above all, their darke, ambiguous, fantasticall, and propheticall gibbrish, mends the matter much, to which their authors never give a plaine sense, that posterity may apply what meaning and

construction it shall please vnto it. The *Daemon* of *Socrates* was peradventure a certaine impulsio[n] or will, which without the advice of his discourse presented it selfe vnto him. In a minde so well purified, and by continuall exercise of wisdom and vertue so wel prepared, as his was, it is likely, his inclinatio[n]s (though rash and inconsiderate) were ever of great moment, and woorthie to be followed. Every man feeleth in himselfe some image of such agitations, of a prompt, vehement and casuall opinion. It is in me to give them some authoritie, that affoord so little to our wisdom. And I have had some, equally weake in reason, and violent in perswasio[n] and disswasio[n] (which was more ordinarie to *Socrates*) by which I have so happily and so profitably suffred my selfe to be transported, as they might perhaps be thought to containe some matter of divine inspiration.

### The twelfth Chapter. Of Constancie. ↪

The law of resolution and constancie implieth not, we should not, as-much as lieth in our power shelter our selves from the mischiefes and inconveniences that threaten-vs, nor by consequence feare, they should surprise-vs. Contrariwise, all honest meanes for a man to warrant him-selfe from evils, are not onely tolerable, but commendable. And the part of constancie is chiefly acted, in firmly bearing the inconveniences, against which no remedie is to be found. So that, there is no nimblenesse of bodie, nor wealding of handweapons, that we will reject, if it may in any sort defend-vs from the blow, meant at-vs. 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 than their faces. The Turkes at this day retaine something of that humour. And *Socrates* in *Plato* doth mocke at *Laches*, because he had defined fortitude, to keepe her-selfe steadie in [22]her rancke against her enemies; *What*, saith hee, *were it then cowardise to beate them in giving them place?* And alleadgeth *Homer* against him, who commendeth in *Aencas* his skill in flying and giving ground. And because *Laches* being better advised, avoweth that custome to be amongst the Scythians, and generally amongst all horsemen, he allegeth further unto him the example of the Lacedemonian footmen (a nation above all other vsed to fight on foote) who in the battell of *Plateae*, unable to open and to put to rowt the Persian Phalanx, advised themselves to scatter and put themselves backe, that so by the opinion of their flight, they might if they should pursue them, rush in upon them, and put that so combined-masse to rout. By which meanes they gained the victorie. Touching the Scythians, it is reported, that when *Darius* went to subdue them, he sent their King many reprochfull speeches, for so much as hee ever saw him retire and giue ground before him, and to avoide the maine battell. To whom *Indathirsez* (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 fashion of his nation to march thus: as having neither cities, nor houses, nor manured land to defend, or to feare their enemies should reape any commoditie by them.* But if hee had so great a desire to feede on them, he might draw neerer to view the place of their ancient Sepulchers, 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 diverse times bring men unto, it ill beseemeth a resolute minde to start-aside, or be daunted, at the threat of a shot, because by the violence and suddennesse thereof wee deeme it inevitable: and there are some, who by lifting up of a hand, or stooping their head, have sometimes given their fellowes cause of laughter: yet have we seene, that in the voyage, the Emperour *Charles* the fifth made against us in *Provence*, the Marquis of *Guasto*, being gone out to survay the citie of *Arles*, and shewne 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 *Agenois*, who were walking upon the Theatre *Aux arenes* (so called in French because it is full of sand) who shewing him to the Lord of *Villiers*, Commissarie of the Artillerie, he mounted a culvé[rin] so levell, that had not the Marquis perceived the fire, and so started aside,

it was constantly affirmed, hee had beene shot through the body. Likewise not many yeeres before, *Lorence of Medicis*, Duke of *Urbino*, and father to the Queene-mother of *France*, besieging *Mondolphe*, a place in *Italie*, in the province name *Vicariate*, seeing fire given to a piece that stood upright upon him, stooped his head, and well befell him that he plaide the ducke, for otherwise the bullet, which went right over, and within a litle of his head, had doubtlesse shot him through the paunch. But to say truth, I will never thinke these motions were made with discourse, for what judgement can you give of an aime, either high or low in a matter so sudden? It may rather be thought that fortune favoured their feare: and which an other time might as well bee a meane to make them fall into the cannons-mouth, as to avoid the same. I cannot chuse, if the cracke of a musket doe suddenly streeke mine eares, 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 sort than my selfe. Nor doe the Stoickes meane, that the Soule of their wisest man in any sort resist the first visions and sudden fantasies, that surprise the same: but rather consent that, as it were unto a naturall subjection, he yeelds and shrinks unto the loud clattering and roare of heaven, or of some violent downfall; for example-sake, unto palenesse, and contraction. So likewise in other passions, alwaies provided, his opinion remaines safe and whole, and the situation of his reason, admit no tainting or alteration whatsoever: and hee no whit consent 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 superficiall 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:

Mens immota manet, lachrymae voluntur inanes. Virg. A [...].n. lib. 4. 449.

His minde doth firme remaine,  
Teares are distill'd in vaine.

The wise Peripatetike doth not exempt himselfe from perturbations of the mind, but doth moderate them.

[23]

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

There is no subject so vaine, that deserveth not a place in this rapsodie. It were a notable discourtesie vnto our common rules, both towards an equall, but more toward a great person, not to meete with you in your house, if he have once warned you that he will come: And *Margaret* Queene of *Navarre*, was wont to say to this purpose, *That it was a kinde of incivilitie in a gentleman, to depart from his house, as the fashion is, to meete with him that is comming to him, how worthy soever he be: and that it more agreeth with civilitie and respect, to stay for him at home, and there to entertaine him: except it were for feare the stranger should misse his way: and that it suffioeth to companie and waite vpon him, when he is going away againe.* As for me, I oftentimes forget both these vaine offices; as one that endevoureth to abolish all maner of ceremonies in my house. Some will bee offended at it, what can I doe withall? I had rather offend a stranger once, then my selfe everie day; for it were a continuall subjection. To what end doe men avoid the servitude of Courts, 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, forsomuch as it belongs to the better man to be staid-for, and waited vpon by the other. Neverthelesse we saw that at the interview, prepared at *Merceilles* betweene Pope *Clement* the seventh, and *Francis* the first, King of *France*, the King having appointed all necessatie preparations, went him-selfe out of the Towne, and gave the Pope two or three dayes-leisure, to make his entrie into it, and to

refresh himselfe, before he would come to meete him there. Likewise at the meeting of the said Pope with the Emperour at *Bologna*, the Emperour gave the Pope advantage and leasure to be first there, and afterward came himselfe. It is (say they) an ordinarie ceremonie at enterparlies betweene such Princes, that the better man should ever come first to the place appointed; yea before him in whose countrey the assembly is: and they take it in this sence, that it is, because this complement should testifie, he is the better man, whom the meaner goeth to seeke, and that hee sueth vnto him. Not only ech countrey, but every Citie, yea and every vocation hath his owne particular decorum. I have every carefully beene brought vp in mine infancie, and have lived in verie good company, because I would not be ignorant of the good maners of our countrey of *France*, and I am perswaded I might keepe a scoole of them. I love to follow them, but not so cowardly, as my life remaine thereby in subjection. They have some painefull formes in them, which if a man forget by discretion, and not by errour, he shall no whit be disgraced. I have often seene men proove vnmanerly by too much maners, and importunate by over-much curtesie. The knowledge of entertainment is otherwise a profitable knowledge. It is, as grace and beautie are, the reconciler of the first accoastings of society and familiarity: and by consequence, it openeth the entrance to instruct vs by the example of others, and to exploit 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.**

VALour hath his limites, as other vertues have: which if a man out-go, he shall find himselfe in the traine of vice: in such sort, that vnlesse a man know their right bounds, which in truth are not on a sudden, easily hit vpon, he may fall into rashnesse, obstinacie, [24]and folly. For this consideration grew the custome wee hold in warres, to punish, and that with death, those who wilfully opiniate themselves to defend a place, which by the rules of warre, cannot be kept. Otherwise vpon hope of impunitie, there should be no cotage, that might not entertaine an Armie. The Lord Constable *Momorancie* at the siege of *Pavia*, having beene appointed to passe over the river *T [...]**si [...]**e*, 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 needes hold out, yea and to be battered, caused all those that were with-in it, to be hanged. The same man afterward, accompanying my Lord the *Dolphin* of *France* in his journey beyond the *Alpes*, having by force taken the castle of *Villane*, and all those that were within the same, having by the [...]*jurie* of the Souldiers bin put to the sword, except the Captaine, and his Ancient, for the same reason, caused them both to be hanged and strangled: As did also, Captaine *Martin du Bellay*, the Governour of *Turin*, in the same countrey, the Captaine of *Saint Bony*: all the rest of his men having beene massacred at the taking of the place. But for somuch as the judgement of the strength or weakenesse of the place, is taken by the estimate and counterpoise of the forces that assaile it (for som man might justly opinionate himselfe against two culverins, that wold play the mad-man to expect thirtie cannons) where also the greatnesse of the Prince conquering must be considered, his reputation, and the respect that is due vnto him: there is danger a man should somewhat bend the ballance on that side. By which termes it hapneth, that some have so great an opinion of themselves, and their meanes, and deeming it vnreasonable, any thing should be woorthie to make head against them, that so long as their fortune continueth, they overpasse what hill or difficultie soever they finde to withstand or resist them: As is seene by the formes of sommonings, and challenges, that the Princes of the East, and their successors yet remaining have in vse, so fierce, so haughtie, 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 vniuersall and inviolable law, that what enimie soever he be, that is overcome by the King in person, or by his Lieutenant, is exempted from all composition of ransome or

mercie. So above all, a man who is able should take heed, lest he fall into the hands of an enemy-judge, that is victorious and armed.

### **The fifteenth Chapter.** **Of the punishment of cowardise ↩**

I Have heretofore heard a Prince, who was a very great Captaine, hold opinion, that a souldier might not for cowardise of heart be condemned to death: who sitting at his table heard report of the Lord of *Veruins* sentence, who for yeelding vp of *Bollein*, was doomed to loose his head. Verily there is reason a man should make a difference betweene faultes proceeding from our weakenesse, and those that grow 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 nations have judged, that no man should blame vs for any thing we doe against our conscience. And the opinion of those which condemne heretikes and miscreants vnto capitall punishments, is partly grounded vpon this rule: and the same which establisheth, that a Iudge or an advocate may not be called to account for any matter committed in their charge through oversight or ignorance. But touching cowardise, it is certain, the common fashion is, to punish the same with ignominie and shame. And some hold that this rule was first put in practise by the Law-giver *Charondas*, and that before him the lawes of *Greece* were wont to punish those with death, who for feare did runne away from a Battell: where he onely ordained, that for three daies together, clad in womens attire, they should be made to sit in the market-place: hoping yet to have some service at their hands, and by meanes of this reproch, they might recover their courage againe. [25] *Suffundere malis hominis sanguinem quàm effundere: Rather moove a mans bloud to blush in his face, than remoove it by bleeding from his body.*

It appeareth also that the Romane lawes did in former times punish such as had runaway, by death. For *Animianus Marcellinus* reporteth, that *Iulian* the Emperour condemned tenne of his Souldiers, who in a charge against the *Parthians*, had but turned their backes from it; first to be degraded, & then to suffer death, as he saith according to the ancient lawes, who neverthelesse, condemneth others for a like fault, vnder the ensigne of bag and baggage to be kept amongst the common prisoners. The sharp punishment of the Romanes against those Souldiers that escaped from *Cannae*: and in the same warre, against those that accompanied *Ca. Fuluius* in his defeate, reached not vnto death, yet may a man feare, such open shame may make them dispaire, and not only prove faint and cold friends, but cruell and sharp enemies. In the time of our forefathers, the Lord of *Franget*, Whilom Lieutenant of the Marshall of *Chastillions* companie, having by the Marshall of *Chabanes* been placed Governor of *Fontarabie*, instead of the Earle of *Lude*, and having yeelded the same vnto the Spaniards, was condemned to be degraded of all Nobilitie, and not only himselfe, but all his succeeding posteritie declared villains and clownes, taxable and incapable to beare armes; which seuer sentence was put in execution at *Lyons*. The like punishment did afterward all the Gentlemen suffer, that were within *Guise*, when the Earle of *Nansaw* entred the town: and others since. Neuerthelesse if there were so grosse an ignorance, and so apparant cowardise, as that it should exceede all ordinarie, it were reason it should be taken for a sufficient prooffe of inexcusable treacherie, and knaverie, and for such to be punished.

### **The sixteenth Chapter.** **A tricke of certaine Ambassadors. ↩**

IN all my trauels I did ever observe this custome, that is, alwaies to learne something by the communication of others (which is one of the bests schooles that may be) to reduce those I confer withall, to speake of that wherein they are most conversant and skilfull.

Basti al nochiero ragionar de'venti, Idem Propert. 1. 2. d. 1. 43.  
Albifolco de' [...]ori, & lesue piaghe  
Conti il guerrier, conti il pastor gl' armenti.

Sailers of windes plow-men of beastes take keep,  
Let Souldiers count their wounds, shepherds their sheep.

For commonly we see the contrary, that many chuse rather to discourse of any other trade than their own; supposing it to be so much new reputation gotten: witnes the quip *Archidamus* gaue *Periander* saying that he forsooke the credit of a good Phisitian, to become a paltry Poet. Note but how *Caesar* displaieth his invention at large, when he would have vs conceive his inventions how to build bridges, and devises, how to frame other war-like engins; and in respect of that how close and succinct he writes, when he speaketh of the offices belonging to his profession, of his valour, and of the conduct of his warre-fare. His exploits prove him a most excellent Captain, but he would be known for a skilfull Ingenier, a qualitie somewhat strange in him. *Dionysius* the elder was a very great chieftaine and Leader in warre, as a thing best sitting 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 certain Lawier was not long since brought to see 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 fond cunning clarke earnestly busied himselfe to glosse and censure a fence or barricado, placed over the screw of the studie, which a hundred Captaines and Souldiers see every day, without observing, or taking offence at them.

Optat ephippia b [...]s piger, optat arare caballus. Hor. lib. 1. epist. 14. 43.

The Oxe would trappings weare,  
The Horse, ploughs-yoake would beare.

[26]

By this course you never come to perfection, or bring any thing to good passe. Thus must a man indevor to induce the Architect, the Painter, the Shoemaker to speake of their owne trade, and so of the rest, everie 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 the writers: If they be such as professe nothing but bare learning, the chiefe thing I learne in them, is their stile, and language: if Phisitians: 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 Lawiers, we should observe the controversies of rights, titles, and pretenses of lawes and customes, the establishments of policies, and such like things: If Divines, we may note the affaires of the Church, the Ecclesiasticall censures, dispensations, cases of conscience, and marriages: If Courtiers, maners, complements, ceremonies, and entertainements: if Warriors, what belongs vnto their charge, but chiefly the managing and conduct of the atchievements or exploits wherein they have bin themselves in person: If Ambassadors, the negotiations, intelligences, practises, pollicies, and maner how to direct, complot, and conduct them. And therefore, what in an other Writer I should peradventure have cursorie passed over, I have with some advisednesse considered and marked the same in the historie of the Lord of *Langey*, 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 Emperour *Charles* the fifth made in the consistorie of *Rome*, in the presence of the Bishop of *Mascon*, and the Lord of *Velly*, our Ambassadors; wherein he entermixed many bitter and outrageous words against vs; and amongst others, that if his Captaines and Souldiers were not of much more faithfulnessse, and sufficiencie in the arte of warre, then our Kings, he would forthwith tie a rope about his neck, and go aske him mercie:



whereof hee seemed to believe some thing: for afterward whilest he lived, he chanced twice or thrice to vtter the verie same words. Moreover, that he had challenged the king to fight with him, man to man in his shirt, with Rapier and Dagger in a boat. The said Lord of *Langey*, following his storie, addeth that the said Ambassadors making a dispatch of what had passed vnto the king, dissembled the chieftest 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 Master, namely of such consequence, comming from such a person, and spoken in so great an assembly, whereas me seemed it should have beene the office of a trustie servant, truely 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 wholie lie in the master. For, to alter and conceale the truth from him, for feare he should conster and take it otherwise than he ought, and le [...]t that might provoke him to some bad resolution; and in the meane while to suffer him to be ignorant of his owne affaires, me thought should rather have appertained to him, that giveth the law, than to him that receiveth the same; to the Master or over-seer of the schoole, and not to him who should thinke himselfe inferior, as well in authoritie, as in wisdom and good counsell. Howsoever it were, I would be loath to be so vsed in mine owne small and particular busines, we do so willingly vpon every slight occasion and pretence neglect and forgo commandement, and are so farre from obeying, that we rather vsurp a kind of masterie, and free power: every man doth so naturally aspire vnto libertie and authoritie, that no profit ought to be so deare vnto a superiour, proceeding from those that serve him, as their simple and naturall obedience. Whosoever obeieth by discretion, and not by subjection, corrupteth and abuseth the office of commanding. And *P. Crassus* he whom the Romans deemed five times happy, when he was Consull in *Asia*, having sent a Graecian Inginer, to bring the greatest of two ship-masts before him, which he had seene in *Athens*, therewith to frame an engine of batterie: This man vnder colour of his skill, presumed to do otherwise than he was bidden, and brought the lesser of the two masts which according to his artes reason he deemed the fittest. *Crassus* having patiently heard his reasons and allegations, caused him to be well 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 meerely execute, but frame and direct by their owne advise and councill, [27]the will of their Master. I have in my daies seene some persons of commandement, checked and found fa [...]t withall, because they had rather obeyed the literall sense, and bare words of the Kings letters, than the occasions of the affaires they had in hand. Men of vnderstanding and experience do yet at this day condemne the custome 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 vnto their affaires. And *Crassus* writing vnto a man of that profession, and advertising him of the vse whereto he purposed the foresaid mast; seemeth he not to enter into conference with him concerning his determination, and wish him to enterpose his censure or advise of it.

## The seventeenth Chapter.

### Of feare. ↩

Obstupui, steteruntque comae, & vox faucibus haesit. Virg. A [...]n. lib. [...]. 77  
[...].

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 worke in vs: but well I wot it is a strange passion: and as Physitians say, there is none doth sooner transport our judgement out of his due seat. Verily I have seene divers become madde and senselesse for feare: yea and in him, who is most settled, and best resolved, it is certaine that whilest his fitte continueth, it begetteth many strange dazelings, and terrible amazements in him. I omit to speake of the vulgar sort, to whom it sometimes representeth strange apparitions, as their fathers and grandfathers ghosts, risen out of their graves, and in their winding sheetes: and to others it somtimes sheweth Larves, Hobgoblins Robbingood-fellowes, and such other Bug-bearers and *Chimeraes*. But even amongst Souldiers, with whom it ought to have no credit at all, how often hath she changed a flocke of sheep into a troupe of armed men? Bushes and shrubbes into men-at-arms and Lanciers? our friends into our enemies? and a red crosse 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 surprised with such terror, that with his colours in his hand, he sodainly threw himselfe through the hole of a breach out of the Citie, and fell just in the midst of his enemies, supposing the way to go straight in the hart of the Citie: but in the end, he no sooner perceived the Duke of *Burbons* troupes, advancing to withstand him, imagining it to be some sallie the Citizens made that way, he better be-thinking him-selfe, turned head, and the very same way, he came out, he went into the town againe, which was more than three hundred paces distance towards the fields. The like happened, but not so successefully vnto Captaine *Iulius-his* ensigne-bearer at what time *Saint Paul* was taken from vs by the Earle of *Bures*, and the Lord of *Reu*, who was so frighted with feare, that going about to cast himselfe over the towne wals, with his Ancient in his hand, or to creepe through a spike-hole, he was cut in pieces by the assailants. At which siege likewise, that horror and feare is verie memorable, which so did choake, seize vpon, and freeze the hart of a gentleman, that having received no hurt at all, he fell downe starke-dead vpon the ground before the breach. The like passion rage doth sometimes possesse a whole multitude. In one of the encounters that *Germanicus* had with the Germanes, two mightie troupes were at one instant so frighted with feare, that both betooke themselves to their heeles, and ranne away two contrary waies, the one right to that place whence the other fled. It sometimes addeth wings vnto our heeles, as vnto the first named, and other times it takes the vse of feete from vs: as we may reade if *Theophilus* the Emperour, who in a battell he lost against the Agarenes, was [28]so amazed and astonied, that he could not resolve to scape away by flight: *adeò pavor etiam auxilia formidat: Feare is so afraide even of that should help*. Vntill such time as *Manuel*, one of the chiefe 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 loose your life, than being taken prisoner, loose your Empire and all*. Then doth she shew the vtmost of her power, when for her own service, she casts vs off vnto valour, which it hath exacted from our duty and honor. In the first set battell, the Romans lost against *Hanibal*, vnder the Consul *Sempronius*, a troupe of wel-nigh tenne thousand footemen, was so surprised with feare, that seeing no other way to take, nor by what other course to give their basenes free passage, they headlong bent their flight toward the thickest and strongest squadron of their enemies, which with such furie it rowted and brake through, as it disranked, and slew a great number of the Carthaginians: purchasing a reprochfull and disgracefull flight, at the same rate it might have gained a most glorious victorie. It is feare I stand most in feare of. For, in sharpnesse it surmounteth all other accidents. What affection can be more violent and just than that of *Pompeyes* friends, who in his owne ship were spectators of that horrible massacre? yet is it, that the feare of the Aegyptian sailes, which began to approach them, did in such sort daunt and skare them, that some have noted, they only busied themselves to hasten the marriners, to make what speed they could, and by maine strength of oares to save themselves, vntill such time, as being arived at *Tyre*, and that they were free from feare, they had leasure to bethinke themselves, of their late losse, and give their plaints and teares free passage, which this other

stronger passion had suspended and hindred.

Tum pavor sapientiam omnem mihi ex animo expectorat.

1. *Ci* [...]. *Tusc. q. li. 4. ex E* [...]. *de Orat. l. 3.*

Feare then vnbreasts all wit,  
That in my minde did [...]it.

Those who in any skir [...]ish or sudden bickering of warre have been throughly skared, sore-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 looke them in the face againe. Such as are in continuall feare to loose their goods, to be banished, or to besubdued, live in vncessant agonie and languor; and thereby often loose both their drinking, their eating, and their rest. Whereas the poore, the banished, and seely servants, live often as carelessly and as pleasantly as the other. And so many men, who by the impatience and vrging of feare, have hanged, drowned, and head long tumbled downe from some rocke, have plainly taught vs, that feare is more importunate and intolerable then death. The Graecians acknowledge an other kinde of it, which is beyond the error of our discourse: proceeding, as they say, without any apparant cause, and from an heavenly impulsion. Whole Nations and Armies are often seene surprised with it. Such was that, which brought so wonderfull a desolation to *Carthage*, where nothing was heard but lamentable out-cries, and frightfull exclamations: the inhabitants were seene desperately to runne out of their houses, as to a sudden alarum, and furiously to charge, hurt, and ent [...]▪ kill one another; as if they had beene enemies come to vsurpe and possesse their Citie. All things were there in a disordered confusion, and in a confused furie, vntill such time as by praiers and sacrifices, they had appeased the wrath of their Gods. They call it to this day, the Panike terror. [...] *as. chil. 2. cent. 10. ad. 19. chil. 3. ce* [...]. *7. ad. 3.*

### The eighteenth Chapter.

**That we should not iudge of our happinesse, vntill after our death.** ↩

— *scilicet vltima semper*

Expectanda dies homini est, dicique beatus O [...]id. M [...]. lib. 3. 235.

Ante obitum nemo, supremáqué funera deb [...]t.

We must expect of man the latest day,  
Nor er'e he die, he's happie, can we say.

[29]

The very children are acquainted with the storie of *Croesus* to this purpose: who being taken by *Cyrus*, & by him condemned to die, vpon the point of his execution, cried out aloud: Oh *Solon, Solon!* which words of his, being reported to *Cyrus*, who inquiring what he meant by them, tolde him, 'hee now at his owne cost verified the advertisement *Solon* had before times given him: which was, that no man, what cheerefull & blandishing countenance soever fortune shewed them, may rightly deeme himselfe happie, till such time as he have passed the last day of his life, by reason of the vncertaintie and vicissitude of humane things, which by a very 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 mightie and great a dominion: yea but said he, *Priame* at the same age was not vnhappy. Of the Kings of *Macedon*, that succeeded *Alexander* the great, some were afterward seene to become Ioyners and Scriveners at *Rome*: and of Tirants of *Sicilie*, Schoolemasters at *Corinth*: One that had conquered halfe the world, and been Emperour over so many Armies, became an humble,

and miserable suter to the raskally officers of a king of *Aegypt*: At so high a rate did that great *Pompey* purchase the irkesome prolonging of his life but for five or six moneths. And in our fathers daies, *Lodowicke Sforce*, tenth Duke of *Millane*, vnder whom the state of *Italie* had so long beene turmoiled and shaken, was seene to die a wretched prisoner at *Loches* in *France*, but not till he had lived and lingered ten yeares in thraldome, which was the worst of his bargaine. The fairest Queene, wife to the greatest King of Christendome, was she not lately seene to die by the hands of an executioner? Oh vnworthie and barbarous crueltie! And a thousand such examples. For, it seemeth that as the sea-billowes and surging waves, rage and storme against the surly pride, and stubborne height of our buildings. So is there above, certain spirits that envie the rising prosperities and greatnesse heere below.

Vsque adeò res humanas res abdita quaedam L [...]ret. lib. 5. 12. 43.  
Obterit, & pulchros fasces savásque secures  
Proculcare, ac ludibrio sibi habere videtur.

A hidden power so mens states hath out worne  
Faire swordes, fierce scepters, signes of honours borne,  
It seemes to trample and deride in scorne.

And it seemeth Fortune doth sometimes 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*, *Nimirum hac die vna plus vixi, mihi quàm vivendum fuit*. Thus it is, *I have lived longer by this one day, than I should*. So may that good advise of *Solon* be taken with reason. But for somuch as hee is a Philosopher, with whom the favours or disfavours of fortune, and good or ill lucke have no place, and are not regarded by him; and puissances and greatneses, and accidents of qualitie, are well nigh indifferent: I deeme it very likely he had a further reach, and meant that the same good fortune of our life, which dependeth of the tranquillitie and contentment of a welborne minde, and of the resolution and assurance of a well ordered soule, should never be ascribed vnto man, vntill he have beene seene play the last act of his comedie, and without doubt the hardest. In all the rest there may besome maske: either these sophisticall discourses of Philosophie are not in vs but by countenance, or accidents that never touch vs to the quick, give vs alwaies leasure to keep our countenance setled. But when that last part of death, and of our selves comes to be acted, then no dissembling will availe, then is it high time to speake plaine english, and put off all vizards: then whatsoever the pot containeth must be shewne, be it good or bad, foule or cleane, wine or water.

Nam verae voces tum demum pectore ab imo L [...]res. lib. 3. 57.  
Eijciuntur, & eripitur persona, manet res.

For then are sent true speeches from the heart,  
We are our selves, we leave to play a part.

Loe heere, why at this last cast, all our lives other actions must be tride and touched. It is the master-day, the day that judgeth all others: it is the day, saith an auncient Writer, [30]that must judge of all my forepassed yeares. To death do I referre the essay of my studies fruit. There shall wee see whether my discourse proceede from my heart, or from my mouth. I have seene divers, by their death, either in good or evill, give reputation, to all their forepassed life. *Scipio*, father in law to *Pompey*, in well dying, repaired the ill opinion, which vntill that houre men had ever held of him. *Epaminondas* being demanded, which of the three he esteemed most, either *Chabrias*, or *Iphicrates*, or himselfe; *It is necessary*, said he, *that we be seene to die, before your question may well be resolved*. Verily we should steale much from him, if he should be weighed without the honour and greatnesse of his end. God hath willed it, as he pleased: but in my time three of the most execrable persons, that ever I knew

in all abomination of life, and the most infamous, have beene seen to die very orderly and quietly, and in every circumstance composed even vnto perfection. There are some brave and fortunate deaths. I have seene her cut the twine of some mans life, with a progresse of wonderfull advancement, and with so worthie an end, even in the flowre of his growth, and spring of his youth, that in mine opinion, his ambitious and haughtie couragious designes, thought nothing so high, as might interrupt them: who without going to the place where he pretended, arived there more gloriously and worthily, than either his desire or hope aimed at. And by his fall fore-went the power and name, whether by his course he aspired. When I judge of other mens lives, I ever respect, how they have behaved themselves in their end; and my chiefest study is, I may well demeane my selfe at my last gaspe, that is to say, quietly, and constantly.

### **The nineteenth Chapter.** **That to Philosophie, is to learne how to die.** ↩

*Cicero* saith, that to *Philosophie* is no other thing, than for a man to prepare himselfe to death: which is the reason, that studie and contemplation doth in some sort withdraw our soule from vs, and severally employ it from the body, which is a kind of apprenticesage and resemblance of death; or else it is, that all the wisdom and discourse of the world, doth in the end resolve vpon this point, to teach vs, not to feare to die. Truly either reason mockes vs, or it only aimeth at our contentment, and in fine, bends all her trauell to make vs live wel, and as the holy Scripture saith, *at our ease*. All the opinions of the world conclude, that pleasure is our end, how be it they take divers meanes vnto, and for it, else would men reject them at their first comming. For; who would giue eare vnto him, that for it's end would establish our paine and disturbance? The dissensions of philosophicall sects in this case, are verball: *Transcurramus solertissimas nugas: Let vs runne over such over-fine fooleries, and subtill trifles*. There is more wilfulnesse and wrangling among them, than pertaines to a sacred profession ▪ But what person a man vndertakes to act, he doth ever therewithall personate his owne. Although they say, that in vertue it selfe, the last scope of our aime is voluptuousnes. It pleaseth me to importune their eares still with this word, which so much offends their hearing: And if it imply any chiefe pleasure or exceeding contentments, it is rather due to the assistance of vertue, than to any other supply, voluptuousnes being more strong, sinnowie; sturdie, and manly, is but more seriously voluptuous. And we should give it the name of pleasure, more favorable, sweeter, and more naturall; and not terme it vigor, from which it hath his denomination. Should this baser sensuality deserue this faire name, it should be by competencie, and not by privilege. I finde it lesse voide of incommodities and crosses, than vertue. And besides that, her taste is more fleeting, momentarie, and fading, she hath her fasts, her eves, and her travels, and both sweate and blood. Furthermore she hath perticularly so many wounding passions and of so severall sorts, and so filthie and lothsome a societie waiting vpon her, that shee is equivalent to penitencie. Wee are in the wrong, to thinke her incommodities serve her as a provocation, & seasoning to her sweetnes, as in nature one contrarie is vivified by another contrarie: and to say, when we come to vertue, that like successes and difficulties over-whelme it, and yeeld it austere and inaccessible. Where as much more [31] properly then vnto voluptuousnes, they ennobled, sharpen, animate, and raise that divine and perfect pleasure, which it mediates and procureth vs. Truly he is verie vnworthie her acquaintance, that counter-ballanceth her cost to his fruit, and knowes neither the graces nor vse of it. Those who go about to instruct vs; how her pursuite is very hard and laborious, and her iouisance well pleasing and delightfull: what else tell they vs, but that shee is ever vnpleasant and irksome? For, what humane meane did ever attaine vnto an absolute enjoying of it? The perfectest have beene content but to aspire and approach her, without ever possessing her. But they are deceived; seeing that of all the pleasures we know, the pursute of them is pleasant. The enterprise is perceived by the qualitie of the thing, which it hath regard vnto: for it is a good portion of the effect, and consubstantiall. That happines and felicitie,

which shineth in vertue, replenisheth her approaches and appurtenances, even vnto the first entrance and vtmost barre. Now of all the benefits of vertue, the contempt of death is the chiefest, a meane that furnisheth our life with an ease-full tranquillitie, and giues vs a pure and amiable taste of it: without which every other voluptuousnes is extinguished. Loe, here the reasons why all rules encounter and agree with this article. And albeit they all leade vs with a common accord to despise grieffe, povertie, and other accidentall crosses, to which mans life is subject, it is not with an equall care: as well because accidents are not of such a necessitie, for most men passe their whole life without feeling any want or povertie, and other-some without feeling any grieffe or sicknes, as *Xenophilus* the musitian, who lived a hundred and sixe yeares in perfect and continuall health: as also 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 inevitable.

Omnes eodem cogimur, omnium Hor. lib. 3. [...]. 3. 25.  
 Versatur vrna, serius, ocyus  
 Sors exitura, & nos inaeter-  
 num exitium impositura cymbae.

All to one place are driv'n, of all  
 Shak't is the lot-pot, where-hence shall  
 Sooner or later drawne lots fall,  
 And to deaths boat for aye enthrall.

And by consequence, if she make vs affeard, it is a continuall subject of torment, and which can no way be eased. There is no starting-hole will hide vs from her, she will finde vs wheresoever we are, we may as in a suspected countrie starte and turne heere and there: *qua quasi* Cic. fin. lib. 1. *saxum Tantalos semper impendet*: Which evermore hangs like the stone over the head of *Tantalus*: Our lawes doe often condemne and send malefactors to be executed in the same place where the crime was committed: to which whilst they are going, leade them along the fairest houses, or entertaine them with the best cheere you can,

non Sicalae dapes Hor. l. 3. od. 1. 18.  
 Dulcem elaborabunt saporem:  
 Non avium, cithaerae (que) cantus  
 Somnum reducent.

Not all King *Denys* daintie fare,  
 Can pleasing taste for them prepare:  
 No song of birds, no musikes sound  
 Can lullabie to sleepe profound.

Doe you thinke they can take any pleasure in it? or be any thing delighted? and that the finall intent of their voiage being still before their eies, hath not altered and altogether distracted their taste from all these commodities and allurements?

Audit iter, numer atque dies, spatióque viarum Claud in Ruff. 1. 2. 1. 137.  
 Metitur vitam, torquetur peste futura.

He heares his iorney, count's his daies, so measures he  
 His life by his waies length, vex't with the ill shall-be.

The end of our carriere is death, it is the necessarie 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 sort is, not to thinke on it. But from what brutall stupiditie may so grosse a blindnesse come vpon him? he must be made to bridle his Asse by the taile,

‘Qui capite ipse suo instituit vestigia retro.’

Who doth a course contrarie runne  
With his head to his course begunne.

It is no marvell if he be so often taken tripping; some doe no sooner heare the name of death spoken of, but they are afraid, yea the most part will crosse themselves, as if they heard the Divell named. And because mention is made of it in mens wils and testaments, I warrant you there is none will set his hand to them, till the Physitian have given his last doome, and vtterly forsaken him. And God knowes, being then betweene such paine and feare, with what sound judgement they indure him. For so much as this sillable sounded so vnpleasantly in their eares, and this voice seemed so ill-boding and vnluckie, the Romans had learned to allay and dilate the same by a Periphrasis. In lieu of saying, he is dead, or he hath ended his daies, they would say, he hath lived. So it be life, be it past or no, they are comforted: from whom we have borowed our phrases *quondam, alias, or late such a one*. It may happily be, as the common saying is, the time we live, is worth the mony we pay for it. I was borne betweene eleven of the clocke and noone, the last of Februarie 1533. according to our computation, the yeare beginning the first of Ianuarie. It is but a fortnight since I was 39. yeares old. I want at least as much more. If in the mean time I should trouble my thoughts with a matter so farre from me, it were but folly. But what? we see both young and olde to leave their life after one selfe-same condition. No man departs otherwise from it, than if he but now came to it, seeing there is no man so crazed, bedrell, or decrepite, so long as he remembers *Met husalem*, but thinkes he may yet live twentie yeares. Moreover, seely creature as thou art, who hath limited the end of thy daies? Happily thou presumest vpon Physitians reports. Rather consider the effect and experience. By the common course of things, long since thou livest by extraordinarie 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, than have either attained or outgone the same: yea and of those that through renoune have ennobled 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, than after. It is consonant with reason and pietie, to take example by the humanity of *Jesus Christ*, who ended his humane life at three and thirtie yeares. The greatest man that ever was being no more than a man, I meane *Alexander* the great, ended his dayes, and died also of that age. How many severall meanes and waies hath death to surprise vs.

Quid quisque vitet, nunquam homini satis Hor. lib. 2. od. 13. 13.  
Cautum est in horas.

A man can never take good heede,  
Hourely what he may shun and speede.

I omit to speake of agues and pleurisies; who would ever have imagined, that a Duke of *Brittanie* should have bene stifled to death in a throng of people, as Whilome was a neighbour of mine at *Lyons*, when Pope *Clement* made his entrance there? Hast thou not seene one of our late Kings slaine in the midst of his sportes? and one of his ancestors die miserably by the chocke of an hog? *Eschilus* fore-threatned by the fall of an house, when he stood most vpon his guard, stricken dead by the fall of a Tortoise shell, which fell out of the tallans of an Eagle flying in the aire? and another choaked with the kernell of a grape? And an Emperour die by the scratch of a combe, whilst he was combing his head: And *Aemylius Lepidus* with hitting his foote against a doore-seele? And *Aufidius* with stumbling against the Consull-Chamber doore as he was going in thereat? And *Cornelius Gallus* the Praetor,

*Tigillinus* Captaine of the Romane watch, *Lodowike* sonne of *Guido Gonzaga*, Marquis of *Mantua*, end their daies betweene womens thighs? And of a farre worse example *Speusippus* the Plantonian Philosopher and one of our Popes? Poore *Bebius* a judge whilst he demurreth the sute of a plaintife but for eight daies, behold his last expired; And *Caius Iulius* a Physitian, whilst he was anointing the eies of one of his patients, to have his ownsight closed for ever by death. And if amongst these examples, I may adde one of a brother of mine, called Captaine *Saint Martin*, a man of three and twentie 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 care, without apparance of [33]any contusion, bruse, or hurt, and never sitting or resting vpon it, died within six houres after of an Apoplexie, which the blow of the ball caused in him. These so frequent and ordinary examples, hapning, and being still before our eies, how is it possible for man to forgo or forget the remembrance of death? and why should it not continually seeme vnto vs, that shee is still 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 do not trouble and vex himselfe therewith? I am of this opinion, that howsoeuer a man may shrowd or hide himselfe from her dart, yea were it vnder an oxe-hide, I am not the man would shrinke backe: it sufficeth me to live at my ease; and the best recreation I can have, that do I evertake; in other matters, as little vainglorious, and exemplare as you list.

—*praetulerim delirus inérsque videri*, Id. 2. epi. 2. 126.  
 Dum mea delectent mala me, vel denique fallant,  
 Quàm sapere & ringi.

A dotard I had rather seeme, and dull,  
 So me my faults may please make me a gull,  
 Than to be wise, and beat my vexed scull.

But it is folly to thinke that way to come vnto it. They come, they goe, they trot, they daunce: but no speech of death. All that is good sport. But if she be once come, and on a sudden and openly surprise, either them, their wiues, their children, or their friends, what torments, what out-cries, what rage, and what dispaire doth then overwhelme them? saw 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 carelesnesse lodge in the minde of a man of vnderstanding (which I find altogether impossible) she sels vs her ware at an over deere rate: were she an enemie by mans wit to be auoided, I would advise men to borrow the weapons of cowardlinesse: but since it may not be: and that be you either a coward or a runaway, an honest or valiant man, she overtakes you,

*Nempe & sugacempersequitur virum*, Id. 3 [...]d. 2. 14.  
 Nec parcit imbellis inuenta  
 Poplitibus, timidóque tergo.

Shee persecutes the man that flies,  
 Shee spares not weake youth to surprise,  
 But on their hammes and backe turn'd plies.

And that no temper of cuirace may shield or defend you,

*Ille licet ferro cautus se condat & aere*, Propat. 1. 3. & 17. 25.  
 Mors tamen inclusum protrahet inde caput.

Though he with yron and brasse his head empale,  
 Yet death his head enclosed thence will hale.



Let vs learne to stand, and combate her with a resolute minde. And begin to take the greatest advantage she hath vpon vs from her, let vs take a cleane contrary way from the common, let vs remove her strangenesse from her, let vs converse, frequent, and acquaint our selves with her, let vs have nothing so much in minde as death, let vs at all times and seasons, and in the vgliest 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 prick with a pinne, let vs presently ruminare and say with our selves, what if it were death itselfe? and thereupon let vs take heart of grace, and call our wits together to confront her. A midst our bankets, seasts, and pleasures, let vs ever have this restraint 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 feasting, be subject vnto death, and by how many hold-fasts shee threatens vs and them. So did the Aegyptians, 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 crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum, Hor. lib. 1. epi. 4. 13.  
Grata superveniet, quae non sperabitur hora.

Thinke every day shines on thee as thy last,  
Welcome it will come, whereof hope was past.

[34]

It is vncertaine where death looks for vs; let vs expect hir everie where: the premeditation of death, is a fore-thinking of libertie. He who hath learned to die, hath vnlearned to serve. There is no evill in life, for him that hath well conceived, how the privation of life, is no evill. To know how to die, doth freevs from all subjection and constraint. *Paulus Aem [...]*us answered one, whom that miserable king of *Macedon* his prisoner sent to entreate him, he would not leade him in triumph, let him make that request vnto himselfe. Verily, if Nature afforde not some helpe, 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.

Iucundum, cùm aetas florida ver ageret. Catul. [...]leg. 4. 16

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 jealousie, or meditating on the vncertainie 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 sodaine end, comming from such a feast or meeting where I was my selfe, and with his head full of idle conceits, of love, and merry glee; supposing the same, either sicknes or end to be as neere me as him.

Iam fuerit, nec post, vnquam revocare licebit. Lucr, lib. 3. 947

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

I did no more trouble my selfe or frowne at such a conceit, then at any other. It is impossible, we should not apprehend or feele some motions or startings at such imaginations at the first, and comming sodainely vpon vs: but doubtlesse, he that shall manage and meditate vpon them with an impartiall eye, they will assuredly, in tract of time, become familiar to him: Otherwise for my part, I should be in continuall feare and agonie; for no man did evermore distrust his life, nor make lesse account of his continuance: Neither can health, which hitherto I have so long enjoied, and which so seldome hath bin crazed, lengthen my hopes, nor any sicknesse shorten them of it. At every minute me thinkes I make an escape. And I vncessantly 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 than millions seeme to threaten vs, and hang over vs; we shall find, that be we sound or sicke, lustie 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 altero fragilior est, nemo in crastinum sui certior. No man is meaker then other; none surer of himselfe (to live) till to morrow.*’ Whatsoever I have to do before death, all leasure to end the same, seemeth short vnto me, yea were it but of one houre. Some body, not long since turning over my writing tables, found by chance a memoriall of something I would have done after my death: I told him (as indeed it was true,) that being but a mile from my house, and in perfect health and lustie, I had made hast to write it, because I could not assure my selfe 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 she please) 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 himselfe.

Quid brevifortes iaculamur aevo Hor. 1. 2. [...]d. 16. Multa?

To aime why are we ever bold,  
At many things in so short hold?

For then we shall have worke sufficient, without any more accrease. Some man complaineth more that death doth hinder him from the assured course of an hoped for victorie, than of death itself; another cries out, he should give place to her, before he have married his daughter, or directed the course of his childrens bringing vp; another bewaileth he must [35]forgo his wives company: another moaneth the losse of his children the chiefest commodities of his being. I am now, by meanes of the mercie of God, in such a taking, that without regret or grieving at any worldly matter, I am prepared to dislodge, whensoever he shall please to call me: I am everie where free: my farewell is soone taken of all my friends except of my selfe. No man did ever prepare himselfe to quit the world more simply, and fully, or more generally spake of all thoughts of it, then I am fully assured I shall do. The deadeest deaths are the best.

—*Miser ô miser (aiunt) omnia ademit*, Lucr. lib. 3. 942 Vna dies infesta mihi tot praemia vitae:

O wretch, O wretch, (friends cry) one day,  
All ioies of life hath ta'ne away:

And the builder,

—*maneant (saith he) opera interrupta, minae (que)* Virg. A [...]n. lib. 4. 88.  
Murorumingentes.

The workes vnfinisht lie,  
And walles that threatned hie.

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.

Cùm moriar, medium soluar & inter opus. Ouid. am. lib. 2. [...].l. 10. 36.

When dying I my selfe shall spend.  
Ere halfe by businesse come to end.

I would have a man to be doing, and to prolong his lives offices, as much as lieth in him, and let death seize vpon me, whilst I am setting my cabiges, carelesse of her dart, but more of my vnperfect garden. I saw one die, who being at his last gaspe, vncessantly complained against his destenie, and that death should so vnkindly 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, nec tibi earum, L [...].cr. lib. 3. 944  
Iam desiderium rerum super insidet vna.

Friends adde not that in this case, now no more  
Shalt thou desire, or want things wisht before.

A man should rid himselfe of these vulgar and hurtfull humours. Even as Churchyards were first placed adjoining vnto churches, and in the most frequented places of the Citie, to enure (as *Lycurgus* said) the common people, women and children, not to be skared at the sight of a dead man, and to the end that continuall spectacle of bones, sculs, tombes, graves; and burials, should forewarne vs of our condition, and fatall end.

Quin etiam exhilarare viris convivia caede Syl. [...].a [...]. l. 11. 51.  
Mos olim, & miscere epulis spectacula dira.  
Certantum ferro, saepe & super ipsa cadentum  
Pocula, resper sis non parco sanguine mensis.

Nay more, the manner was to welcome guests,  
And with dire shewes of slaughter to mix feasts.  
Of them that fought at sharpe, and with bords tainted  
Of them with much bloud, who o're full cups fainted.

And even as the Aegyptians after their feastings and carowsings, caused a great image of death to be brought in and shewed to the guests and by-standers, by one that cried aloud, *Drinke and be mery, for such shalt thou be when thou art dead*: So have I learned this custome or lesson, to have alwaies death, not only in my imagination, but continually in my mouth. And there is nothing I desire more to be informed of, than 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 hudling vp of my examples, I affect no subject so 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. *Dicearcus* made one of that title, but of an other and lesse profitable end. Some man will say to me, the effect exceedes the thought so farre, that there is no fence so sure, or cunning so certaine, but a man shall either loose or forget, [36]if he come once to that point; let them say what they list: to premeditate on it, giveth no doubt a great advantage: and is it nothing, at the least to go eso farre without dismay or alteration, or without an ague? There belongs more to it: Nature herselfe lends her hand, and gives vs courage. If it be a short and violent death, we have no leasure to feare it; if otherwise, I

perceive that according as I engage my selfe in sicknesse, I do naturally fall into some disdain and contempt of life. I find that I have more ado to digest this resolution, that I shall die when I am in health, than I have, when I am troubled with a feaver: forsomuch as I have no more such fast hold on the commodities of life, whereof I begin to loose the vse and pleasure, and view death in the face with a lesse vndanted looke, which makes me hope, that the further I go from that, and the neerer I approach to this, so much more easily do I enter in composition, for their exchange, Even as I have tried in many other occurrences, which *Caesar* affirmed, that often somethings seeme greater, being farre from vs, than if they be neere at hand: I have found that being in perfect health, I have much more bene frighted with sicknesse, than when I have felt it. The jollitie wherein I live, the pleasure and the strength, make the other seeme so disproportionable from that, that by imagination I amplifie these commodities by one moitie, and apprehended them much more heauie and burthensome, then I feele them when I have them vpon my shoulders. The same I hope will happen to me of death. Consider we by the ordinary mutations, and daily declinations, which we suffer, how Nature deprives vs of the night of our losse and empairing: what hath an aged man left him of his youths vigor, and of his forepast life?

Heu senibus vitae portio quanta manet! Cor. Gal. lib. 1. 16.

Alas to men in yeares, how small  
A part of life is left in all?

*Caesar* to a tired and crazed Souldier of his guard, who in the open streete came to him, to beg leave, he might cause himselfe to be put to death; viewing his decrepit behaiour, answered pleasantly: *Doest thou thinke to be alive then?* Were man all at once to fall into it, I do not thinke we should be able to beare such a change, but being faire and gently led on by her hand, in a slow, and as it were vnperceived descent, by little and little, and step by step, she rouses 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 transchange at all in our selves: which in essence and veritie is a harder death, then that of a languishing and irkesome life, or that of age. Forsomuch as the leap from an ill being, vnto a not being, is not so dangerous or steeple; as it is from a delightfull and flowrishing being, unto a painfull and sorrowfull condition. A weake bending, and faint stooping bodie hath lesse strength to beare and vndergo a heauie burden: So hath our soule. She must be roused and raised against the violence and force of this adversarie. For, as [...]s impossible, shee should take any rest whilst shee feareth: whereof if she be assured (which is a thing exceeding humane condition) she may boast that it is impossible, vnquietnesse, torment, and feare, much lesse the least displeasure should lodge in her.

Non vilius instantis tyranni Hor. lib. 3. [...]d. 3.  
Mente quatit solida, neque Auster,  
Dux inquieti turbidus Adriae,  
Nec fulminantis magna *Iovis* manus.

No vrging tyrants threatning face,  
Where minde is sound can it displace,  
No troublous wind the rough seas Master,  
Nor *Ioves* great hand the thunder-caster.

She is made Mistris of her passions, and concupiscence, Lady of indulgence, of shame of povertie, and of all fortunes injuries. Let him that can, attaine to this advantage: Herein consists the true and Sovereigne libertie, that affords vs meanes wherewith to jeast and make a scorne of force and in justice, and to deride imprisonment, gives, or fetters.

—*in manicis*, & Li. 1. epi. 16. 76.  
Compedibus, saevo te sub custode tenebo ■  
Ipse Deus simul atque volam, me solvet: opinor,  
Hoc sensit moriar, mor [...] vltima linearerum est.

[37]

In gyves and fetters I will hamper thee,  
Vnder a Iayler 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 surer humane foundation, then the contempt of life. Discourse of reason doth not onely call and summon vs vnto it. For why should we feare to loose a thing, which being lost, cannot be moaned? but also, since we are threatned by so many kinds of death, there is no more inconvenience to feare them all, than to endure one: what matter is it when it commeth, since it is vnavoidable? *Socrates* answered one that told him, The thirty Tyrants have condemned thee to death; *And Nature them*, said he. What fondnesse is it to carke and care so much, at that instant 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 follie to weepe, we shall not live a hundred yeeres hence, as to waile we lived not a hundred yeeres agoe. *Death is the beginning of another life*. So wept we, and so much did it cost vs to enter into this life; and so did we 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* saith, there are certaine litle beasts alongst the river *Hyspanis*, that live but one day; she which dies at 8. a clocke in the morning, dies in her youth, & she that dies at 5. in the afternoon, dies in her decrepitude, who of vs doth not laugh, when we shall see this short 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 equall it to the lasting of mountaines, rivers, stars, and trees, or any other living creature, is no lesse ridiculous. But nature compels vs to it. *Depart* saith she, *out of this world, even as you came into it. The same way you came from death, to life returne without passion or amazement, from life to death: your death is but a peece of the worlds order, and but a parcell of the worlds life.*

—inter se mortales mutua vivunt, *Lucr.* 2. 74. 77. Et quasi cursores vitae lampada tradunt.

Mortall men live by mutuall entercourse:  
And yeeld their life-torch, as men in a course.

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 flie from your selves. The being you enjoy, is equally shared between life and death. The first day of your birth doth aswell addresse you to-die, as to live.

Prima quae vitam dedit, hora carpsit. *Sen. Her.* f [...]r. ch [...]r. 3.

The first houre, that to men  
Gave life, strait, cropt it then.

Nascentes morimur, finisque ab origine pendet: *Manil.* as [...]li. 4

As we are borne we die; the end  
Doth of th'originall depend.

All the time you liue, you steale it from death: it is at her charge. The continuall 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 still dying: & death doth more rudely touch the dying, then the dead, and more lively and essentially. If you haue profited by life, you haue also benee fed thereby, depart then satisfied.

Cur non vt plenus vitae conviva recedis? Lucr. 1. 3 982.

Why like a full-fed guest,  
Depart you not to rest?

If you have not knowne how to make vse of it: if it were vnprofitable to you, what neede you care to have lost it? to what end would you enioy it longer?

—cur amplius addere quaris Lucr. 1. 3. 985. Rursum quod pereat malè, & ingratum occidat omne?

Why seeke you more to gaine, what must againe  
All perish ill, and passe with grieffe or paine?

Life in it selfe is neither good nor euill: it is the place of good or evill, according as you prepare it for them. And if you have liued one day, you have seene all: one day is equal to [38]all other daies: 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 [...]id [...]re patres: aliúmue nepotes  
Aspicient.

No other saw our Sires of old,  
No other shall their sonnes behold.

And if the worst happen, the distribution and varietie of all the acts of my comedie, is performed in one yeare. If you have observed the course of my foure seasons; they containe the infancie, the youth, the virilitie, & the old age of the world. He hath plaid his part: he knowes no other wilnesse belonging to it, but to begin againe, it will ever be the same, and no other,

—Versamur ibidem, atque insumus vsque,3.

We still in one place turne about,  
Still there we are, now in, now out.

Atque inse sua per vestigia volvitur annus. [...]. 2.

The yeare into it selfe is cast  
By those same steps, that it hath past.

I am not purposed to devise you other new sports.

Nam tibi praeterea quod machiner, inveniámque [...]. 2. 978.  
Quod placeat, 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 chiefe ground-  
worke of equitie, who can complaine to be comprehended where all are contained?* So may  
you live longenough,’ you shall never diminish any thing from the time you have to die: it is  
bootlesse; so long shall you continue in that state, which you feare, as if you had died being  
in your swathing-clothes, and when you were sucking.

‘—licet, quot vis, vivendo vincere secla, Mors aeterna tamen, nihil ominus illa manebit.’

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 nescis nullum fore morte alium te,  
Qui possit vivus tibi te lugere peremptum,  
Stánsque iacnetem.

Thou know'st no there shall be not other thou,  
When thou art dead indeede, that can tell how  
Alive to waile thee dying,  
Standing to waile thee lying.

Nor shall you wish for life, which you so much desire.

Nec sibi enim quisquam tum se vitámque requirit,  
Nec desiderium nostri nos afficit vllum.

For then none for himselfe himselfe or life requires: 9 [...].  
Nor are we of our selves affected with desires.

Death is lesse to be feared than nothing, if there were any thing lesse, than nothing.

—multo mortem minus ad nos esse putandum, Si minus esse potest quám quod  
nihil esse videmus.

Death is much lesse to vs, we ought esteeme, 970.  
If lesse may be, then what doth nothing seeme.

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 houre. The time you leave behinde was  
no more yours, then that which was before your birth, and concerneth you no more.

Respice enim quàm nil ad nos anteacta vetustas 1016.  
Temporis aeterni fuerit,

For marke, how all antiquitie fore-gone  
Of all time e're we were, to vs was none.

[39]

Wheresoever your life endeth, there is it all. The profit of life consistes not in the space,  
but rather in the vse. Some man hath lived long, that hath had a short life. Follow it whilest  
you have time. It consistes not in number of yeeres, but in your will, that you have lived long

enough. Did you thinke you should never come to the place, where you were still going? There is no way but hath an end. And if company may solace you, doth not the whole world walke the same path?

—Omnia te vita perfuncta sequenter.1012.

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

Doe not all things moove as you doe, or keepe your course? Is there any thing grows not old together with your selfe? A thousand men, a thousand beasts, and a thousand other creatures die in the very instance that you die.

Nam nox nulla diem, neque noctem aurora sequuta est, lib. 2. 587.  
Quae non audierit mistos vagitibus aegris  
Ploratus mortis comites & funeris atri.

No night ensued day light: no morning followed night  
Which heard not moaning mixt with sick-mens groaning  
With deaths and funerals 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 received hurt thereby? Therefore is it meere simplicitie to condemne a thing you never proved, neither by your selfe nor any other. Why doest thou complaine of me and of destinie? Doe we offer thee any wrong? is it for thee to direct vs, or for vs to governe thee? Although thy age be not come to her period, thy life is. A little man, is a whole man, as well as a great man. Neither men nor their lives are measured by the Ell. *Chiron* refused immortalitie, being informed of the conditions thereof, even by the God of time and of continuance, *Saturne* his father. Imagine truely how much an ever during life would be lesse tollerable and more painefull to a man, then is the life which I have given him: Had you not death, you would then vncessantly curse, and cry out against me, that I had deprived you of it. I have of purpose and wittingly blended some bitternes amongst it, that so seeing the commoditie of it's vse, I might hinder you from over greedily embracing, or indiscreetly calling for it. To continue in this moderation, that is neither to flie from life, nor to run to death (which I require of you) I have tempered both the one and other betweene sweetenes & sowrenes. I first taught *Thales* the chiefest of your Sages and Wise men, that to live & die, were indifferent, which made him answer one very wisely, who asked him, wherefore he died not; *Because*, saith he, *it is indifferent. The water, the earth, the aire, the fire, and other members of this my vniverse, are no more the instruments of thy life, then of thy death. Why fearest thou thy last day? He is no more guiltie, and conferreth no more to thy death, then any of the others. It is not the last step that causeth wearinesse: it onely declares it. All daies march towards death, onely the last comes to it.* Behold heere the good precepts of our vniversall mother Nature. I have oftentimes bethought my selfe whence it proceedeth, that in times of warre, the visage of death (whether wee see it in vs or in others) seemeth without all comparison much lesse dreadfull and terrible vnto vs, then in our houses, or in our beds, otherwise it should be an armie of Phisitians and whiners, and she ever being one, there must needes bee much more assurance amongst contrie-people and of base condition, then in others. I verily beleeve, these fearefull lookes, and astonishing countenances wherewith we encompassse it, are those that more amaze and terrifie vs then death: a new forme of life: the out-cries of mothers; the wailing of women and children; the visitation of dismaid and swooning friends: the assistance of a number of pale-looking, distracted, and whining servants; a darke chamber: tapers burning round about; our couch beset round with Phisitians and Preachers; and to conclude, nothing but horror and astonishment on every side of vs: are



wee not alreadie dead and buried? The very children are afraid of their friends, when they see them masked; and so are we: The maske must as well be taken from things, as from men, which being remooved, we shall finde nothing hid vnder it, but the very same death, that a seely varlet, or a simple maide-servant, did lately suffer without amazement or feare. Happie is that death, which takes all leasure from the preparations of such an equipage.

[40]

### **The twentieth Chapter.** **Of the force of Imagination.** ↩

*Fortis imaginatio generat casum: A strong imagination begetteth chance*, say learned clearkes. I am one of those that feele a very great conflict and power of imagination. All men are shockt therewith, and some overthrowne by it. The impression of it pierceth me, and for want of strength to resist her, my endeavour is to avoid it. I could live with the only assistance of holy and mery hearted men. The sight of others anguishes doth sensibly drive me into anguish; and my sense hath often vsurped the sense of a third man. If one cough continually, he provokes my lungs and throate. I am more vnwilling to visite the sicke dutie doth engage me vnto, than those to whom I am little beholding, and regard least. I apprehend the evill which I studie, and place it in me. I deeme it not strange that she brings both agues and death to such as give her scope to worke her will, and applaude her. *Simon Thomas* was a great Phisitian in his daies. I remember vpon a time comming by chance to visit a rich old man that dwelt in *Tholouse*, 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 best was, to give me occasion to be delighted in his companie, and that fixing his eyes vpon the livelines and freshnes of my face, and setting his thoughts vpon the jolitie and vigor, wherewith my youthfull age did then flourish, and filling all his senses with my flourishing estate, his habitude might thereby be amended, and his health recovered. But he forgot to say, that mine might also be empaired and infected. *Gallus Vibius* did so well enure his minde to comprehend the essence and motions of folly, that he so transported his judgement from out his seate, as he could never afterward bring it to his right place againe: and might rightly boast, to have become a soole 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 wherewith he was hood-winkt, that he might heare it read, was found starke dead vpon the scaffold, wounded onely by the stroke of imagination. Wee sweate, we shake, we grow pale, and we blush at the motions of our imaginations; and wallowing in our beds we feele 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 asleepe) is often therewith so possessed and enfoulded, that dreaming it doth satisfie and enjoy her amorous desires.

Vt quasi transactis saepe omnibu'rebu' profundant  
Fluminis ingentes fluctus, vest émque cruentent. *Lucr. li. 4. 1027*

And if all things were done, they powre foorth streames,  
And bloodie their night-garment in their dreames.

And although it be not strange to see some men have hornes growing vpon their head in one night, that had none when they went to bed: notwithstanding the fortune or successe of *Cypus* King of *Italie* is memorable, who because the day before he had with earnest affection, assisted and beene attentive at a bul-ba [...]ting, and having all night long dreamed of hornes in his head, by the very force of imagination brought them foorth the next morning in his forehead. An earnest passion gave the son of *Croesus* his voice, which nature had denied him. And *Antiochus* got an ague, by the excellent beautie of *Stratonic* [...] so deeply

imprinted in his minde. *Plinie* reporteth to have seene *Lucius Cossitius* vpon his marriage day to have beene transformed from a woman to a man. *Pontanus* and others recount the like Metamorphosies to have hapned in *Italie* these ages past: And through a vehement desire of him and his mother,

V [...]tapuer solvit, quae foemina voverat Iphis.  
*Iphis* a boy, the vowes then paid, Guid. M [...]tam. lib. 9. [...]94.  
Which he vow'd when he was a maid.

My selfe traveling on a time by *Vitry* in *France*, hapned to see a man, whom the Bishop [41]of *S* [...]iss [...] had in confirmation, named *Germane*, and all the inhabitants there about have both knowne and seene to be a woman childe, vntill she was two and twentie 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 vnmarried. He saith, that vpon a time leaping, and straining himselfe to over leape an other, he wot not how, but where before he was a woman, he suddenly felt the instrument of a man to come out of him; and to this day the maidens of that towne and cuntry have a [...]ong in vse, by which they warne one another, when they are leaping, not to straine themselves overmuch, or open their legs to wide, for feare they should bee turned to boies, as *Marie Germane* was. It is no great woonder, that such accidents doe often happen, for if imagination have power in such things, it is so continually annexed, and so forcibly fastened to this subject, that least she should so often fall into the relaps of the same thought, and sharpenesse of desire, it is better one time for all, to incorporate this virile part vnto wenches. Some will not sticke to ascribe the scarres of King *Dagobert*, or the cicatrices of Saint *Francis* vnto the power of Imagination. Othersome will say, that by the force of it, bodies are sometimes remooved from their places. And *Celsus* reports of a Priest, whose soule was ravished into such an extasie, that for a long time the body remained voide of all respiration and sense. Saint *Augustine* speaketh of an other, who if hee but heard any lamentable and wailefull cries, would suddenly fall into a swone, 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 hee came to himselfe againe. Then would he say, he had heard sundry strange voyces, comming as it were from a farre, and perceiving his pinches and bruises, woondered 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 principall credit of visions, of enchantments, and such extraordinary effects, proceedeth from the power of imaginations, working especially in the mindes of the vulgar sort, as the weakest and s [...]liest, whose conceit and beliefe is so seized vpon, that they imagine to see what they see not. I am yet in doubt, these pleasant bonds, wherewith our world is so fettered, and *France* so pestered, that nothing else is spoken of, are happily but the impressions of apprehension, and effects of feare. For I know by experience, that someone, for whom I may as well answer as for my selfe, and in whom no maner of suspection either of weakenesse or enchantment might fall, hearing a companion of his make report of an extraordinary faint sowning, wherein he was fallen, at such a time, as he least looked for it, and wrought him no small shame, whereupon the horreur of his report did so strongly strike his imagination, as he ranne the same fortune, and fell into a like drooping: And was thence forward subject to fall into like fits: So did the passionate remembrance of his inconvenience possesse and tyrannize him; but his fond doting was in time remedied by an other kinde of [...]aving. For himselfe avowing and publishing aforehand the infirmitie he was subject vnto, the contention of his soule was solaced vpon this, that bearing his euill as expected, his dutie thereby diminished, and he grieved lesse thereat. And when at his choice, he hath had law and power (his thought being cleered and vnmasked, his body finding it selfe in his right due and place) to make the same to be felt, seized vpon, and apprehended by others knowledge: he hath fully and perfectly recovered himselfe. If a man have once beene capable, he cannot afterward be

incapable, except by a just and absolute weaknesse. Such a michiefe is not to be feared, but in the enterprises, where our minde is beyond all measure bent with desire and respect; and chiefly where opportunitie comes vnexpected and requires a sudden dispatch. There is no meanes 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 else-where, thereby to stupifie or allay the heat of that furie, and who through age, finde themselves lesse vnable, by how much more they be lesse able: And another, who hath also found good, in that a friend of his assured him to bee provided with a counter-battery of forcible enchantments, to preserue him in any such conflict: It is not amisse 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 beene solicited for loue, by one assisting at the wedding, did greatly trouble his friends; but most of all an old Lady his kins-woman, who was chiefe at the marriage, and in whose house it was solemnized, [42]as she that much feared such sorceries and witchcrats: which shee gave mee to vnderstand, I comforted her as well as I could, and desired her to relie vpon me: I had by chance a peece of golden plate in my trunke, wherein were ingraven certaine celestiall figures, good against the Sunne-beames, and for the head-ach, being fitly laide vpon the suture of the head: and that it might the better be kept there, it was sewed to a ribband, to be fastened vnder the chinne. A fond doting conceit, and cosin-germane to that wee now speake of▪ *James Peletier* had whilest he lived in my house, bestowed that singular gift vpon mee; I advised my selfe to put it to somevse, and told 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 sticke to procure him some ill lucke, and which was woorse, some spitefull shame▪ but neverthelesse 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; alwaies 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 caudle brought him, if he had had no good successe in his businesse, he should make such and such a signe to me. It fel out, his mind was so quailed, and his eares 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 houre appointed, made the signe agreed vpon betweene vs, I came and whispered him in the eare, that vnder pretence to putvs all out of his chamber, he should rise out of his bed, and in jesting manner take my night-gowne which I had on, and put it vpon himselfe (which he might well doe, because wee were much of one stature) and keepe it on till he had performed my appointment, which was, that when we should be gone out of the Chamber, he should with-draw himselfe to make water, and vsing certaine jestures, I had shewed him, speake such words thrice over. And every time hee spake them he should girt the ribband, which I put into his handes, and very carefully place the plate thereto fastned, just vpon his kidneyes, and the whole figure, in such a posture. All which when he had accordingly done, and the last time so fastened the ribband, that it might neither be vntide nor stirred from his place, he should then boldly and confidently returne to his charge, and not forget to spread 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 so to free it selfe, but some strange meanes will proceed from some abstruse learning: Their inaniti [...] gives them weight and credite. To conclude, it is most certaine, my Characters prooved more venerian 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 enemie to craftie and fained actions, and hate all sottletie in my handes, not onely recreative, but also profitable. If the action be not vicious, the course vnto it, is faultie. *Amasis* king of *Aegypt*, tooke to wife *Laodice*, a very beauteous yong virgine of *Greece*, and he that before had in every other place found and shewed himselfe a lustie gallant, found himselfe so si ort, when he came to grapple with her, that he threatned to kill her, supposing it had beene some charme or sorcerie. As in all things that consist in the fantasie, she addrest him to devotion. And having made his vowes and promises to *Venus*, he found himselfe

divinely freed, even from the first night of his oblations and sacrifices. Now they wrong vs, to receive and admit vs with their wanton, squeamish, quarellous countenances, which setting vs a fire, extinguish vs.

*Pythagoras* his neece was wont to say, *That a woman which lies with a man, ought, together with her petie-coate, leave off all bashfulnesse, and with her petie-coate, take the same againe.* The minde of the assailant molested with sundry different alarums, is easily dismaid. And he whom imagination hath once made to suffer this shame (and she hath caused the same to be felt but in the first acquaintances; 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 marke he shootes at) having begun ill he fals 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 go to it when they list, ought never to presse or importune their enterprise, vnlesse they be readie. And it is better vndecently to faile in hanseling the nuptiall bed, full of agitation and fits, by waiting for some or other fitter occasion, and more private opportunitie, lest sudden and alarmed, then to fall into a [43]perpetuall miserie, by apprehending an astonishment and desperation of the first refusall. Before possession taken, a patient ought by sallies, and divers times, lightly assay and offer himselfe without vexing or opiniating himselfe, definitively to convince himselfe. Such as know their members docile and tractable by nature, let them onely endeavour to countercosin their fantasie. Men haue reason to checke the indocile libertie of this member, for so importunately insinuating himselfe when we have no neede of him, and so importunately, or as I may say impertinently failing, at what time we have most neede of him; and so imperiously contesting by his authority, with ou [...] will, refusing with such fiercenes and obstinacie our sol [...]citations both mentall and manuall. Neverthelesse if a man inasmuch as he doth gormandize and devour his rebellion, and drawes a triall by his condemnation, would pay me for to plead his cause▪ I would peradventure make other of our members to be suspected to have (in envy of his importance, and sweetnesse of his vse) devised this imposture, and framed this set 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 any one particular part of our body, that doth not sometimes refuse hir particular operation to our will and wish, and that doth not often exercise and practise against our will▪ All of them have their proper passions, which without any leave of ours doe either awaken or lull them asleepe. How often doe the forced motions and changes of our faces, witnesse the secretest and most lurking thoughts we have, and bewray them to by-standers? The same cause that doth animate this member, doth also, vnwitting to vs, embolden our heart, our lungs, and our pulses. The sight of a pleasing object, reflecting imperceptibly on vs, the flame of a contagious or aguish 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 command our haire to stande an end, nor our skinne to startle for desire or feare. Our hands are often carried where we direct them not. Our tongue and voice are sometimes to seeke of their faculties, the one looseth her speech, the other her nimblenesse. Even when we have nothing to feede vpon, we would willingly forbid it: the appetites to eate, or list to drinke, doe not leave to moove the parts subject to them, even as this other appetite, and so, though it be out of season, forsaketh vs, when he thinks good. Those instruments that serve to discharge the belly, have their proper compressions and dilatations, besides our intent, & against our meaning, as these are destined to discharge the kidneis. And that which, the better to authorize our willes power, Saint *Augustin* alleadgeth, to have seene one, who could at all times command his posterior, to let as many s [...]apes as he would, and which *Vives* endeareth by the example of an other in his daies, who could let tunable and organized ones, following the tune of any voice propounded vnto his eares, inferreth the pure obedience of that member: than which▪ none is commonly more indis [...]re [...]t and tumult [...]ous. Seeing my selfe know one so skittish and mutinous, that these

fortie yeeres keeps his master in such awe, that will he, or nill he, he will with a continuall breath, constant and vnintermitted custome breake winde at his pleasure, and so brings him to his grave. And would to God I knew 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 leave to vent at all times, and every where, had also given vs the power to doe it. But our will, by whose priuledge we advance this reproch, how much more likely, and consonant to trueth may we taxe it of rebellion, and accuse it of sedition, by reason of its vnrulinesse and disobedience? Will shee at all times doe that, which we would have her willingly to doe? Is shee not often willing to effect that, which we forbid her to desire? and that to our manifest prejudice and damage? Doth she suffer her selfe to be directed by the conclusions of our reason? To conclude, I would vrge in defence of my client, that it would please the Iudges to consider, that concerning this matter, his cause being inseperably conjoynd to a consort, and indistinctly: yet will not a man addresse himselfe but to him, both by the arguments and charges, which can no way appertaine to his said consort. For, his effect is indeed sometime importunately to invite, but to refuse never: and also to invite silently and quietly. Therefore is the saw [...]nesse and illegalitie of the accusers seene. Howsoever it be, protesting that advocates and iudges may wrangle, contend, and give sentence, what, and how they please, Nature will in the meane time follow her course: who, had she endued this member with any [44]particular priuledge, yet had she done but right, and shewed but reason. Author of the onely immortall worke, of mortall men. Divine worke according to *Socrates*; and love, desire of immortalitie, and immortall *Daemon* himselfe. Some man peradventure, by the effects of imagination, leaveth the pox or Kings evill heere, which his companion carrieth into *Spaine* againe: loe heere why in such cases men are accustomed to require a prepared minde, wherefore doe Phisitions labour and practise before hand the conceit and credence of their patients, with so many false promises of their recoverie and health, vnlesse it be that the effect of imagination may supple and prepare the imposture of their decoction? They knew that one of their trades-master hath left written, how some men have been found, in whom the onely sight of a potion hath wrought his due operation: All which humor or caprice is now come into my minde, vpon the report which an Apothecarie, whilome a servant in my fathers house, was woont to tell me, a man by knowledge simple, and by birth a Switzer▪ a nation little vaine-glorious, and not much given to lying, which was, that for a long time he had knowne a marchant in *Tholouse*, sickish, and much troubled with the stone, and who often had need of glisters, who according to the [...]ts and occurrences of his evill, caused them diversly to be prescribed by Phisitions. Which being brought him, no accustomed forme to them belonging was omitted, and would often taste whether they were too hot, and view them well, and lying along vpon his bedde, on his bell [...],e, and all complements performed, only injection excepted, which ceremony ended, the Apothecarie gone, and the patient lying in his bed, even as if he had received a glister indeed, he found and felt the very same effect, which they doe that have effectually taken them. And if the Physitian saw it had not wrought sufficiently, he would accordingly give him two or three more in the same manner. My witness protesteth, that the sicke mans wife, to save charges (for he paide for them as if he had received them) having sometimes assaide to make them onely with luke warme water, the effect discovered the craft, and being found not to worke at all, they were forced to returne to the former, and vse the Apothecarie. A woman supposing [...],o have swallowed a pinne with her bread, cried and vexed herselfe, even as if she had felt an intolerable paine in her throat, where she imagined the same to sticke; but because there appeared n [...],ther swelling or alteration, a skilfull man deeming it to be but a fantasie conceived, or opinion, apprehended by eating of some gretty piece of bread, which happily night pricke her in the swallow, made her to vomite, and vnknowne to her, cast a pinne in that which she had vomited. Which the woman perceiving, & imagining she had cast the same, was presently eased of her paine. I have knowne a Gentleman, who having feasted a company of very honest Gentlemen and Gentlewomen, in his owne house,

by way of sport, and in jeast, boasted two or three daies after (for there was no such thing) that he had made them ea [...]e of a baked Cat; whereat the Gentlewoman of the companie apprehended such horror, that falling into a violent ague and distemper of her stomacke, she could by no meanes be recovered. Even brute beasts, as well as we, are seene to be subject to the power of imagination; witnesse some Dogs, who for sorrow of their Masters death are seene to die, and whom we ordinarily see to startle and barke in their sleep, and horses to neigh and struggle. But all this may be referred to the narrow suture of the Spirit and the body, entercommunicating their fortunes one vnto another. It is another thing, that imagination doth somtimes worke, not onely against her owne body, but also against that of others. And even as one body ejecteth a disease to his neighbour, as doth evidently appeare by the plague, pox, or sore eies, that goe from one to another.

Dum spectant oculi [...]sos, [...]aeduntur & ipsi: [...]uid. am. lib. 2. 219.  
Multaque corporibus transitione nocent.

Eies become sore, while they looke on sore eies:  
By passage many illis our limmes surprise.

Likewise the imagination mooved and tossed by some vehemence, doth cast some da [...]], that may offend a strange object. Antiquitie hath held, that certaine women of *Scithia*, being provoked and vexed against some men, had the power to kill them, onely with their looke. The Tortoises and the Estriges hatch the [...] eggies with their looks onely, a signe that they have some ejaculative vertue. And concerning witches they are said to have offensive and harme working eies. *Virg. buc. [...]. 3* ■ [...].03.

Nescio quis teneros oculus mi [...]i fascinat agnos.

[45] My tender Lambs I cannot see,  
By what bad eie, bewitched be.

Magitians are but ill respondents for me. So it is, that by experience wee see women to transferre divers markes of their fantasies, vnto children they beare in their wombes: witnes she that brought forth a Blacke-a-more. There was also presented vnto *Charles* king of *Bohemia*, an Emperour, a young girle, borne about *Pisa*, all shagd and hairy over and over, which her mother said, to have beene conceived so, by reason of an image of Saint *Iohn Baptist*, that was so painted, & hung over her bed. That the like is in beastes, is witnessed by *Iacobs* sheepe, and also by partridges and hares ■ that grow white by the snow vpon mountaines. There was lately seene a cat about my owne house, so earnestly eyeing a bird, sitting vpon a tree, that he seeing the Cat, they both so wistly fixed their looks one vpon another, so long, that at last, the bird fell downe as dead in the Cats pawes, either drunken by his owne strong imagination, or drawne by some attractiue power of the Cat. Those that love hawking, have happily heard the Falkners 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 stooping downe to the ground, and as some report did it many times. The Histories I borrow, I referre to the consciences of those I take them from. The discourses are mine, and holde together by the prooffe of reason, not of experiences: each man may adde his example to them: and who hath none, considering the number and varietie of accidents, let him not leave to think, there are store of them. If I come not well for my selfe, let another come for me. So in the studie wherein I treat of our manners and motions, the fabulous testimonies, 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 *Iohn* or *Peter*, it is alwaies a tricke of humane capacitie, of which I am profitably advised by this report. I see it and reape profit by it, as well in shadow as in bodie. And in divers lessons that often histories affoord, I commonly make vse of that, which

is most rare and memorable. Some writers there are, whose end 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 superstitious religion, I exceed all historicall credit. To the examples I here set down, of what I have read, heard, done, or seene, I have sorbid my selfe so much as to dare to change the least, or alter the idlest circumstances. My conscience doth not falsifie the least iot. I wot not whether my insight doth. Concerning this subject I doe sometimes enter into conceit, that it may well become a Divine, a Philosopher, or rather men of exquisite conscience, and exact wisdom, to write histories. How can they otherwise engage their credit vpon a popular reputation? How can they answer for the thoughts of vnknowne persons? And make their bare conjectures passe for currant paiment? Of the actions of divers members, acted in their presence, they would refuse to beare witnes 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 answer at full I hold it le [...].e hazardous to write of things past, then present; forasmuch as the writer is not bound to give account but of a borrowed trueth. Some perswade mee to write the affaires of my time, imagining, I can see them with a sight lesse blinded with passion, then other men, and perhaps neerer, by reason of the accesse which fortune hath given me to the chiefest of divers factions. But they will not say, how for the glory of *Salust*, I would not take the paines; as one that am a vowed enemie to observance, to assiduitie, and to constancie, and that there is nothing so contrarie 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 woorth. I am as ignorant as a childe of the phrases and vowels belonging to common things. And therefore have I attempted to say what I can, accommodating the matter to my power. Should I take any man for a guid, my measure might differ from his. For, my libertie being so farre, I might happily publish judgements, agreeing with me, and consonant to reason, yet vnlawfull and punishable. *Plutarke* would peradventure tell vs of that which he hath written, that it is the worke of others, that his examples are in all and everiewhere true, that they are profitable to posteritie, and presented with a lustre, that lights and directs vs vnto vertue, and that is his worke. It is not dangerous, as in a medicinable drugge, whether in an old tale or report, be it thus or thus, so or so.

[46]

### The one and twentieth Chapter.

#### The profit of one man is the d [...]image of an other. ↩

*DEmades* the Athenian condemned a man of the Citie, whose trade was to sell such necessaries as belonged to burials, vnder colour, hee asked too much profit for them: and that such profit could not come vnto him without the death of many people. This judgement seemeth to be ill taken, because no man profiteth but by the losse of others: by which reason a man should condemne all maner of gaine. The Marchant thrives not but by the licentiousnesse of youth; the Husband man by dearth of corne; the Architect but by the ruine of houses; the Lawyer by sutes and controversies betweene men: Honour it selfe, and practise of religious Ministers, is drawne from our death and vices. *No Phisitian delighteth in the health of his owne friend*, saith the auncient Greeke Comike: *nor no Souldier is pleased with the peace of his Cittie and so of the rest*. And which is worse, let every man sound his owne conscience, hee shall finde, that our inward desires are for the most part nourished and bred in vs by the losse and hurt of others; which when I considered, I began to thinke, how Nature doth not gainesay herselfe in this, concerning her generall policie: for Phisitians hold, that *The birth, increase, and augmentation of every thing, is the alteration and corruption of another*.

Nam quodcunque suis mutatum finibus exit, Lucr li. 687. 813. li. 2. 762. li. 3.  
536.

Continuo hoc mors est illius, quod fuit ante.

What ever from it's bounds doth changed passe,  
That strait is death of that, which erst it was.

### **The two and twentieth Chapter. Of custome, and how a received law should not easily be changed.**

MY opinion is, that hee conveyed aright of the force of custome, that first invented this tale; 'how a country woman having enured herselfe to cherish and beare a yong calfe in her armes▪ which continuing, shee got such a custome, that when he grew to be a great oxe, shee carried him still in her armes. For truly, *Custome is a violent and deceiving schoole mistress.*' 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 aide 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 eies: 'weePllu. epis. 20. may plainly see her vpon every occasion to force the rules of Nature: *Vsus efficacissimus rerū omnium magister. Use is the most effectuall master of all things.* I beleeeve *Platoes* den mentioned in his common wealth,' and the Phisitians that so often quit their artes reason by authoritie; and the same King who by meanes of her, ranged his stomacke to be nourished with poyson; and the mayden that *Albert* mentioneth to have accustomed herselfe to live vpon spiders: and now in the new found world of the *Indians*, 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 grasse-hoppers, pissemites, lizards, and night-bats; and a toade was solde for six crownes in a time that all such meates were scarce amongst them, which they boyle, roste, bake, and dresse with divers kindes of sawces. Others have bene found to whom our vsuall flesh and other meates were mortall and venemous. *Consuetudinis Cic. Tusc. q [...]. 2▪ magna est vis, Perno [...]tant venatores in nive, in montibus vri se patiuntur: Pugiles caestibus [47] contusi, ne ingemiscunt quidem. Great is the force of custome: Huntsmen wilwatch all night insnow, and endure to bee scorched on the hills: Fencers brused with (and-bags or [...])judgels, do not so much as groaue.* These forraine examples are not strange, if wee but consider what we ordinarily finde by travell, and how custome quaieth and weakeneth our customary sences. We neede not goe seeke what our neighbours report of the Cataractes of *Nile*; and what Phyl [...]sophers deeme of the celestiaall musicke, which is, that the bodies of it's circles, being solid smooth, and in their rowling motion, touching and rubbing one against another, must of necessitie produce a wonderfull harmonie: by the changes and entercapings of which, the revolutions, motions, cadences, and carrols of the asters and planets are caused and transported. But that vniversally the hearing senses of these low worlds creatures, dizzied and lulled a sleepe, as those of the *Aegyptians* are, by the continuation of that sound, how loud and great soeuer it be, can not sen [...]bly perceive or distinguish the same. Smiths, M [...]llers, Forgers, Armorers, and such other, could not possibly endure the noise that commonly rings in their eares, if it did pierce them as it doth vs. My perfumed Ierkin serveth for my nose to smell vnto, but after I have worne it three or foure daies together, not I, but others have the benefite of it. This is more strange, that notwithstanding long intermissions, custome may joyne and establish the effect of her impression vpon our senses; as they proove 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-f [...]w*, which jangling doth even make the tower to shake; at first it troubled me much, but I was soone acquainted with it, so that now I am nothing offended with it, and many times it can not waken me out of my sleepe. *Plato* did once chide a child for playing with nuts, who answered him. *Thou chid [...]st me for a small matter. Custome replied Plato, is no small matter.* I finde that our greatest vices, make their fitst



habitein vs, from our infancie, and that our chiefe government and education, lieth in our nurses hands. Some mothers thinke it good sport to see a childe wring off a chickius-necke, and strive to beate a dog or cat. And some fathers are so fond foolish, that they will conster as a good Augur or fore-boding of a martiall minde to see their sonnes misuse a poore peasant, or tug a lackey, that doth not defend himselfe; and impute it to a ready wit, when by some wily disloyaltie, or crafty deceit, they see them cousine and over-reach their fellowes: yet are they the trew seeds, or rootes of cruelty, of tyranny, and of treason. In youth they bud, and afterward grow to strength, and come to perfection by meanes of custome.

And it is a very dangerous institution, to excuse so base and vile inclinations, with the weaknesse of age, and lightnesse of the subiect. First it is nature that speaketh, whose voice is then [...]hriller, purer, and more natiue, when it is tender, newer, and youngest. Secondlie, the deformity of the crime consisteth not in the difference betweene crownes and pinnes; it depends of it selfe. I finde it more just to conclude thus. Why should not hee as well deceive 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 would carefully teach children to hate vices of their owne genuity, and so distinguish the desormity of them, that they may not onely eschew them in their actions, but above all, hate them in their hearts: and what coloursoeuer 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 treade a plaine beaten path; and have ever hated to entermeddle any manner of deceit of cousoning-craft, even in my childith sportes (for truely it is to be noted, that Childrens playes are not sports, and should be deemed as their most serious actions.) There is no pastime so slight, that inwardlie I haue not a naturall propension, and serious care, yea extreame contradiction, not to vse any deceit. I shuffle and handle the cardes, as earnestly for counters, and keepe as strict an accompt, as if they were double duckets, when playing with my wife or children, it is indifferent to mee whether I winne or loose, as I doe when I play in good earnest. How and wheresoeuer it be, mine owne eies will suffice to keepe me in office; none else doe watch mee so narrowly; nor that I respect more. It is not long since in mine owne house, I saw a little man, who at *Na [...]s*, 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 naturall office. In all his discourses he nameth them his hands, he carveth any meate, he chargeth and shoots off a pistole, he threds a needle, he soweth, he writeth, puttes off his cappe, [48]combeth his head, plaieth at cards and dice; shuffleth and handleth them with a great dexteritie as any other man that hath the perfect vse of his hands: the monie I have sometimes given him, he hath caried away with his feete, as well as any other could doe with his hands. I saw another, being a Childe, that with the bending and winding of his necke, (because hee had no hands) would brandish a two-hand-Sword, & mannage a Holbard, as nimble as any man could doe with his hands: he would cast them in the aire, then receive them againe, he would throw a Dagger, and make a whip to yarke and lash, as cunningly as any Carter in *France*. But her effects are much better discovered in the strange impressions, which it worketh in our mindes where it meetes not so much resistance. What cannot she 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 grose imposture of religions, wherwith so many great nations and so many woorthy & sufficient men have bin besotted, and drunken: For, being a thing beyond the compasse of our humane reason, it is more excusable if a man that is not extraordinarily illuminated thereunto by divine favour, do loose & mis-carrie himselfe therein) or of other opinions, is there any so strange, that custome hath not planted and established by lawes in what regions soever it hath thought good? And this auncient exclamation is most just: *Non pudet physicum, id est speculatorem venatorémque naturae, ab animis consuetudine imbutis quaerere testimonium veritatis? Is it not a shame for a naturall Philosopher, that is the Cic. Nat De. 1. 1. watch-man and hunts-man of nature, to seeke the testimonie of truth, from mindes endued and double dide with custome?* I am of opinion, that

no fantasie so mad can fall into humane imagination, that meetes not with the example of some publike custome, and by consequence that our reason doth not ground and bring to a stay. There are certaine people, that turne their backs towards those they salute, and never looke him in the face whom they would honour or worship. There are others, who when the King spitteth, the most favoured Ladie in his court stretched forth her hand; and in an other countrey, where the noblest about him, stoupe to the ground to gather his ordure in some fine linnen cloth: Let vs here by the way insert 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 wittie jeasting was very famous. He asked me on a time, what priviledge this filthie excrement had, that wee should have a daintie linnen cloth or handkercher to receive the same; and which is woorse, so carefully folde it vp, and keepe the same about vs, which should be more loathsome to ones stomacke, than to see it cast away, as wee doe all our other excrements and filth. Mee thought he spake not altogether without reason: and custome had taken from me the discerning of this strangenesse, which being reported of an other countrie we deeme so hideous. Miracles are according to the ignorance wherein we are by nature, and not according to natures essence; vse brings the [...]light of our judgement a sleepe. The barbarous heathen are nothing more strange to vs, then 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 stay himselfe vpon the discourses, and soundly conferre them. Humane reason is a tincture in like waight and measure, infused into all our opinions and customes, what form soever they be of: infinite in matter: infinite in diversitie. But I will returne to my theame. There are certaine people, where, except his wife and children, no man speaketh to the King, but through a trunk. Another nation, where virgines shew their secret parts openly, and married women diligently hide and cover them. To which custome, this fashion vsed 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 list; and being with childe, they may without feare of accusation, spoyle and cast their children, with certaine medicaments, which they haue onely 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 honor and commendation is hers, for constancie 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) loyaltie in married women is highly regarded, and held in speciall account, during the time they are married. Others there are, where publike brothelhouses of men are kept, and where open marte of marriages are ever to be had: where women [49]goe to the warres with their husbands, and have place, not onely in fight, but also in commaund, where they doe not onely weare jewels at their noses, in their lips, and cheekes, and in their toes, but also big wedges of golde through their pappes and buttocks, where when they eat, they wipe their fingers on their thighs, on the bladder of their genitories, and the soles of their feet, where not children, but brethren and nephewes inherite; and in some places, the nephewes onely, except in the succession of the Prince. Where to order the communitie of goods, which amongst them is religiously observed, certaine Sovereigne Magistrates have the generall charge of husbandry and telling of the lands, and of the distribution of the fruites, according to every mans neede, where they howle and weepe at their childrens deaths, and joy and feast at their olde mens decease. 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 detested, that they kill all the maiden children, so soone as they are borne, and to supply their naturall neede, they buy women of their neighbours. Where men may at their pleasure, without alledging any cause put away their wives, but they (what just reason soever they have) can never put away their husbands. Where husbands may lawfully sell their wives, if they be barren. Where they cause dead bodies first to be boyled, and then

to be brayed in a mortar, so long till it come to a kind of pap, which afterward they mingle with their wine, and so drinke it. Where the most desired sepulcher that some wish for, is to be devoured of dogges, and in some places of birds. Where some thinke, that blessed soules live in all liberty, in certaine pleasant fields stored with all commodities, and that from them proceedes that *Echo*, which we heare. Where they fight in the water, and shute exceeding true with their bowes as they are swimming. Where in signe of subjection men must raise their shoulders, and stoope with their heads, and put off their shooes when they enter their kings houses. Where Eunuches that have religious women in keeping, because they shall not be loved, have also their noses 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 euery man makes himselfe a God of what he pleaseth: 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 chieftest Gods: the forme of swearing is, to touch the ground, looking vpon the Sunne, and where they eat both flesh and fish raw. Where th [...] greatest oath is to sweare by the name of some deceased man, that hath lived in good reputat on in the countrie, touching his grave with the hand. Where the new-yeares gifts that Kings send vnto Princes their vassals euery yeare, is some fire, which when it is brought, all the old fire is cleane put out: of which new fire all the neighbouring people are bound vpon paine *laesae matestatis*, to fetch for their vses. Where, when the King (which often commeth to passe) wholly to give himselfe vnto devotion, giveth over his charge, his next successor is bound to doe like, and conuaieth the right of the kingdome vnto the third heire. 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 wealde the kingdoms government, which sometimes is also committed to the commualtie, Where both men and women are equally circumcised, and alike baptised. Where the Souldier, that in one or divers combate hath presented his King with seven enemies heads, is made noble. Where somelive vnder that so ra [...]e and vnsociable opinion of the mortalitie of soules. Where women are brought a bed without paine of grieffe. Where women on both their legs weare greavs of Copper: and if a louse bite them, they are bound by duty of magnanimitie to bite it againe: and no maide dare marrie, except she have first made offer of her Virginitie to the King. Where they salute one another laying the forefinger on the ground, and then lifting it vp toward heaven: where all men beare burthens vpon their head, and women on their shoulders. Where women pisse standing, and men cowering. Where in signe of true friendshippe they send one another some of their owne bloud, and offer insense to men which they intend to honour, as they doe to their Gods: where not onely kindred and consanguinitie in the fourth degree, but in any furthest off, can by no meanes be tolerated in marriages: where children sucke till they be foure, and sometimes twelve yeares olde, in which place they deme it a dismall thing to give a childe sucke the first day of his birth Where fathers have the charge to [50]punish their male-children, and mothers only maide-children, and whose punishment is to hang them vp by the feete, and so to smoke them. Where women are circumcised; where they eat all manner of hearbes, without other distinction, but to refuse those that have ill savour: where all things are open, and how faire and rich soever their houses be, they have neither doores nor windowes, nor any chests to locke; yet are all theeves much more severely punished there, than any where else; where, as monkies doe, they kill lice with their teeth, and thinke it a horrible matter to see them crusht between their na [...]les; where men so long as they live never cut their haire, nor paire their nales: another place where they only paire the nales of their right hand, and 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 wil grow: and very often shave away that of the left side: where in some Provinces neere 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 guests, so that they pay ready mony: where men may lawfully

get their mothers with childe: where fathers may lie with their daughters, and with their sonnes: where, in solemne assemblies and banquets, without any distinction of blood or alliance, men will lend one another their children. In some places men feede vpon humane flesh, and in others, where it is deemed an office of pietie in children to kill their fathers at a certaine age: in other places fathers appoint what children shall live, and be preserved, and which die and be cast out, whilst they are yet in their mothers wombe: where old husbands lend their wives to yong men, for what vse soever they please: In other places, where all women are common without sinne or offence: yea in some places, where for a badge of honour, they weare as many frienged tas [...]els, fastened to the skirt of their garment as they have laine with severall men. Hath not custome also made a severall commonwealth of women? hath it not taught them to manage Armes? to leavie Armies, to marshall men, and to deliver battles? And that which strickt-searching Philosophie could never perswade the wisest, doth she not of her owne naturall instinct teach it to the grofest headed vulgare? For we know whole nations, where death is not only condemned, but cherished; where children of seven yeares of age, without changing of countenance, or shewing any [...]igne of dismay endured to be whipped to death; where riches and worldly pelfe was so despised and holden so contemptible, that the miserablest and need est wretch of a Citie would have scorned to stoope for a pursefull of gold. Have we not heard of divers most fertile regions, plenteously yeelding al maner of necessary victuals, where neverthelesse the most ordinary cates and daintiest dishes, were but bread, water-cresses, & water? Did not custome worke this wonder in *Chios*, that during the space of seven hundred yeres it was never found or heard of, that any woman or maiden had her honor or honestie called in question? And to conclude, there is nothing in mine opinion, that either she doth not, or can not: and with reason doth *Pindarus*, as I have heard say, *Call her the Queene and Empresse of all the world*. He that was met beating of his father, answered, *It was the custome of his house; that his father had so beaten his grandfather, and he his great-grandfather; and pointing to his sonne, said, this child shall also beate mee, when he shall come to my age*. And the father, whom the sonne haled and dragged through thicke and thinne in the streete, commanded him to stay at a certaine doore, for himselfe had dragged his father no further: which were the bounds of the hereditarie and iniurious demeanours the children of that family were wont to shew their fathers. *By custome*, saith Aristotle, *as often as by sicknesse, doe we see women tug and teare their haire, bite their nailes, and eate cole and earth: and more by custome then by nature doe men meddle and abuse themselves with men*. The lawes of conscience, which we say to proceede from nature, rise and proceede of custome: every man holding in speciall regard, and inward veneration the opinions approved, and customes received about him, can not without remorse leave them, nor without applause applie himselfe vnto them: when those of *Creete* would informer ages curse any man, they besought the Gods to engage him in some bad custome. But the chiefest effect of her power is to seize vpon vs, and so to entangle vs, that it shall hardly lie in vs, to free our selves from her holde-fast, and come into our wits againe, to discourse and reason of her ordinances; verily, because wee sucke them with the milke of our birth, and forasmuch as the worldes visage presents it selfe in that estate vnto our first view, it seemeth we are borne with a condition to follow that course. And the common imaginations we finde in credite about vs, and by our fathers seede infused in our soule, seeme [51]to be the generall and naturall. Whereupon it followeth, that whatsoever is beyond the compasse of custome, wee deeme likewise to be beyond the compasse of reason. God knowes how for the most part, vnreasonably. If as we, who study our selves, have learned to doe, every man that heareth a just sentence, would presently consider, how it may in any sort belonging vnto his private state, each man should finde, that this is not so much a good word, as a good blow to the ordinary sottishnesse of his judgement. But men receive the admonitions of truth and her precepts, as directed to the vulgare, & never to themselves; and in lieu of applying them to their maners, most men most foolishly and vnprofitably apply them to their memorie. But let vs returne to customes soveraignety, such as are brought vp to libertie, and to commaund

themselves, esteeme all other forme of pollicie, as monstrous and against nature. Those that are enured to Monarchie doe the like. And what facilitie soever fortune affoordeth them to change, even when with great difficultie they have shaken off the importunitie of a tutor, they runne to plant a new one with semblable difficulties, because they can not resolve themselves to hate tutorship. It is by the meditation 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 *Touraine*, nor the Scithians with *Thessalie*. *Darius* demanded of certaine Graecians, *For what they would take vpon them the Indians custome, to eate their diseased fathers*. (For such was their maner, thinking they could not possibly give them a more noble and favourable tombe, than in their owne bowels) they answered him, *That nothing in the world should ever bring them to embrace so inhumane a custome*: But having also attempted to perswade the Indians to leave their fashion, and take the Graecians, which was to burne their corpes, they were much more astonied thereat. Every man doth so, forsomuch as custome doth so bleare vs that we can not distinguish the true visage of things.

Nil adeo magnum, nec tam mirabile quicquam Luc. l. x. 1037.  
 Principio, quod no [...] minuant mirarier omnes  
 Paulatim.

Nothing at first so wonderous is, so great,  
 But all, t'admire, by little slake their heate.

Having other times gone about to endear, and make some one of our observations to be of force, and which was with resolute auctoritie received in most parts about vs, and not desiring, as most men doe, only to establish the same by the force of lawes and examples, but having ever bin from her beginning, I found the foundation of it so weake, that my selfe, who was to confirme it in others, had much adoe to keepe my countenance. This is the receipt by which *Plato* vndertaketh to banish the vnnaturall and preposterous loves of his time; and which hee esteemeth Sovereaigne and principall. To wit, that publike opinion may condemne them; that Poets, and all men else may tell horrible tales of them. A receipt 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*, hauing with the pleasure of their songs infused this profitable opinion, in the tender conceit of children. Certes, chaftitie is an excellent vertue, the commoditie whereof is very well knowne: but to vse it, and according to nature to prevaile with it, is as hard as it is casie, to endear it and to prevaile with it according to custome, to lawes and precepts. The first and vniversall reasons are of a hard perscutation. And our Masters passe them over in gleaning, or in not daring so much as to taste them, at first sight cast themselves head-long into the libertie or sanctuarie of custome. Those that will not suffer themselves to be drawne out of his originall source, do also commit a greater error, and submit themselves to savage opinions, witness *Chrysippus*; who in so many severall places of his compositions, inserted the small accompt he made of conjunctions, how incestuous soever they were. Hee that will free himselfe from this violent prejudice of custome, shall find divers things received with an vndoubted resolution, that have no other anker but the hoarie head and frowning wrimples of custome, which ever attends them: which maske being pulled off, & referring all matters to truth and reason, he shall perceive his judgement, as it were over-turned, and placed in a much surer state. As for example, I will then aske him, what thing can be more strange than to see a people bound to follow lawes, he never vnderstood? Being in all his domesticall affaires, as marriages, donations, testaments, purchases, and sales, necessarily bound to costly rules, which forsomuch as they were never written nor published in his owne tongue, he cannot vnderstand, and whereof he must of necessity purchase the interpretation and vse. Not according to the ingenious opinion of *Isocrates*, who counselleth his King to make the *Trafikes and negotiations of his subiests, free, enfranchized and gainefull, and their*

*debates, controversies, and quarrels burthen-some, and charged with great subsidies, and impositions:* But according to a prodigious opinion, to make open sale, and trafficke of reason it selfe, and to give lawes a course of marchandize, is very strange. I commend fortune, for that (as our Historians reporte) it was a Gentleman of *Gaskonie*, and my Countriman, that first opposed himself against *Charles* the great, at what time he went about to establish the Latine and Imperiall lawes amongst vs. What is more barbarous than to see a nation, where by lawfull custome the charge of judging is sold, and judgements are paid for with readie money; and where justice is lawfully denied him, that hath not wherewithall to paie for it; and that this marchandize hath so great credite, that in a politicall government there should be set vp a fourth estate of Lawyers, breath-sellers, and pettifoggers, and joyned to the three ancient states, to wit, the Clergie, the Nobility, and the Commualtie; which fourth state having the charge of lawes, and sometimes auctoritie of goods and lives, should make a body, apart, and severall from that of Nobilitie, whence double Lawes must follow; those of honour, and those of justice; in many things very contrarie do those as rigorously condemne a lie pocketed vp, as these a lie revenged: by the law and right of armes he that putteth vp an injurie shalbe degraded of honour and nobilitie; and he that revengeth himselfe of it, shall by the civill Lawe incurre a capitall punishment? Hee that shall addresse himselfe to the Lawes to have reason for some offence done vnto his honour, dishonoreth himselfe. And who doth not so, is by the Lawes punished and chastised. And of these so different parts, both neverthelesse having reference to one head; those having peace, these war committed to their charge; those having the gaine, these the honor: those knowledge, these vertue: those reason, these strength: those the word, these action: those justice, the sevalour: those reason these force: those a long gowne, & these a short coat, in partage and share. Touching indifferent things, as clothes and garments, whosoever will reduce them to their true end, which is the service and commodity of the bodie, whence dependeth their originall grace and comlines, for the most fantasticall to my humour that may be imagined, amongst others I will give them our square caps; that long hood of plaited velvet, that hangs over our womens heads, with his parti-coloured traile and that vaine & vnprofitable modell of a member, which we may not so much as name with modestie, wherof notwithstanding we make publike shew, and open demonstration. These considerations do neverthelesse never distract a man of vnderstanding from following the common guise? Rather on the contrary, me seemeth, that all severall, strange, and particular fashions proceede rather of follie, or ambitious effectation, than of true reason: and that a wise man ought inwardly to retire his minde from the common presse, and hold the same liberty and power to judge freely of all things, but for outward matters, he ought absolutely to follow the fashions and forme customarily received. Publicke societie hath nought to do with our thoughts; but for other things, as our actions, our travel, our fortune, and our life, that must be accommodated and left to it's service and common opinions: as that good and 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 law of lawes, for every man to observe those of the place wherein he liveth.

[...]Gnom. Grac. [...].

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

Loe here some of another kind. There riseth a great doubt, whether any so evident profite may be found in the change of a received law, of what nature soever, as there is hurt in removing the same; forsomuch as a well settled pollicie, may be compared to a frame or building of diuers parts joyned together with such a ligament as it is impossible to stirre or displace one, but the whole body must needes be shaken, and shew a feeling of it. The Thurians Law-giver instituted, that, *whosoever would goe about, either to abolish any one of*

*the olde Lawes, or attempt to establish a new, should present himselfe before the people with a roape about his necke, to the end, that if his invention were not approved of all men, he should presently be strangled.* And he of *Lacedaemon* laboured all his life to get an assured promise of his citizens that they [53] would never insringe any one of his ordinances. That *Ephore* or *Tribune*, who so rudely cut off the two strings, that *Phrin [...]*s had added vnto musicke, respecteth not whether musicke be better or no with them, or whether the accords of it be better filled, he hath sufficient reason to condemne them, because it is an alteration of the old forme. It is that which the old rustie sword of justice of *Mars [...]*Jille did signifie. I am distasted with noveltie, what countenance soever it shew: and I have reason so to be, for I have seene very hurtfull effects follow the same. That which so many yeares since doth so pressevs, hath not yet exploited all But some may alledge with apparance, that by accident, it hath produced and engendred all, yea both the mischiefes and ruines, that since are committed without and against it: it is that a man should blame and finde fault with.

Heu pati [...]r telis vulnera facta meis, Ovid. epist. Phyl. 48.

A las I suffer smart  
 Procur'd by mine one dart.

Those which attempt to shake an Estate, are commonly the first overthrowne by the fall of it: he that is first moover of the same, reapeth not alwaies the fruite of such troubles; he beates and troubleth the water for others to fish in. The contexture and combining of this monarchie, and great building, having bin dismiss and dissolved by it, namely in her old yeares, giveth as much overture and entrance as a man will to like injuries. Royall Majestie doth more hardly fall from the top to the middle, then it tumbleth 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 mischiefe. And if there be any degree of honour, euen in ill doing, these are indebted to others for the glory of the invention, and courage of the first attempt. All sortes of new licentiousnesse doe happily draw out of this originall and frutefull source, the images and patterns to trouble our common-wealth. We may reade in our very lawes, made for the remedie of the first evill, the apprenticesage and excuse of all sortes of wicked enterprises: And in favour of publikevices, they are named with new and more pleasing words for their excuses, bastardizing & allaying their true titles: yet it is to reforme our consciences and our conceites, *Honest a oratio est. It is an honest speech and well said.* But the best pretence of innovation Teren. And. act. 1. sce. 1. or noveltie is most dangerous: *Adeò nihil motum ex antiquo probabile est. So nothing moved cut of the first place is allowable:* Yet me seemeth (if I may speake boldly) that it argueth a great selfe-love and presumption, for a man to esteeme his opinions so far, that for to establish them, a man must be faine to subvert a publike peace, and introduce so many inevitable mischiefes, and so horrible a corruption of manners, as civill warres, and alterations of a state bring with them, in matters of such consequence, and to bring them into his owne countrie. It is not ill husbanded to advance so many certaine and knowne vices, for to combate contested and debatable errors? Is there any worse kinde of vices, than those which shocke a mans owne conscience and naturall knowledge? The Senate durst give this defeate in payment about the controversies betweene it and the people for the mysterie of their religion: *Ad deos, id magis quàm ad se pertinere: ipsos visuros, ne sacra suapolluantur: That that did rather belong to the Gods than to them, and the Gods should looke to it, that their due rites were not polluted.* A greening with that, which the Oracle answered those of *Delphos* ■ in the *Median* warre, fearing the inuasions of the *Persians*. They demaunded of that God what they should doe with the treasures consecrated to his Temple, whether hide, or cary them away: who answered them, that they should remove nothing, but take care of themselves, for he was able to provide for all things that were fit for him. Christian religion hath all the markes of extreame justice & profit, but

none more apparant then the exact commendation of obedience due vnto magistrates, and manutention of policies: what wonderfull example hath diuine wisdome left vs, which to establish the well-fare of humane kinde, and to conduct this glorious victorie of hers against death and sinne, would not do it but at the mercy of our politik order, and hath submitted the progresse of it, and the conduct of so high and worthie effect, to the blindnesse and injustice of our observations and customes, suffering the innocentbloud of so many her favored elect to runne, and allowing a long losse of yeares for the ripening of this inestimable fruit? There is much difference betweene the cause of him that followeth the formes and lawes of his countrie, and him that vndertaketh to governe and change them. The first alleageth for his excuse, simplicitie, obedience, and example; whatsoever [54]he doth cannot be malice, at the most it is but ill lucke. *Quis est enim, quem non moue at Ci [...]. di [...]. l. 1. clarissimis monument is testata consignata (que) antiquita? For who is he whom antiquitie will not move, being witnessed & signed with former monuments?* Besides that which *Isocrates* saith, that *defect hath more part in moderation, then hath excesse*. The other is in much worse case. For he that medleth with chusing and changing, vsurpeth the authoritie 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 filthie a burthen, 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 beene instructed, and wherein the rashnes of judging is of no prejudice. Seeming most impious to me, to goe about to submit publike constitutions and vnmoueable obseruances, to the instabilitie of a private fantasie (private reason is but a private jurisdiction) and to vndertake that on devine-lawes, which no policie would tolerate in civill law. Wherein although mans reason have much more commerce, yet are they soverainly judges of their judges: and their extreame sufficiencie, serveth to expound custome and extend the vse, that of them is received, and not to divert and innovate the same. If at any time devine providence hath gone beyond the rules, to which it hath necessary constrained vs, it is not to give vs a dispensation from them. They are blowes of lier diuine hand, which we ought not imitate, but admire: as extraordinarie examples, markes of an expresse and particular avowing of the severall kinds of wonders, which for a testimonie of hir omnipotencie it offereth vs, beyond our orders and forces, which it is follie and impictie to goe about to represent, and which we ought not follow but contemplate with admiration, and meditate with astonishment. Acts of hir personage, and not of ours. *Co [...]. Ita protesteth very opportunely. Quum de religione agitur, T. Coruncanum, P. Seipionem, P. Scaeuolam, Pontifices Ci [...]. De Nat. l. 3 p. maximos, non Zenonem, aut Cleanthem, aut Chrysippum, sequor. When we talke of religion, I follow Titus Coruncanus, Publius Scipio, P. Scaeuola, and the professors of religion, not Zeno, Cleanthes. or Chrysippus.*

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 survaied the reasons and foundations of one and other faction. It is a number, if it be a number, that should have no great meane to trouble vs. But whither goeth all this other throng? Vnder 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 sharpned, by hir conflict, and still do remaine in our bodies. It could not by reason of hir weaknesse purge vs, but hath rather weakned vs; so that we cannot now, voide it, and by her operation we reap nothing but long, continuall, and intestine griefes and aches, yet is it, that fortune, ever reserving hir authoritie above our discourses, doth sometimes present vs the vrgent necessitie, that lawes must needes yeeld hir some place: And when a man resisteth the increase of an innovation, brought in by violence, to keepe himselfe eachwhere and altogether in rule and bridle against those that have the keyes of fields, to whom all things are lawfull, that may in any sort advance their desseigne, that have not law, nor order, but to follow their advantage, it is a dangerous obligation and prejudiciall



inequalitie.

Aditum nocendi perfido praestat fides. Sen. Oed. Act. 3. se [...]. 1.

Trust in th'vntrustie, 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 bodie holding it selfe in his principall members and offices, and a common consent to observe and obey it. Lawfull proceeding, is a cold, dull, heauie, and forced proceeding: and is not like to hold out against a licentious and vnbridled proceeding. It is yet as all men know, a reproch to those two great personages, *Octavius* and *Cato*, in their civill warres; the one of *Scilla*, the other of *Caesar*, because they rather suffered their countrie to incur 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 hould by, it were peradventure better, to shrug the shoulders, stoope the head, and somewhat yeeld to the strooke, then beyond possibilitie to make head and resist, and be nothing [55]the better, and give violence occasion to trample all vnder-foote: and better were it to force the lawes to desire but what they may, since they may not what they would. So did he that ordained them to sleep foure and twentie houres: And he who for a time removed one day from the Calender: And another who of the moneth of Iune made a second May. The Lacedemonians themselues, so strict obseruers of their countries ordinances, being vrged by their Lawes, which precisely forbad and inhibited to chuse one man twice to be their Admirall, and on the other side their affaires necessarily requiring, that *Lysander* should once more take that charge vpon him, they created one *Aracus* Admirall, but instituted *Lysander* superintendent of all maritime causes. And with the same sutteltie, one of their Ambassadors being sent to the Athenians for to obtaine the change of some ordinance, *Pericles* alleading, that *it was expresly forbid to remove the table, wherein a law had once beene set downe*, perswaded him but to turne it, for that was not forbidden. It is that whereof *Plutarke* commendeth *Philopaemen*, who being borne to commaund, could not onely commaund according to the lawes, but the lawes themselues, whensoever publike necessitie required it.

### **The three and twentieth Chapter.** **Diuers events from one selfe same counsell.** ↩

I *Ames Amiot*, great Almoner of *France*, did once tell me this storie, to the honour of one of our Princes. (And so he was indeed by very good tokens, albeit by ofspring he were a stranger) that during our first troubles, at the siege of *Roane*, the said Prince being advertised by the Queene-mother of a conspiracie and enterprise, that should be attempted against his life, and by letters particularly informed him of the partie that should performe it, who was a gentle-man of *An [...].Jow*, or *Manse*, 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 vpon Saint *Catherins* hill, whence our batterie played against the towne (for it was, at what time we laid siege to *Roane*) with the said Lord great Almoner: and another Bishop by his side, he chanced to descree the said gentleman, whom the Queene-mother had described vnto him, and caused him to be called, who being come before his presence, said thus vnto him, perceaving him alreadie to waxe pale, and tremble at the alarums of his conscience: *Maister, such a one, I am fully perswaded you foreimagine what I will charge you with, and your countenance doth plainly show 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 chieffest props and devises of the secretest drifts of his complot and conspiracie) *faile not therefore as you tender your life, to confesse the trueth of all your purpose*. When the silly

man saw himselfe so surprized and convicted (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 mercie at the Princes handes, at whose feete he would have prostrated himselfe, but that he would not let him: thus following his discourse. *Come hither my friend,* said he, *Did I ever doe you any displeasure? Have I ever through any particular hatred, wronged or offended any friend of yours? It is not yet three weekes since I knew you, what reason might move you to conspire and enterprise 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 cause of his faction, and that some of them had perswaded him, that to roote out, and in what maner soever, to make away so great an enemy of their religion, would be an execution full of pietie, and a worke of supererogation. Then said the Prince, *I will shew you how much the religion which I professe is more milde, than that whereof you make profession: yours hath perswaded you to kill me, without hearing me, having never been offended by me: and mine, commaundes me to pardon you, convicted as you are, that you would so treacherously and without cause have killed me. Goe your way, withdraw your selfe, let mee never see you heere againe, and if you be wise, hence-forward in your enterprises take bonester men for [56] your counsellors, than those of your religion.* The Emperour Augustus being in Gaule, received certaine advertisement of a conspiracie, that L. Cinna complotted against him, whereof he purposed to be avenged, and for that purpose sent to all his friends against the next morrow for advise and counsell, but passed the fore-going night with great anxietie and vnrest, considering that following his intent, he should bring a yong Gentleman, well borne, of a noble house, and great Pompeyes nephew, to his death: which perplexitie produced divers strange discourses and consideration in him. *What?* said he vnto himselfe, *Shall it ever bee reported, that I doe live in feare, and suffer mine enemie to walke at his pleasure and libertie? Shall he then goe free, that hath attempted and resolved to deprive me of my life, which both by sea and land I have saved from so many civill warres, and from so many battels? And now that I have established an vniversall peace in the world, shall he be absolved and goe vnpunished, 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 sacrifice.) After that, having taken some rest with himselfe, he with a lowder voice beganne to exclaime and cry out against himselfe, saying, *Why livest thou, if the lives of so many depend on thy death? Shall thy vengeance and cruelties never have an end? Is thy life of that worth, as it may counter vaile the sundry mischiefes that are like to ensue, if it be preserved?* Livia his wife being in bed with him, perceiving his agonie, and hearing his speeches, said thus vnto him: *And may not womens counsels be admitted? Doe as Physitians are woont, who when their ordinarie receipts will not worke, have recourse to the contrarie. Hitherto thou couldest never doe any good with severitie: Lepidus hath followed Savidienus, Murena Lepidus, Coepio Murena, Egnatius Scoepio, beginne now to proove what good lenitie and clemencie will doe thee. Cinna is convicted, pardon him: To annoy or hurt thee now, he is not able, and thou shalt thereby encrease thy glory.* Augustus seemed very glad to have found an Advocate of his humour, and having thanked his wife, and countermaunded his friends, whom he had summoned to the Counsell, commaunded Cinna to be brought before him alone. Then sending all men out of his chamber, and a chaire prepared for Cinna to sit in, he thus bespake him: *First Cinna, I require to have gentle audience, and that thou wilt not interrupt my speech, which ended, I will give thee time and leasure to answer me: Thou knowest (oh Cinna) that when I had taken thee prisoner in mine enemies campe, who wast not only become, but borne my foe; I saved thee, then put thee in quiet possession of thy goods, and at last, have so enriched thee, and placed thee in so high a degree, that even the conquerours are become envious over the conquered. The Priestes office, which thou beggedst at my hands, I freely bestowed on thee, having first refused the same to others, whose fathers and friendes had in many battels shead their bloud for me: After all which benefites, and that I had in dutie tied thee so fast vnto me, thou hast notwithstanding*

*undertaken to kill me.* To whom Cinna replied, crying aloude, *That he had never so much as conceived so wicked a thought, much lesse entertained the same.* Oh Cinna, *this is not according to thy promise,* answered then Augustus, *which was, that thou wouldest not interrupt me: What I say, is true, thou hast 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 stricken dombe, moved thereunto, not by the condition of his promise, but by the guilt of his selfe-accusing conscience; why wouldest thou doe it, replied he, is it because thou wouldest be Emperour? Truely the common-wealth is but in hard condition, if none but my selfe hinder thee from the Empire. The [...] canst not so much as defend thine owne house, and didst but lately loose a processe, only by the favor of aseely libertine. What? hast thou no meane or power in any other matter, but to attempt Caesars life? I quit it, if there be no man but my selfe to impeach thy hopes. Supposest thou that Paulus, that Fabius, that the Cossenians or the Servillianes will ever permit thee? And so great a troupe 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 talked with him more than two houres) he said vnto him; *Away, oh Cinna, that life which once I gave thee, as to anemie, I now give thee againe, as to a traitour, and a patricide: let a true friendship from this day forward begin betwene vs, let vs strive together, which of vs two with a better faith shall out-goe the other, and whether I have given thy life, or thou hast received the same with great confidence:* and so left him. Shortly after he gave him the Consulship, blaming him that he durst not aske it of him. And ever after held him as his deere friend, and made him alone, heire and executor of his goodes. Now after this accident, which hapned to Augustus in the xl. yeare of his age, there was never any conspiracie or enterprize attempted against him; and he received a just reward [57]for his so great clemency. But the like succeeded not to our Prince, for his mildnesse and lenitie, could not so warrant him, but that afterward he fell into the snares of the like treason: so vaine and frivolous a thing is humane wisdom: and contrary to al projects, devises, counsels, & precautions, fortune doth ever keepe a full sway and possession of all events. We count those Phisitians happy and successefull, that successefully end a desperate cure, or come to a good issue: as if there were no other arte but theirs, that could not subsist of it selfe, and whose foundations were too feeble, to stand and relie vpon her owne strength: and as if there were none but it, that standes in neede of fortunes helpe-affoording hand, for the effecting of her operations. My conceit of it, is both the worst and the best a man may imagine: for thanks be to God, there is no commerce betwene vs: I am contrary to others; for I ever despise it, and when I am sick, in stead of entring into league or composition with it, I then beginne to hate and feare it most: and answere such as vrge mee to take Physicke, that at least they will tarie till such 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 presuppose vnto my selfe, that she hath provided her selfe, both of teeth and clawes, to defend her self from such assaults as shal beset her, and to maintaine this contexture or frame, whose dissolution it so much hateth. In lieu of bringing helpe vnto her, when shee most striveth, and is combated by sicknesse, I greatly feare lest I bring succor vnto her adversarie, and surcharge her with new enemies. Now I conclude, that not onely in Phisicke, but likewise in sundry more certaine artes, fortune hath great share in them. The Poeticall furies, which ravish and transport their Author beyond himselfe, why shall we not ascribe them to his good fortune, since himselfe confesseth, that they exceede his strength and sufficiencie, and acknowledgeth to proceede from elsewhere, than from himselfe, and that they are not in his power, no more than Orators say to have those strange motions and extraordinary agitations, that in their arte transport them beyond their purpose? The like wee see to bee in painting, for sometimes the Painters hand shall draw certaine lines or draughts, so farre exceeding his conception or skill, that himselfe is forced to enter into admiration and amazement. But fortune yet doth much more evidently shewe, the share shee hath in all their workes, 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 heedy Reader shall often discover in other mens compositions, perfections farre-differing from the Authors meaning, and such as haply he never dreamed of, and illustrateth them with richer senses, and more excellent constructions. As for military enterprises, no man is so blinde but seeth what share fortune hath in them: even in our counsels and deliberations, some chance or good lucke must needs be joyned to them, for whatsoever our wisdom can effect, is no great matter. The sharper and quicker it is, more weakenesse findes it in itselfe, and so much the more doth it distrust itselfe. I am of *Sillaes* opinion: and when I nearest consider the most glorious exploit of warre, me thinkes I see, that those who have the conduct of them, employ neyther counsell nor deliberation about them, but for fashion-sake, and leave the best part of the enterprise to fortune, and on the confidence they have in her ayde, they still go beyond the limits of all discourse. Casuall rejoycings, and strange furies ensue among their deliberations, which for the most induce them to take the counsell least grounded vpon apparance or reason, and which quaile their courage beyond reason; whence it hath succeeded vnto diverse great Captaines, by giving credite to such rash counsels, and aleaging to their souldiers, that by some divine inspiration, and other signes and prognostications, they were encouraged to such and such enterprises. Loe here wherefore in this vncertainty and perplexitie, which the impuissances and inabilityie doth bring vs to see and chuse what is most commodious, for the difficulties which the divers accidents and circumstances of everie thing drawe with them: the surest way, if other considerations did not invite vs thereto, is, in my conceit, to follow the partie, wherein is most honestie and justice; and since a man doubteth of the nearest 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 same, than to have done otherwise. If the first had but ill successe, his good intent is not to be blamed; and no man knoweth, had he taken the contrary way, whether he should have escaped the end, to which his destinie called him; and then had he lost the glorie and commendations, of so seld-seene humanitie. Sundrie [58]men possessed with this feare, are read-of in auncient Histories; the greatest part of which have followed the way of fore-running the conspiracies, which were complotted against them, by revenge or tortures, but I see very few, that by this remedy have received any good; witnesse so many Romane Emperours. Hee that perceiveth himselfe to be in this danger, ought not much to relie vpon his power, or hope in his vigilancie. For, how hard a matter is it, for a man to warrant and safegard himselfe from an enemie, that masks vnder the visage 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 forraine nations to his guard, and ever to be encircled about with troupes of Armed men; whosoever he be that resolveth to condemne his owne life, may at any time become master of other mens lives.

Moreover that continuall suspition, which makes the Prince to mistrust every body, should be a wonderfull vexation to his minde. And therefore when *Dion* was advertised that *Callippus* watched to kill him, could never finde in his heart to informe himselfe of it: affirming; *He had rather die once, than ever live in feare and miserie, and to garde himselfe not only from his enemies, but from his very friends.* Which thing *Alexander* presented more lively and vndantedly by effect, who by a letter of *Parme* [...] having received advertisement, that *Phillip* his neerest and best regarded Phisitian, had with money bene suborned and corrupted by *Darius*, to poison him, who at the very instant that he gave *Phillip* the letter to reade, swallowed downe a potion he had given him: was it not to expresse his resolution, that if his friends would kill him, he would not shunne them, but consent to their treachery? This Prince is the Sovereigne patterne of hazardous attempts: yet know I not whether in all his life, he shewed an act of more resolute constancie, than this, nor an ornament so many waies famous. Those which daily preach and buzze in Princes eares, vnder colour of their safetie a hee [...] diffidence and ever-warie distrustfulnesse, doe nought but

tell them of their ruine, and further their shame and downfall. No noble act is atchived without danger. I know one by his owne complexion of a right martiall courage, and ready for any resolution, whose good and hopefull fortune is dayly corrupted by such verball perswasions; as first to keepe close with his friends; never to listen to any reconciliation with his olde enemies: to stand vpon his owne garde; never to commit himselfe to any stronger then himselfe, what faire promise soever they make him, or whatsoever apparant profit they seeme to containe. I also know another, who because he did ever follow the contrarie counsell, and would never listen to such schoole-reasons, hath beyond all hope raised his fortune above the common reach. That boldnesse wherewith they so greedily gape after glory, is alwaies 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 wisdom so tenderly-precise, and so precisely-circumspect, is a mortall enemie to haughty executions. *Scipio*, to sound the depth of *Siphax* intent, and to discover his minde; leaving his armie, and abandoning the yet vnsetled country of *Spaine*, which vnder his new conquest of it, was likely to be suspected, he I say, could passe into *Affrike* only with two simple ships or small barkes, to commit himselfe in a strange and foe countrie, to engage his person, vnder the power of a barbarous King, vnder an vnknowne faith, without either hostage, or letters of credence, yea without any body, but onely vpon the assurance of the greatnesse of his courage, of his successefull good fortune, and of the promise of his high-raised hopes. *Habita fides ipsam plerumque fidem obligat. Most commonly trusting obligeth trustinesse.* To an ambitious and fameaspiring minde, contrariwise, a man must yeeld little, and cary a hard hand against suspitions: Feare and distrust draw on offences and allure them. The most mistrustfull of our Kings established his affaires, and settled his estate, especially because he had voluntarily given over, abandoned and committed his life and libertie, to the hands and mercy of his enemies: Seeming to put his whole confidence in them, that so they might likewise conceive an vndoubted affiance in him. *Caesar* did onely confront his mutinous legions, and oppose his hardly-ruled Armies, with the minde-quelling authoritie of his countenance, and awemooving fiercenesse of his wordes: and did so much trust himselfe and his fortune, that he no whit feared to abandon and commit himselfe to a seditious and rebellious Armie.

—stetit aggere ful [...]Lucan. li. 5. 296.

Casptis, intrepitus vultu, meruitque timeri  
 [59] Nil metuens.  
 He on arampart stood of turfe vprear'd,  
 Fearelesse, and fearing none was to be fear'd.

True it is, that this vndaunted 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 fearefully-trembling, doubtfull and vncertaine, for the service of an important reconciliation, is to effect no great matter: It is an excellent motive to gaine 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 necessitie, and in such sort, that a man bring a pure and vnspotted confidence with him, and at least his countenance void of all scruple. Being yet a child, I saw a gentleman, who had the command of a great Citie, and by a commotion of a seditiously-furious people greatly put to his plunges, who to suppress the rising-fire of this tumult, resolved to sally out from a strongly-assured place, where he was safe, and yeeld himselfe to that many-headed monster mutinous rowt; thrived so ill by it, that he was miserably slaine amongst them: yet deeme I not his oversight to have beene so great an issuing out, his memorie being of most men condemned, as because he tooke a way of submission, and remissenesse, and attempted to extinguish that rage and hurly-burly, rather by way of following, than of guiding, and by requiring sute, than by demonstrative resolution: and I deeme a graciously-milde severitie, with a militarie

commandement, full of confidence and securitie, beseeming his ranke, and the dignitie of his charge, had better availed him, had beene more succesfull, at least with more honour, and well seeming comlinesse. There is nothing lesse to bee expected or hoped for at the hands of this monstrous-faced-multitude, thus agitated by furie, then humanitie and gentlenesse; it will much sooner receive reverence, and admit feare. I might also blame him, that having vndertaken a resolution (in my judgement, rather brave then rash) to cast himselfe inconsiderately, weake and vnarmed, amidst a tempestuous Ocean of sencelesse and mad men, he should have gone through-stitch with it, and not leave the person he represented in the briers, whereas, after he had perceived the danger at hand, he chanced to bleede at the nose; and then to change that demisse and flattering countenance he had vndertaken, into a dismaide and drooping looke, filling both voice and eyes with astonishment and repentance: and seeking to squat himselfe, hee the more enflamed, and called them vpon him. It was determined, there should be a generall muster made of divers troupes of armed men (a place fittest for secret revenges, and where they may safest be atchieved) there were most apparant reasons, that the place was very vn Timer, or at least, to be suspected, by such as were to have the principall and necessary charge to survey them. Divers counsels were proposed, sundry opinions heard, as in a subject of great difficultie, and on which depended so many weightie consequences. My advise was, they should carefully avoide to give any testimonie of suspition, or shew of doubt, and that our troupes should be as full as might be, and the Fyles orderly ranked, and every Souldier shew an vndanted carriage, and vndismaied countenance, and in stead of keeping some of our forces backe (which thing most opinions aimed at) all Captaines should be put in minde to admonish their Souldiers to make their sallies as orderly and as strong as might be, in honour of the assistance; and spare no powder, which would serve as a gratification toward these suspectfull troupes, which afterward caused a mutuall and profitable confidence. I finde the course that *Iu [...]*s *Caesar* held to be the best a man may take: First he asseved by clemencie to purchase the love of his very enemies, contenting himselfe in the conspiracies that were discovered vnto him, simply to shew they were not vnknownen to him, but had perfect notice of them. That done, he tooke a most noble resolution, which was, without dread or dismay, or any care-taking, to attend whatsoever might betide him, wholly abandoning and remitting himselfe into the hands of the Gods and of fortune. For certainly, it is the state wherein he was, when he was murdered in the Senate. A stranger having published every where, that he could teach *Dionysius* the tyrant of *Siracusa* away to vnderstand and discover the very certaintie of all the practises, his subjects or any else should practise against him, if he would bestow a good summe of money vpon him: *Dionysius* being thereof advertised, sent for him, to discover the secret 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 [60]he should deliver him a talent, and then boast hee had learned the vse of so vnvaluable a secret of him. *Dionysius* allowed of his invention, and forthwith caused six hundred crownes to be delivered him. It is not likely that ever he would have given so great a summe of mony to an vnknowne man, but in reward of a most profitable instruction; for by way of this reputaion he kept his enemies still in awe. And therefore doe Princes wisely publish such advertisements as they receive of the plots conspired, and treasons, practised against their lives and states, thereby to make men beleieve, that nothing can be attempted against them, but they shall have knowledge of it. The Duke of *Athens* committed many fond oversights in the establishing of his late tyrannie vpon the Florentines, but this the chiefest, that having received the first advertisement of the Monopolies and Complots the Florentines contrived against him, by *Mathew*, surnamed *Moro*, one of the complices, thinking to suppress this warning, and conceale that any in the Citie were offended at him, or gruded at his rule, caused him immediatly to be put to death. I remember to have heretofore read the storie of a Romane (a man of speciall dignitie) who flying the tyrannie of the *Triumvirate*, had many times by the sutteltie of his invention, escaped those who pursued him. It fortun'd vpon a day, that a troupe of horse-men, who had

the charge to apprehend him, passing amongst a hedge, vnder which he lay lurking, had well nigh discovered him; which he perceiving, 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, than live in such continuall feare and agonie, himselfe called them, and voluntarily discovered his lurking hole, and that he might ridde them and himselfe from further pursuite and care, did willingly yeeld vnto their crueltie. For a man to call his enemies to aid him, is a counsell somewhat rash, yet thinke I, it were better to embrace it, than remaine still in the continuall fit of such a feaver that hath no remedie. But since the provisions of man may apply vnto it, are full of vnquietnesse and vncertaintie, much better is it with a full assurance to prepare himselfe patiently to endure whatsoever may happen, and draw 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 oftentimes beene vexed, to see a Pedant brought in, in most of Italian comedies, for a vice or sporte-maker, and the nicke-name of *Magister* to be of no better 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 excuse them by reason of the naturall disproportion, that is betweene the vulgar sort, and rate and excellent men, both in judgement and knowledge: forsomuch as they take a cleane contrarie course one from another. But when I considered, the choysiest men were they, that most contemned them, I was far to seeke, and as it were lost my selfe, witnesse our good *Bellaye*:

Mais ie hay par sur tout vnscauir pedantesque.Bellay.

A pedant knowledge, I  
Detest out of all cry.

Yet is this custome very ancient; for *Plutarch* saith, *that Greeke 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 magnos clericos, non sunt magis magnos sapientes. The most greatest Clarkes is not the most wisest men.* But whence it may proceed, that a minde rich in knowledge, and of so many things, becommeth thereby never livelier nor more quicke-sighted; and a grose-headed, and vulgare spirit, may without amendment, containe the discourse and judgement of the most excellent wits, the world ever produced, I still remaine doubtfull. To receive so many, so strange, yea and so great wits, it must needs follow (said once a Lady vnto me, yea one of our chiefest Princesses, speaking of some body) [61] *that a mans owne wit, force, droope, and as it were diminish it selfe, to make roome for others.* I might say, that as plants are choked by over-much moisture, and lamps dammed with too much oyle, so are the actions of the mind overwhelmed by over-abundance of matter and studie: which occupied and intangled with so great a diversitie of things, looseth the mean to spread and cleare it selfe; and that surcharge keepeth it low-drooping and faint. But it is otherwise, for our mind stretcheth the more by how much more it is replenished. And in examples of former times, the contrary is seene, of sufficient men in the managing of publike affaires, of great Captaines, and notable Counsellors in matters of estate, to have been therewithall excellently wise. And concerning Philosophers, retired from all publike negotiations, they have indeed sometimes been vilified, by the comike libertie of their times, then opinions and demeanors yeelding them ridiculous. Will you make them judges of the right of a processe, or of the actions of a man? They are readie for it. They enquire whether there be any life yet remaining, whether any motion.

Whether man be any thing but an Oxe, what working or suffering is; what strange beasts law and justice are. Speake they of the Magistrate, or speake they vnto him? They do it with an vnreuerent and vncivill libertie. Heare they a Prince or a King commended? Hee is but a shepheard to them, as idle as a Swaine busied about milking of his cattell, or shearing of his sheepe: but yet more rudely. Esteeme you any man the greater for possessing 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 descent of seaven or eight rich Grandfathers? They will but little regard you, as men that conceive not the vniversall image of nature, and how many predecessors every one of vs hath had, both rich and poore, kings and groomes, Greekes and Barbarians. And were you lineally descended in the fiftieth degree from *Hercules*, they deeme it a vanitie to vaunt or alleadge this gift of fortune. So did the vulgare sort disdain them as ignorant of the first and common things, and as presumptuous and insolent. But this Platonicall lustre is far from that which our men stand in need of. They were envied as being beyond the common sort, as despising publike actions, as having proposed vnto themselves a particular and inimitable life, aiming and directed at certaine high discourses, and from the common vse: these are disdained as men beyond the ordinary fashion, as incapable of publike charges, as leading an vnsociable life, and professing base and abject customes, after the vulgar kind. *Odi homines ignavos opera, Philosophos sententia.* Pac [...]i [...]s Lip [...]. l. 1. c. 10. *I hate men that are fooles 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 report of that *Syracusan* Geometrician, who being taken from his bookish contemplation, to shew some practise of his skill, for the defence of his countrie, reared sodainly certain terror-moving engines, and shewed effects farre exceeding all mens conceit, himselfe notwithstanding disdainning all this his handie-worke, supposing he had thereby corrupted the dignitie of his arte; his engines and manuell works being but the apprentiships, and trials of his skill in sport. So they, if at any time they have been put to the triall of any action, they have been seen to flie so high a pitch, and with so loftie a flight, that men might apparantly see their minds and spirits were through the intelligence of things, become wonderfully rich and great. But some perceiving the seat of politike government possessed by vnworthy and incapable men, have withdrawne themselves from it. And hee who demaunded of *Crates*, how long men should Philosophize, received this answere, vntill such time as they who have the conduct of our Armies be no longer blockish asses. *Heraclitus* resigned the roialtie 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 companie? Others having their imagination placed beyond fortune and the world, found the seat of justice, and the thrones of Kings, to be but base and vile. And *Empedocles* refused the royaltie, which the *Agrigentines* offered him. *Thales* sometimes accusing 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 sport he would needs shew by experience how he could at his pleasure become both thriftie and rich; and bending his wits to gaine and profit, erected a traffike, which within one yeare brought him such riches, as the skilfullest in the trade of thriving, could hardly in all their life devise how to get the like. That [62]which *Aristotle* reporteth of some, who called both him, and *Anaxagoras*, and such like men, wise, and not prudent, because they cared not for things more profitable: besides, I do not verie well digest this nice difference of words, that serveth my find-fault people for no excuse: and to see the base and needie fortune, wherewith they are content, we might rather have just cause to pronounce them, neither wise nor prudent. I quit this first reason, and thinke it better to say, that this evill 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 Masters, howbeit they proove more learned, become no whit more sufficient. Verily the daily care, and



continuall charges of our fathers, aymeth 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, crie out to our people; *Oh what a wise man goeth yonder? And of another: Oh what a good man is yonder?* He will not faile to cast his eyes and respect toward the former. A third crier were needfull, to say, *Oh what blocke-heads are those!* We are ever readie to aske, *Hath he any skill in the Greeke and Latine tongue? can he write well? doth hee write in prose or verse?* But whether hee be growne better or wiser, which should be the chiefest of his drift, that is never spoken of, we should rather enquire who is better wise, then who is more wise. We labour, and toyle, and plod to fill the memorie, and leave both vnderstanding and conscience emptie. Even as birds flutter and skip from field to field to pecke vp corne, or any graine, and without tasting the same, carrie it in their bils, therewith to feed their little ones; so do 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 fitly sottisnesse takes hold of mine example. Is not that which I doe in the greatest part of this composition, all one and selfe same thing? I am ever heer and there picking and culling, from this and that booke, the sentences that please me, not to keepe them (for I have no store-house to reserve 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 wise, but by present learning, not by that which is past, and as little by that which is to come. But which is worse, their Schollers, and their little ones are never a whit the more fed or better nourished: but passeth 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 stories, or prettie tales, as of a light and counterfeit coyne, vnprofitable for any vse or employment, but to reckon and cast acompts. *Apud alios loqui didicerunt, non ipsi secum. Non Se [...]. epist. 108. est loquendum, sed gubernandum. They have learned to speake with others, not with themselves, speaking is not so requisite as government.* Nature, to shew that nothing is savage in whatsoever she produceth, causeth oftentimes, even in rudest and most vnarted nations, productions of spirits to arise, that confront and wrestle with the most artist productions. As concerning my discourse, is not the Gaskonie proverbe, drawne from a bag-pipe, prettie and quaint? *Bouha prou bouha, mas à remuda lous dits quèm. You may blow long enough, but if once you stirre your fingers, you may go seeke.* Wee can talke and prate, *Cicero* saith thus, These are *Platoes* customes, These are the verie words of *Aristotle*; but what say we our selves? what do we? what judge we? A *Peroquet* would say as much. This fashion puts me in mind of that rich Romane, who to his exceeding great charge had beene verie industrious to finde out the most 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 Schollership, they might supplie his place, and be readie to assist him: some with discourse, some with a verse of *Homer*, othersome with a sentence, eachone according to his skill or profession; who perswaded himselfe that all such learning was his owne, because it was contained in his servants minds. As they doe whose sufficiencie is placed in their sumptuous libraries. I know some, whom if I aske what he knoweth, hee will require a booke to demonstrate the same, and durst not dare to tell me that his posteriors are seabious, except he turne over his *Lexicon* to see what posteriors and scabious is, wee take the opinions and knowledge of others into our protection, and that is all: I tell you they must be enfeoffed in vs, and made our owne. Wee may verie well be compared vnto him, who having neede of fire, should goe fetch some at his neighbours chimney, where finding a good fire, should there stay to warme himselfe, forgetting to carrie some home, what availles it vs to have our bellies full of meat, if it be not digested? if it bee not [63]transchanged in vs? except it nourish, augment, and strengthen vs? May we imagine that *Lucullus*, whom learning made and framed so great a Captaine without experience, would have taken it after our manner? We relie so much vpon other mens armes, that we disanull our owne strength. Will I arme my selfe against the feare of death? it is at *Senecaes* cost: will I draw comfort either for my selfe, or any other? I borrow the same of *Cicero*. I would have

taken-it in my selfe, had I been exercised vnto it, I love not this relative and begd-for sufficiencie. Suppose we may be learned by other mens learning. Sure I am, we can never be wise, but by our owne wisdome.

[...].Proverb [...].Iamb.

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

*Ex quo Ennius: Nequidquam sapere sapientem, qui ipsi sibi prodesse non quiret.*  
Whereupon Ennius. saith Ennius. *That wise man is vainly wise, who could not profit himselfe.*

—si cupidus, si Iuvenal Sat. 8. 14. Danus, & Euganeâ quantumvis vilior agnâ.

If covetous, if vaine (not wise)  
Then any lambe more base, more nice.

*Non enim paranda nobis solùm, sed fruenda sapientia est. For, wee must not onely purchase wisdome, Cic. Finib. lib. 1. p. but enjoy and employ the same. Dionysius* scoffeth at those Gramarians, who ploddingly labour to know the miseries of *Ulysses*, and are ignorant of their owne; mocketh those Musicians, that so attentively tune their instruments, and neuer accord their manners; derideth those Orators, that studie to speake of justice, and never put it in execution. Except our mind be the better, vnlesse our judgement be the sounder, I had rather my scholler had employed his time in playing at Tennis; I am sure his bodie would be the nimbler. See but one of these our vniversitie men or bookish schollers returne from schoole, after he hath there spent ten or twelve yeares vnder a Pedants charge: who is so vnapt for any matter? who so vnfit for any companie? who so to seeke if he come into the world? all the advantage you discover in him, is, that his Latine and Greeke, have made him more sottish, more stupide, and more presumptuous, then before he went from home. Whereas he should returne with a mindfull-fraught, he returnes with a wind-puft conceit: in stead of plum-feeding the same, he hath onely spunged it vp with vanitie. These Masters, as *Plato* speaketh of Sophisters (their cosin germanes) of all men, are those, that promise to be most profitable vnto men, and alone, amongst all, that not onely amend not what is committed to their charge, as doth a carpenter or a mason, but empaire and destroy the same, and yet they must full dearly be paid. If the law which *Protagoras* proposed to his disciples, were followed, which was, that either they should pay-him according to his word, or swear in the temple, how much they esteemed the profit they had received by his discipline, and accordingly satisfie him for his paines, my Pedagogues would be aground, especially if they would stand to the oath of my experience. My vulgar Perigordin-speech doth verie pleasantly terme such selfe-conceited wisards, Letter-ferits, as if they would say letter stricken men, to whom (as the common saying is) letters have given a blow with a mallet. Verily for the most part they seeme to be distracted even from common sense. Note but the plaine husbandman, or the vnwylie shoemaker, and you see them simply and naturally plod on their course, speaking onely of what they know, and no further; whereas these letter-puft pedants, because they would faine raise themselves aloft, and with their litterall doctrine which floteth vp and downe the superficies of their braine, arme themselves beyond other men, they vncessantly intricate and entangle themselves: they vtter loftie words, and speake golden sentences, but so that another man doth place, fit, and applie them. They are acquainted with *Galen*, but know not the disease. They will stuffe your head with lawes, when God wot they have not yet conceived the ground of the case. They know the Theorike of all things, but you must seeke who shall put it in practise. I have seene a friend of mine, in mine owne house, who by way of sport talking with one of these pedanticall gulls, counterfeited a kind of fustian tongue, and spake a certaine gibbrish, without rime or reason,

sans head or foote, a hotch-pot of diverse things, but that he did often enterlace it with inkepot termes, incident to their disputations, to amuse the bookish sot for a whole day long with debating and contending; ever thinking he answered the Objections made vnto him; yet was he a man of [64]letters, and reputation, a graduate, and wore a goodly formall long gowne.

Uos ô patritius sanguis quos vivere par est Pers. sat. 1. 61.  
Occipiticaeco, posticae occurrite sannae.

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

Whosover shall narrowly looke into this kind of people, which far and wide hath spred it selfe, he shall find (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 naturall inclination have of it selfe otherwise fashioned them. As I have seene *Adrianus Turnebus*, who having never professed any thing but studie and letters, wherein he was, in mine opinion, the worthiest man that lived these thousand yeares, 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 incivilized to the courtiers cut; things of no consequence. And I naturally hate our people, that will more hardly endure a long roabe vncuriously worne, then a crosse skittish mind: & that observe what leg, or reverence he makes, note his garbe or demeanor, view his boots, or his hat, and marke what maner of man he is. For his inward parts, I deeme him to have been one of the most vnspotted and truly honest minds that ever was. I have sundry times of purpose vrged him to speake of matters furth est from his study, wherein he was so cleare-sighted, and could with so quicke an apprehension conceive, and with so sound a judgement distinguish them, that he seemed never to have professed or studied other facultie then warre, and matters of state. Such spirits, such natures may be termed worthy, goodly, and solide.

—queis arte benigna Iuven sat. 14. 34. Et meliore luto fi [...]xit praecordia Titan,

Whose bowels heavens-bright-Sunne composed  
Of better [...] old, art wel-disposed,

That maintaine themselves against any bad institution. Now it sufficeth not that our institution marre vs not, it must change vs to the better. There are some of our Pa [...]haments and Courts, who when they are to admit of any officers, doe only examine them of their learning; others, that by presenting them the judgement of some law cases, endeavour to sound their vnderstanding. Me thinks the latter keep the better stile: And albeit these two parts are necessarie, and both ought to concur in one, yet truly should that of learning be lesse prized then judgement, this may well be without the other, and not the other without this. For as the Greeke verse saith.

[...].Com [...] Gr [...]. [...].

Learning nought worth doth lie,  
Be not discretion by.

Whereto serveth learning, if vnderstanding be not joyned to it? Oh would to God, that for the good of our justice, the societies of Lawyers were as well stored with judgement, discretion, and conscience, as they are with learning and wit. *Non vitae, sed scholae discimus. We [...]*n epist. 106. f. *learne not for our life, but for the schoole.* It is not enough to

joyne learning and knowledge to the minde, it should be incorporated vnto it: it must not be sprinkled, but dyed with it; and if it change not and better hir estate (which is imperfect) it were much better to leave it. It is a dangerous Sword, and which hindreth and offendeth hir master, if it be in a weake hand, and which hath not the skill to manage the same: *Vt fuerit melius non didicisse: So as it were better that we had not learned.* It is peradventure the cause, that neither we, nor divinitie require not much learning in women; and that *Francis Duke of Britannie*, sonne to *Iohn* the fifth, when he was spoken vnto for a marriage betweene him and *Isabel* a daughter of *Scotland*; and some told him she was but meanly brought vp, and without any instruction of learning, answered, hee loved hir the better for it, and that a woman was wise enough, if she could but make a difference betweene the shirt and dublet of hir husbands. It is also no such wonder (as some say) that our auncesters did never make any great accompt of Letters, and that even at this day (except it be by chaunce) they are not often found in our Kings or Princes chiefest counceles and consultations: And if the end to grow rich by them, which now-adaies is altogether proposed vnto vs by the studie of Law, of Phisicke, of Pedantisme, and of Divinitie; did not keep them in credit, without doubt you should see them [65]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? *Postquam docti prodiderunt, boni desunt.* Se [...]. epist. 95. *Since men became learned, good men failed.* Each other science is prejudiciall vnto him, that hath not the science of goodnesse.’ But may not the reason I whilome sought for, also proceed thence? That our studie in *France*, having as it were no other aime but profit, but those lesse whom nature hath produced to more generous offices, then lucrative, giving themselves vnto learning, or so briefly (before they have apprehended any liking of them, retired vnto a profession that hath no communitie with bookes) there are then none left, altogether to engage themselves to studie and Bookes, but the meaner kind of people, and such as are borne to base fortune, and who by learning and letters seek some meane to live, and enrich themselves. The minds of which people being both by naturall inclination, by example, and familiar institution, of the basest stampe, do falsely reap the fruit of learning. For it is not in hir power to give light vnto the mind, that hath none, nor to make a blind man to see. The mysterie of it is not to afford him sight, but to direct it for him, to addresse his goings, alwaies provided he have feet of his owne, and good, straite, and capable legs. Knowledge is an excellent drug, but no drug is sufficiently strong to preserve it selfe without alteration or corruption, according to the fault of the vessell, that containes it. Some man hath a cleare sight, that is not right-sighted; and by consequence seeth what good is, and doth not follow it; and seeketh knowledge, but makes no vse of it. The chiefest ordinance of *Plato* in his common wealth is, to give vnto his Citizens their charge, according to their nature. Nature can do all, and doth all. The crookt backt, or deformed, are vnfit for any exercise of the bodie, and crooked and mishappen minds vnproper for exercises of the minde. The bastard and vulgar sort are vnworthy of Philosophie. When we see a man ill shod, if he chaunce to be a Shoemaker, wee say it is no wonder, for commonly none goes worse shod then they. Even so it seemes, that experience doth often shew vs, a Phisitian lesse healthy, a Divine lesse reformed, and most commonly a Wiseman lesse sufficient then an other. *Aristo Chius* had heeretofore reason to say, that Philosophers did much hurt to their auditors, forasmuch as the greatest number of minds are not apt to profit by such instructions, which, if they take not a good, they will follow a bad course: [...] *Aristippi, acerbos ex Zenonis schola* Cic. Nat. Deor. li. 3. *exire. They proceed licentious out of the Schoole of Aristippus, but bitter out of the Schoole of Zeno.* In that excellent institution which *Zenophon* giveth the Persians, wee find, ‘that as other Nations teach their children Letters, so they taught theirs vertue. *Plato* said the eldest borne sonne, in their royall succession, was thus taught. As soone as he was borne, he was delivered, not to women, but to such Eunuches, as by reason of their vertue were in chiefest authoritie about the King. Their speciall charge was first to shapen his limmes and bodie, goodly, and healthy; and at seaven yeares of age, they instructed and inured him to sit on horsebacke, and to ride a

hunting: when he came to the age of fourteene, they delivered him into the hands of foure men, that is to say, the wisest, the justest, the most temperate, and the most valiant of all the nation. The first taught him religion; the second, to be ever vpright and true; the third, to become Master of his owne desires; and the fourth, to feare nothing. It is a thing worthy great consideration, that in that excellent, and as I may terme it, matchlesse pollicie of *Lycurgus*, and in truth, by reason of her perfection, monstrous, yet notwithstanding, so carefull for the education of children, as of her principall charge, and even in the Muses bosome and resting-place, there is so little mention made of learning: as if that generous youth disdainning all other yokes but of vertue, ought onely be furnished, in lieu of tutors of learning, with masters of volour, of justice, of wisdom, and of temperance. An example which *Plato* hath imitated in his *Lawes*. The manner of their discipline was, to propound questions vnto them, teaching the judgement of men and of their actions: and if by way of reason or discourse, they condemned or praised, either this man, or that deede, they must be told the trueth and best: by which meanes at once they sharpned their wits, and learned the right. *Af [...]* *Jages* in *Zenophon* calleth *Cyrus* to an accompt of his last lesson: It is (saith he) that a great lad in our Schoole, having a little coate, gave it to one of his fellowes, that was of lesser stature than himselfe, and tooke his coate from him, which was too big for him: our Master having made me judge of that difference, I judged that things must be left in the state they were in, and that both seemed to be better fitted as they were; whereupon he shewed me, I had done ill; because I had not onely considered the [66]comelinesse, where I should chiefly have respected justice, which required, that none should be forced in any thing which properly belonged to him, and said, he was whi [...]t for it, as we are in our countrie-townes, when we have forgotten the first preterperfect tense or *A [...]* *rist [...]* *e* of [...]. My Regent might long enough make me a prolix and cunning Oration *in genere demonstrativo, in the oratorie kind of praise or dispraise*, before ever hee should perswade me his Schoole 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 wisdom, honestie, integritie, and resolution; they have at first sight, attempted to put their children to the proper of effects, and instruct them, not by heare-say, but by assay of action, lively modelling and framing them, not onely by precepts and wordes, but principally by examples and works, that it might not be a Science in their mind, but rather his complexion and habitude; not a purchase, but a naturall inheritance.

To this purpose when *Agesilaus* was demaunded, what his opinion was, children should learne: answered, *What they should doe being men*. It is no marvell, if such an institution have produced so admirable effects. Some say, that in other Cities of *Greece* they went to seeke for Rhetoricians, for Painters, and for Musicians ■ whereas in *L [...]* *d [...]* *m [...]*, they fought for Law-givers, for Magistrates, and Generals of a [...]: In *A44Span [...]* *s* men learn'd to say well, but heere, to doe well: there to resolve a sophisticall argument, and to confound the imposture and amphibologie of words, captiously enterlaced together; heere to shake off the allurements of voluptuousnesse, and with an vndanted courage to contemne the threats of fortune, and reject the menaces of death: those busied and laboured themselves about idle wordes, these after martiall things: there the tongue was ever in continuall exercise of speaking, heere the minde in an vncessant practise of well-doing. And therefore was it not strange, if *Antipater* requiring fiftie of their children for hostages, they answered cleane contrarie to that we would doe, *that they would rather deliver him twice so many men*; so much did they value and esteeme the losse of their countries education. When *Agesilau [...]* *inv [...]* *t [...]* *h Xenophon* to send his children to *Sparta*, there to be brought vp; it is not, because they should learne Rhetorike, or Logike, but, as himselfe saith, *to the end they may learne the worthiest and best science that may bee [...]* *o wit, the knowledge how to obey, and the skill how to commaund*. It is a sport to see *Socrates*, after his blunt manner, to mocke *Hippias*, who reporteth vnto him, what great summes of money he had gained, especially in certaine little Cities, and small townes of *Sicily*, by keeping schoole, and teaching letters, and that at *Sparta* he could not get a shilling. That they were but Idiots and foolish people, who

can neither measure nor esteeme; nor make no accompt of Grammer, or of Rythmes; and who onely amuse themselves to know the succession of Kings, the establishing and declination of estates, and such like trash of flim-flam tales. Which done, *Socrates* forcing him particularly to allow the excellencie of their forme of publike government, the happinesse and vertue of their private life, remits vnto him to guesse the conclusion of the vnprofitableness of his artes. Examples teach vs both in this martiall policie, and in all such like, that the studie of sciences doth more weaken and esteminate mens minds, then corroborate and adapt them to warre. The mightiest, yea the best settled estate, that is now in the world, is that of the Turkes, a nation equally instructed to the esteeme of armes, and disesteeme of letters. I find *Rome* to have beene most valiant, when it was least learned. The most warlike nations of our daies, are the rudest and most ignorant. The Scithians, the Parthians, and *Tamburlane*, serve to verifie my saying. When the Gothes over-ran and ravaged *Greece*; that which saved all their Libraries from the fire, was, that one among them, scattered this opinion, that such trash of bookes and papers must be left vntoucht and whole for their enemies, as the only meane, and proper instrument to divert them from all militarie exercises, and amuse them to idle, secure, and sedentarie occupations. When our King *Charles* the eight, in a manner without vnsheathing his sword, saw himselfe absolute Lord of the whole kingdome of *Naples*, and of a great part of *Thuscanie*, the Princes and Lords of his traine, ascribed this sodaine, and vnhoped for victorie, and facilitie of so noble and prodigious a conquest, only to this, that most of the Princes and nobilitie of *Italie* amused themselves rather to become ingenious and wise by learning, then vigorous and warriors by militarie exercises.

[67]

**The fiue and twentieth Chapter.  
Of the institution and education of Children; to the Ladie Diana of Foix,  
Countesse of Gurson.** ↩

I Never knew father, how crooked and deformed soever his sonne were, that would either altogether cast him off, or not acknowledge him for his owne: and yet (vnlesse he be meere besotted or blinded in his affection) it may not be said, but he plainly perceiveth his defects, and hath 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 hath tasted nothing but the par [...]ng, and seen but the superficialities of true learning: whereof he hath retained but a generall and shapelesse forme: a smacke of every thing in generall, but nothing to the purpose in particular: After the French manner. To be short, I know there is an arte of Phisicke; a course of lawes; foure parts of the Mathematickes; and I am not altogether ignorant, what they tend vnto. And perhaps I also know the scope and drift of Sciences in generall, to be for the service of our life. But to wade 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 confesse I never did it. Nor is there any one arte, whereof I am able so much as to draw the first lineaments. And there is no scholler (be he of the lowest forme) that may not repute 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 verie impertinently to draw in matter from some generall discourse, whereby I examine, and give a guesse at his naturall judgement: a lesson as much vnknowne to them, as theirs is [...]. I [...]ve not dealt or had commerce with any excellent booke, except *Plutarke* or *Sene [...]*, from whom (as the *Dan [...]**Jides*) I draw my water, vncessantly filling, and as fast emptying: some thing whereof I fasten to this paper, but to my selfe nothing at all. And touching bookes: Historie is my chiefe studi [...], Poesie my onely delight, to which I am particularly affected: [...]or as *Cl [...]**s* said, that as the voice being forcible pent in the narrow g [...]t of a trumpet, at last issueth forth more strong and shriller, some seemes, that a

sentence cunningly and closely couched in measure-keeping Posie, darts it selfe forth more furiously, and [...]ou [...]ds me even to the quicke. And concerning the naturall faculties that are in me, (whereof behold heere an essay) I perceive them to faint vnder their owne burthen; my conceits, and my judgement march but vncertaine, and as it were groaping, stragging, and stumbling at every rush: And when I have gone as far as I can, I have no whit pleased my selfe: for the further I saile, the more land I descrie, and that so dimmed with fogges, and over-cast with cloudes, that my sight is so weakned, I cannot distinguish the same. And then vndertaking to speake indifferently of all that presents it selfe vnto my fantasie, and having nothing but mine owne naturall meanes to imploy therein, if it be my hap (as commonly it is) among good Authors, to light vpon those verie places which I haue vndertaken to treat off, as even now I did in *Plutarke*, 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 grose-headed, as I am forced both to pittie and disdain my selfe, yet am I pleased with this, that my opinions have often the grace to jumpe with theirs, and that I follow them a loofe off, and thereby possesse at least, that which all other men have not; which is, that I know the vtmost difference betweene them and my selfe: all which notwithstanding I suffer my inventions to run abroad, as weake and faint, as I have produced them, without bungling and botching the faults, which this comparison hath discovered to me in them. A man had need have a strong backe, to vndertake to march foote to foote with these kind of men. The indiscreet writers of our age, amidst their triviall compositions, intermingle and wrest in whole sentences taken from ancient Authors, supposing by such filching-theft to purchase honour and reputation to themselves, doe cleane contrarie. For, this infinite varietie and dissemblance of lustres, makes a face, so wan, so il-favored, and so vglie, in respect of theirs, that they loose much more then gaine thereby. These were two contrarie [68]humours: The Philosopher *Chrisippus* was wont to foist-in amongst his bookes, not onely whole sentences, and other long long discourses, but whole bookes of other Authors, as in one, he brought in *Euripides* his *Medea*. And *Appollodorus* was wont to say of him, that if one should draw from out his bookes, what he had stolne from others, his paper would remaine blanke. Where as *Epicurus* cleane contrarie to him in three hundred volumes, he left behind him, had not made vse of one allegation. It was my fortune not long since to light vpon such a place: I had languishingly traced after some French words, so naked and shallow, and so void either of sence or matter, that at last I found them to be nought but meere French words; and after a tedious and wearisome travell, I chanced to stumble vpon an high, rich, and even to the clouds-raised piece, the descent whereof had it been somewhat more pleasant or easie, or the ascent reaching a little further, it had been excusable, and to be borne-withall; but it was such a steepie downe-fall, and by meere strength hewen out of the maine rocke, that by reading of the first sixe words, me thought I was carried into another world: whereby I perceive the bottome whence I came to be so low and deep, as I durst never more adventure to go through it; for, if I did stuffe any one of my discourses with those rich spoiles, it would manifestly cause the sottishnesse of others to appeare. To reprove mine owne faults in others, seemes to me no more vnsufferable, then to reprehend (as I doe often) those of others in my selfe. They ought to be accused everywhere, and have all places of Sanctuarie taken from them: yet do I know how over-boldly, at all times I adventure to equall my selfe vnto my filchings, and to march hand in hand with them; not without a fond-hardie hope, that I may perhaps be able to bleare 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 bodie to bodie wrestle with those old champions: it is but by sleights, advantages, and false-offers I seek to come within them, and if I can, to give them a fall. I do not rashly take them about the necke, I do but touch them, nor do I go so far as by my bargaine I would seeme to doe; could I but keepe 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 seen some, that is, to shroud themselves vnder others armes, not daring so much as to show their fingers ends vnarmed,

and to botch vp all their works (as it is an easie matter in a common subiect, namely for the wiser sort) with ancient inventions, heere and there hudled-vp together. And in those who endevored 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 cowardlinesse; who having nothing of any worth in themselves to make show of, will yet vnder the countenance of others sufficiencie goe about to make a faire offer: Moreover (oh great foolishnesse) to seek by such cosening tricks to forestall the ignorant approbation of the common sort, nothing fearing to discover their ignorance to men of vnderstanding (whose praise onely is of value) who will soone trace out such borrowed ware. As for me, there is nothing I will doe lesse. I never spake of others, but that I may the more speake of my selfe. This concerneth not those mingle-mangles of many kinds of stuffe, or as the Grecians call them *Rapsodies*, that for such are published, of which kind I have (since I came to yeares of discretion) seen divers most ingenious and wittie; amongst others, one vnder the name of *Capilupus*; besides many of the ancient stampe. These are wits of such excellence, as both here and elsewhere they will soone be perceived, as our late famous writer *Lipsius*, in his learned and laborious work of the Polit [...]kes: yet whatsoever come of it, for so much as they are but follies, 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 visage, but mine owne. For, howsoever, these are but my humors and opinions, and I deliver them but to show what my conceit is, and not what ought to be beleaved. Wherein I ayme at nothing but to display my selfe, who peradventure (if a new prentiship change me) shall be an other to morrow. I have no authoritie to purchase beliefe, neither do I de [...]ire it; knowing well that I am not sufficiently taught to instruct others. Some having read my precedent Chapter, told 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 same, then to bestow it as a present vpon that little lad, which ere long threatneth to make a happie issue from out your honorable wombe: for (Madame) you are too generous to begin [69]with other then a man childe. And having had so great a part in the conduct of your successefull marriage, I may challenge some right and interest in the greatnesse and prosperitie 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, vrgeth me with more then ordinarie respects, to wish all honour, well-fare and advantage to whatsoever may in any sort concerne you and yours. And truely, my meaning is, but to shew, that the greatest difficultie, and importing all humane knowledge, seemeth 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 vsed before sowing, setting, and planting, yea in planting it selfe, is most certaine and easie. But when that which was sowed, set, and planted, commeth to take life; before it come to ripenesse, much adoe, and great varietie of proceeding belongeth to it. So in men, it is no great matter to get them, but being borne, what continuall cares, what diligent attendance, what doubts and feares, 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 vncertaine, their humours so variable, their promises so changing, their hopes so false, and their proceedings so doubtfull, that it is very hard, (yea for the wisest) to ground any certaine judgement, or assured successe vpon them. Behold *Cymon*, view *Th [...]istocles*, and a thousand others, how they have differed, and fallen to better from themselves, and deceive the expectation of such as knew them. The young whelps both of Dogges and Beares, at first sight shew their naturall disposition, but men headlong imbracing this custome or fashion, following that humor or opinion, admitting this or that passion, allowing of that of this law, are easily changed, and soone disguised; yet is it hard to force the naturall propension or readinesse of the mind, whereby it followeth, that for want of heedie fore-sight in those that could not guide their course well, they often employ much time in vaine, to addresse young children in those matters, whereunto they are not



naturally addicted. All which difficulties notwithstanding, mine opinion is, to bring them vp in the best and pro [...]a [...]st studies, and that a man should slightly passe-over those fond presages, and deceiving prognostikes, which we over-precisely gather in their infancie. And (without offence be it said) me thinks, that *Plato* in his common-wealth alloweth them too▪too much authoritie.

Madame, Learning joyned with true knowledge is an especiall and gracefull ornament, and an implement of wonderfull vse and consequence, namely in persons raised to that degree of fortune, wherein you are. And in good trueth, learning hath not her owne true forme, nor can she make shew of her beauteous lineaments, if she fall into the hands of base and vile persons. [For, as famous *Torquato Tasso* saith; *Philosōphie* being a rich and noble Queene, and knowing her owne worth, graciously smileth vpon, and lovingly embraceth Princes and noble men, if they become suters to her, admitting them as her minions, and gently affoording them all the favours she can; whereas vpon the contrarie, if she be wooed, and sued vnto by clownes, mechanicall fellowes, and such base kind of people, she holds hir selfe disparaged and disgraced, as holding no proportion with them. And therefore see we by experience, that if a true Gentleman, or nobleman follow hir with any attention, and wooed her with importunitie, he shall learne and know more of hir, and proove a better scholler in one yeare, then an vngentle, or base fellow shal in seaven, though he pursue hir never so attentively.] She is much more readie and fierce to lend hir furtherance and direction in the conduct of a warre, to attempt honorable actions, to command a people, to treat a peace with a prince of forraine nation, then she is to forme an argument in Logick, to devise a Syllogisine, to canvase a case at the barre, or to prescribe a receipt of pills. So (noble Ladie) forsomuch as I cannot perswade my selfe, that you will either forget or neglect this point, concerning the institution of yours, especially having tasted the sweetnesse thereof, and being descended of so noble and learned a race. For we yet possesse the learned compositions of the ancient and noble Earles of *Foix*, from out whose heroicke loynes your husband and you take your of-spring. And *Francis* Lord of *Candale* your worthie vnckle, doth daily bring forth such fruits 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 vse I hold, and that is all I am able to affoord you, concerning that matter. The charge of the Tutor, which you shall appoint your sonne, in the choice of whom consisteth the whole substance of his education and [70]bringing-vp; on which are many branches depending, which (forasmuch as I can adde nothing of any moment to it) I will not touch at all. And for that point, wherein I presume to advise him, he may so far forth give credite vnto it, as he shall see just cause. To a gentleman borne of noble parentage, and heire of a house, that aymeth at true learning, and in it would be disciplined, not so much for gaine or commoditie to himselfe (because so abject an end is far vnworthy the grace and favour of the Muses, and besides, hath a regard or dependencie of others) nor for externall shew and ornament, but to adorne and enrich his inward minde, desiring rather to shape and institute an able and sufficient man, then a bare learned man. My desire is therefore, that the parents or overseers of such a gentleman be very circumspect, and careful in chusing his director, whom I would rather commend for having a well composed and temperate braine, then a full stufte head, yet both will doe well. And I would rather prefer wisdome, judgement, civill customes, and modest behaviour, then bare and meere litterall learning; and that in his charge he hold a new course. Some never cease brawling in their schollers eares (as if they were still po [...]ring in a tonell) to follow their booke, yet is their charge nothing else, but to repeat, what hath beene told them before. I would have a tutor to correct this part, and that at first entrance, according to the capacitie of the wit he hath in hand, he should begin to make shew of it, making him to have a smacke of all things, and how to chuse and distinguish them, without helpe of others, sometimes opening him the way, other times leaving him to open-it by himselfe. I would not have him to invent and speake alone, but suffer his disciple to speake when his turne commeth. *Socrates*, and after him *Arc*

[...]silaus, made their schollers to speak first, and then would speake them-selves. *Obest plerumque ijs qui discere volunt, auctoritas eorum, qui docent. Most [...].c. D [...]. Nat. lib. 1. commonly the authoritie of them that teach, hinders them that would learn [...].*

It is therefore meet, that he make him first trot-on before him, whereby he may the better judge of his pace, and so guesse how long he will hold out, that accordingly he may fit his strength: for want of which proportion, we often marre-all. And to know how to make a good choice, and how far forth one may proceed (still keeping a due measure) is one of the hardest labours I know. It is a signe of a noble, and effect of an vnd [...]nted spirit, to know how to second, and how far forth he shall condescend to his childish proceedings, and how to guide them. As for my selfe, I can better and with more strength walke vp, then downe a [...]ill. Those which according to our common fashion, vndertake with one selfe-same lesson, and like maner of education, to direct many spirits of diverse formes and different humours, it is no marvell if among a multitude of children, they scarce meet with two or three, that reap any good fruit by their discipline, or that come to any perfection. I would not onely have him to demaund an accompt of the words contained in his lesson, but of the sense and substance thereof, and judge of the profit he hath made of-it, not by the testimonie of his memorie, but by the witsse of his life. That what he lately learned, he cause him to set forth and pourtray the same into sundrie shapes, and then to accommodate-it to as many different and severall subiects; whereby he shall perceiue, whether he have yet apprehended the same, and therein enfeoffed him-selfe, at due times taking his instruction from the institution given by *Plato*. It is a signe of cruditie and indigestion for a man to yeeld vp his meat, even as he swallowed the same: the stomacke hath not wrought his full operation, vnlesse it have changed forme, and altered fashion of that which was given him to boyle and concoct.

[We see men gape after no reputation but learning, and when they say, such a one is a learned man, they thinke they have said enough;] Our minde doth move at others pleasure, as tyed and forced to serue the fantasies of others, being brought vnder by authoritie, and forced to stoope to the lure of their bare lesson; wee have beene so subjected to harpe vpon one string; that we have no way left-vs to descant vpon voluntarie: our vigor and libertie is cleane extinct. *Nunquam tutelae suae fiunt. They never come to their owne tuition.* It was my hap to bee familiarlie acquainted with an honest man at *Pisa*, but such an *Aristotelian*, as he held this infallible position; that a conformitie to *Aristotles* doctrine was the true touchstone and squire of all solide imaginations, and perfect veritie; for, whatsoever had no coherencie with-it, was but fond *Chimeraes*, and idle humours; in asmuch as he had knowne-all, seen-all, and said-all. This proposition of his, being somewhat over-amply and iniuriously interpreted by some, made him a long time after to be troubled in the inquisition of *Rome*, I would have him make his scholler narrowly [71]to sift all things with discretion, and harbour nothing in his head by meere authoritie, or vpon trust. *Aristotles* principles shall be no more axiomes vnto him, then the Stoikes or Epicurians. Let this diversitie of judgements be proposed vnto him, if he can, he shall be able to distinguish the truth from falsehood, if not, he will remaine doubtfull.

Che non men che saper dubbiar m'aggrada. Dant inferno, Can [...]. 12. 48.

No lesse it pleaseth me,  
To doubt, then wise 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. He that meereley followeth another, traceth nothing, and seeketh nothing: *Non sumus sub Rege, fibi quisque se vindicet. We are not vnder a Kings commaund,* S [...]. epist. 33. *every one may challenge himselfe, for let him at least know that he knoweth.* It is requisite he indevor as much to feed himselfe with their conceits, as labour to learne their precepts; which, so he know how to applie, let him hardly forget, where, or whence he

had them. Truth and reason are common to all, and are no more proper vnto him that spake them heretofore, than 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 Be [...]s do heer and there sucke this, and cull that flower, but afterward they produce the hony, which is peculiarly their owne, then is it no more Thyme or Majoram. So of peeces borrowed of others, he may lawfully alter, transforme, and confound them, to shape out of them a perfect peece of worke, altogether his owne; alwaies provided, his judgement, his travell, studie, and institution tend to nothing, but to frame the same perfect. Let him hardly conceal, where, or whence he hath had any helpe, and make no shew of any thing, but of that which he 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 secret fees o [...] bribes Lawyers take of their Clients, but you shall 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 receipt [...], but every one of his gettings. The good that comes of studie (or at least should come) is to prove better, wiser, and honester. It is the vnderstanding power (said *Epicharmus*) that seeth and heareth, it is it, that profiteth all, and disposeth all, that moveth, swayeth, and ruleth all: all things else are but blind, sencelesse, and without spirit. And truely in barring him of libertie to doe any thing of himselfe, we make him thereby more servile and more coward. Who would ever enquire of his scholler what he thinketh of Rethorike, of Grammar, of this, or of that sentence of *Cicero*? Which things throughly fethered (as if they were oracles) are let flie into our memorie; in which both letters and sillables are substantiall parts of the subject. To know by roat is no perfect knowledge, but to keep what one hath committed to his memories charge, is commendable: what a man directly knoweth, that will he dispose-of, without turning still to his booke, or looking to his pattern. A meere bookish sufficiencie is vnpleasant. All I expect of it, is an imbellishing of my actions, and not a foundation of them, according to *Platoes* mind, who saith, constancie, faith, and sinceritie, are true Philosophie; as for other Sciences, and tending else-where, they are but garish paintings. I would faine have *Paluel* or *P [...]* *Impey*, those two excellent dauncers of our time, with all their nimblenesse, teach any man to doe their loftie tricks, and high capers, onely with seeing them done, and without stirring out of his place, as some Pedanticall fellowes would instruct our minds without mooving or putting it in practise. And glad would I be to find-one, that would teach vs how to manage a horse, to tosse a pike, to shoote-off a peece, to play vpon the l [...]te, or to warble with the voice, without any exercise, as these kind of men would teach vs to judge, and how to speake well, without any exercise of speaking or judging. In which kind of life, or as I may terme it, Prentiship, what action or object soever presents it-selfe vnto our eies, may serve-vs instead of a sufficient booke. A prettie 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 jeast or earnest, at the table or in companie, are even as new subjects for-vs to worke-vpon: for furtherance whereof, commerce or common societie among men, visiting of fortaine countries, and observing of strange fashions, are verie necessary, not only to be able (after the maner of our young gallants of *France*) to report how many paces the Church of *S [...]* *Rotonda* is in length or breadth, or what rich garments the curtezan *Sig [...]* *Livia* wea [...]eth, and the worth of her hosen; or as some do, nicely to dispute [72] how much longer or broader the face of *Nero* is, which they have seene in some olde ruines of *Italie*, then that which is made for him in other olde 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 seene, that they may the better know, how to correct and prepare their wits by those of others. I would therefore have him begin even from his infancie to travell abroad; and first, that at one shoote he may hit two markes, he should see neighbour-countries, namely where languages are most different from ours; for, vnlesse a mans tongue be fashioned vnto them in his youth, he shall never attaine to the true pronuntiation of them, if he once grow in yeares. Moreouer, we see it received as a common

opinion of the wiser sort, that it agreeth not with reason, that a childe be alwaies nuzled, cockered, dandled, and brought vp in his parents lap or sight; forsomuch as their naturall kindnesse, or as I may call it tender fondnesse causeth often, even the wisest, to proove so idle, so over-nice, and so base-minded. For parents are not capable, neither can they find in their hearts to see them checkt, corrected, or chastised, nor indure to see them brought vp so meanly, and so far from daintinesse, and many times so dangerously, as they must needs be. And it would grieve them to see their children come home from those exercises, that a Gentleman must necessarily acquaint himselfe with, sometimes all wet and bemyred, other times sweatie, and full of dust, and to drinke being either extreame hote, or exceeding cold; and it would trouble them to see him ride a rough-vntamed horse, or with his weapon furiously incounter a skilfull Fencer, or to handle and shoote-off a musket; against which there is no remedy, if he will make him proove a sufficient, compleat, 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 Physicke.

Vitam (que) sub dio & trepidis agat H [...].r. li. 1. od. 2. 4. *In rebus.*—

Leade he his life in open aire,  
And in affaires full of despaire.

It is not sufficient to make his minde strong, his muskles must also be strengthned: the minde is over-borne if it be not seconded: and it is too much for hi [...] alone to discharge two offices. I have a feeling how mine panteth, being joined to so tender and sensible a bodie, and that lyeth so heaue vpon it. And in my lecture, I often perceive how my Authors in their writings sometimes commend examples for magnanimitie and force, that rather proceed from a thicke skin 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, then a filip would doe me, and so dull and blockish, that they will neither stir tongue nor eibrowes, beat them never so much. When wrestlers goe about to counterfeit the Philosophers patience, they rather shew the vigor of their sinnewes, then of their hart. For the custome to beare travell, is to tolerate grieffe: *Labor callum obducit dolori. Labour worketh a Cic. Tus. qu li. 2 hardnesse vpon sorrow.* Hee must be endured to suffer the paine and hardnesse of exercises, that so he may be induced to endure the paine of the colicke, of cauterie, of fals, of sprains, and other diseases incident to mans bodie: yea, if need require, patiently to beare imprisonment, and other tortures, by which sufferance he shall come to be had in more esteeme and accompt: for according to time and place, the good as well as the bad man may happily fall into them; we have seen it by experience. Whosoever striveth against the lawes, threats good men with mischief and extortion. Moreover, the authoritie of the Tutor (who should be soveraigne over him) is by the cockering and presence of the parents, hindred and interrupted: besides the awe and respect, which the houshold beares him, and the knowledge of the meanes, possibilities, and greatnesse of his house, are in my judgement, no small lets in a yong Gentleman. In this schoole of commerce, and societie among men, I have often noted this vice, that in lieu of taking acquaintance of others, we onely indevor to make our selves knowne to them: and we are more ready to vtter such marchandize as we have, then to ingrosse & purchase new commodities. Silence and modestie are qualities verie conuenient to civil conversation. It is also necessary, that a yong man be rather taught to be discreetly-sparing, and close-handed, then prodigally-wastfull and lavish in his expences, and moderate in husbanding his wealth when he shall come to possesse it. And not to take pepper in the nose for every foolish tale that shal be spoken in his presence, because it is an vncivill importunity, [73]to contradict, whatsoever is not agreeing to our humour: let him be pleased to correct himselfe. And let him not seeme to blame that in others, which he refuseth to doe himselfe, 'nor goe about to withstand common fashions. *Licet sapere sine pompa, sine invidia. A man may be Sen. ipist. 103 f. wise without ostentation, without envie.* Let him

avoid those imperious images of the world, those vn-civill behaviours,' and childish ambition, wherewith God-wot, too-too many are possess: that is, to make a faire shew of that, which is not in him: endeavouring to be reputed other then indeed he is; and as if reprehension and new devises were hard to come by, he would by that meane acquire vnto himselfe, the name of some peculiar vertue. As it pertaineth but to great Poets to vse the libertie of artes; so is-it tollerable but in noble minds, and great spirits to have a preheminece above ordinarie fashions. *Si quid Socrates & Aristippus Cic. Off. lib 1. contra morem & consuetudinem fecerunt, idem sibi ne arbitretur licere: Magis enim illi & divinis bonis hanc licentiam assequabantur.* If Socrates and Aristippus have done ought against custome or good manner, let not a man thinke 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 discourse or contesting, but when he shall encounter with a Champion, worthie 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 brevitie. That above all, he be instructed to yeeld, yea to quit his weapons vnto truth, as soone as he shall discerne the same, whether it proceed from his adversarie, or vpon better advice from himselfe; for, he shall not be preferred to any place of eminencie above others, for repeating of a prescript pa [...];t; and he is not engaged to defend any cause, further then he may approve it; nor shall he be of that trade, where the libertie for a man to repent and re-advise himselfe is sold for readie money. *Neque, vt omnia, Cic. Acad. q [...]. lib. 4. que praescripta & imperata sint, defendat, necessitate vlla cogitur.* Nor is he inforced by any necessitie to defend and make good all that is prescribed and commaunded him. If his tutor agree with my humour, he shall frame his affection, to be a most loyall and true subject to his Prince, and a most affectionate and couragious Gentleman, in all that may concerne the honor of his Sovereigne, or the good of his countrie. And endeavour to suppress in him all maner of affection to vndertake any action, otherwise then for a publike good and dutie. 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 is lesse free and honest, or else it is blemisht with oversight and ingratitude. A meere and precise Courtier, can neither have law nor will to speake or thinke, otherwise then favourable of his Master, who among so many thousands of his subjects, hath made choice of him alone, to institute and bring him vp with his owne hand. These favours, with the commodities that follow minion Courtiers, corrupt (not without some colour of reason) his libertie, and dazle his judgement. It is therefore commonly seene, that the Courtiers-language differs from other mens, in the same state, and to be of no great credite in such matters. Let therefore his conscience and vertue shine in his speach, and reason be his chiefe direction. Let him be taught to confesse such faults as he shall discover in his owne discourses, albeit none other perceive them but himselfe; for it is an evident shew of judgement, and effect of sinceritie, which are the chiefest qualities he aymeth at. That wilfully to strive, and obstinately to contest in words, are common qualities, most apparant in basest mindes: That to re-advise and correct himselfe, and when one is most earnest, to leave an ill opinion; are rare, noble, and philosophical conditions. Being in companie, he shall be put in minde, to cast his eyes round about, and every-where: For I note, that the chiefe places are vsually seized vpon by the most vnworthie, and lesse capable; and that height of fortune is seldome joynd with sufficiencie. I have seene, that whilst they at the vpper end of a board were busie entertaining themselves, with talking of the beautie of the hangings about a chamber, or of the taste of some good cup of wine, many good discourses at the lower end, have vtterly been lost. He shall weigh the carriage of every man in his calling, a Heardsman, a Mason, a Stranger, or a traveller; all must be imployed; every one according to his worth; for all helps to make-vp houshold; yea, the follie and the simplicitie of others, shall be as instructions to him. By controlling the graces and maners of others, he shall acquire vnto himselfe envie of the good, and contempt of the bad. Let him hardly be possess with an honest curiositie to search out the nature and causes of all things: let him survey what

soever is rare and singulare [74]about him; a building, a fountaine, a man, a place where any battell hath been fought, or the passages of *Caesar* or *Charlemaint*.

Quae tellus sit l [...]ta gelu, quae putris ab aestu, Prop▪ [...]i. 4 [...]. 3. 39.  
Ventus in Italiam quis bene vela ferat.

What land is parcht with heat, what clog'd with frost,  
What wind drives kindly to th'*Italian* coast.

He shall endeavour to be familiarly acquainted with the customes, with the meanes, with the state, with the dependances and alliances of all Princes; they are things soone and pleasant to be 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 memorie of bookes. He shall, by the help of Histories, informe himselfe of the worthiest minds that were in the best ages. It is a frivolous studie, if a man list, but of vnvaluable worth, to such as can make vse of it. And as *Plato* saith, the onely studie the Lacedemon [...]ans res [...]ved for themselves. What profit shall he not reap, touching this point, reading the lives of our *Plutarke*? Alwaies conditioned, the master bethinke himselfe whereto his charge tendeth, and that he imprint not so much in his schollers mind the date of the ru [...]e of *Carthage*, as the manners of *H [...]nniball* and *Scipio*, nor so much where *Marc [...]llus* died, as because he was vnworthy of his devoire he died there: that he teach him not somuch to know Histories, as to judge of them. It is, amongst things that best agree with my humour, the subject to which our spirits doe most diversly applie themselves. I have read in *T [...] Livi [...]s* a number of things, which peradventure others never read, in whom *Plutarke* happily read a hundred [...]ore, then ever I could read, and which perhaps the author himselfe did never intend to [...]t downe. To some kind of men, it is a meere gramaticall studie, but to others a perfect anatomie of Philosophie; by meanes whereof, the secretest part of our nature is searched-into. There are in *Plutarke* many ample discourses most worthy to be knowne: for in my judgement▪ he is the chiefe work-master of such works, whereof there are a thousand, whereat he hath but slightly glanced; for with his finger he doth but point vs out a way to walke in, if we list; and is sometimes pleased to give but a touch at the quickest and maine point of a discourse, from whence they are by diligent studie to be drawne, and so brought into open marke [...]. As that saying of his. That the inhabitants of *Asia*, served but one alone, because they could not pronounce one onely sillable, which is *Non* gave perhaps both subject and occasion to my friend *Beotie* to compose his booke of voluntarie servitude. If it were no more but to see *Plutarke* wrest a slight action to mans life; or a word that seemeth to beare no such sence, it will serve for a whole discourse. It is p [...]en of vnderstanding should so much love brevitie, without doubt their reputation is thereby better, but we the worse▪ *Plutarke* 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 sacketie. He knew verie well, that even in good things, too much may be said: and that *Alexandridas* did justly reprove him, who spake verie good sentences to the *Ephores*, but they were overtidious. Oh stranger, quoth he, thou speakest what thou oughtest, otherwise then thou shouldest. Those that have leane and thin bodies stuffe them vp with bumbasting. And such as have but poore matter, will puffe-it vp with loftie words. There is a marvelous cleerenesse, or as I may terme-it an enlightning of mans judgement drawne 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 nose. When *Socrates* was demaunded whence he was, he answered, not of *Athens*, but of the world; for he, who had his imagination more full, and farther stretching, embraced all the world for his native Citie, and extended his acquaintance, his societie, and affections to all man-kind: and not as we-do, that looke no further then our feet. If the frost chance to n [...]p the vines about my village, my Priest doth presently argue, that the wrath of God hangs over our head, and threatneth all mankind▪ and judgeth that the Pippe is alreadie [...]al [...]e

vpon the Canibals.

In viewing these intestine and civill broiles of ours, who doth not exclaime, that this worlds vast-frame is neere vnto a dissolution, and that the day of judgement is readie to fall on vs? never remembering that many worse revolutions have been seene, and that whilest we are plunged in grieffe, and overwhelmed in sorrow, a thousand other parts of the world besides, are blessed with all happinesse, and wallow in pleasures, and never thinke on vs? [75] whereas, when I behold our lives, our licence, and impunitie, I wonder to see them so milde and easie. He on whose head it haileth, thinks all the Hemisphere besides to be in a storme and tempest. And as that dull-pated *Savoyard* said, that if the seelie king of *France* could cunningly have managed his fortune, he might verie well have made himselfe chiefe Steward of his Lords houshold, whose imagination conceived no other greatnesse than his Masters; we are all insensible of this kind of errour: an errour of great consequence and prejudice. But whosoever shall present vnto his inward eyes, as it were in a Table, the Idea of the great image of our vniversall-mother Nature, attired in her richest roabes, sitting in the throne of her Majestie, and in her visage shall read, so generall, and so constant a varietie; he that therein shall view himselfe, not himselfe alone, but a whole kingdome, to be in respect of a great circle; but the smallest point that can be imagined, he onely can value things according to their essentiall greatnesse and proportion. This great vniverse (which some multiplie as *Species* vnder one *Genus*) is the true looking-glasse wherein we must looke, if we will know whether we be of a good stamp, or in the right byase. To conclude, I would have this worlds-frame to be my Schollers choise-booke: So many strange humours, sundrie sects, varying judgements, diverse opinions, different lawes, and fantasticall customes teach vs to judge rightly of ours, and instruct our judgement to acknowledge his imperfections and naturall weaknesse, which is no easie an apprentiship: So many innovations of estates, so many fals of Princes, and changes of publike fortune, may, and ought to teach vs, not to make so great accompt of ou [...]s: 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 surprising of [...]en Argo lettiers, or of a small cottage, which is knowne but by his fall. The pride and fiercenesse of so many strange and gorgeous shewes: the pride-puft majestie of so many courts, and of their greatnesse, ought to confirme and as [...]ure our sight, vndauntedly to beare the affronts and thunder-claps of ours, without seeling our eyes: So many thousands of men, low-laide in their graves afore-vs, may encourage-vs, not to feare, or be [...]is [...]aied to go meet so good companie in the other world; and so of all things else. Our life (said *Pithagoras*) drawes-neare vnto the great and populous assemblies of the Olympike games, wherein some, to get the glorie, and to win the goale of the games, exercise their bodies with all industrie; others, for greedinesse of gaine, bring thither marchand se to sell: others there are (and those be not the worst) that seek 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 Philosophie be sorted, which ought to be the touch-stone of humane actions, and a rule to square them by, to whom may be said,

—*quid fas optare, quid asper* Pers. sat. 3. 69.

U [...]le [...]ummus habet, patriae charisque propinquis

Quantum elargiri deceat, quem te Deus esse

Iussis, & humana qua parte locatus es in re,

Quid sumus, aut quidnam victuri gignimur:—

What thou maiest wish, what profit may come cleare, 67.

From new-stampt coyne, to friends and countrie deare,

What thou ought'st give: whom God would have thee bee,

And in what part mongst men he placed thee.

What we are, and wherefore,

To live heer we were bore.

What it is to know, and not to know (which ought to be the scope of studie) what valour, what temperance, and what justice-is: what difference there-is between ambition and avarice, bondage and freedome, subjection and libertie, by which markes a man may distinguish true and perfect contentment, and how far-forth one ought to feare or apprehend death, grieffe, or shame.

Et quo quemque modo fugiátque ferátque laborem. Virg A [...]. lib. [...] 853.

How ev'ry labour he may plie,  
And beare, or ev'ry labour flie.

What wards or springs move-vs, and the causes of so many motions in-vs: For me seemeth▪ [76]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 himselfe, and how to live, and how to die-well. Among the liberall Sciences, let vs begin with that which makes-vs free: Indeed, they may all in some sort stead-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 choice of that; which may directly and pertinently serve the same. If we could restraine and adapt the appurtenances of our life to their right byase and naturall limits, we should find the best part of the Sciences that now are in vse, cleane out of fashion with vs: yea, and in those that are most in vse, there are certaine by-waies and deep- [...]lows most profitable, which we should do-well to leave, and according to the institution of *Socrates*, limit the course of our studies in those where profit is wanting▪

— *sapere aude*,

Incipe: vivendi qui rectè prorogat [...]. Hor. lib. 1. epist. 2. 40.  
Rusticus expectat dum defluat amnis, at ille  
Labitur, & lab [...]tur in omne volubilis aevum.

Be bold to be wise: to begin, be strong,  
He that to live well doth the time prolong,  
Clowne-like expects, till downe the streame be run;  
That runs, and will run, till the world be done.

It is more simplicities to teach our children.

Quid moveant Pisces, animosáque signa Leonis,  
Lotus & Hesperia quid Capricornus aq [...]. Prop. li. 4. [...] 1. 85.

What *Pisces* move, or hot-breath'd *L [...]*os beames,  
Or *Capricornus* bath'd in westerne streames.

The knowledge of the starres, and the motion of the eightspheare, before their owne.

[...]

What longs it to the seaven stars, and me,  
Or those about *Boôtes* be.

*Anaximenes* writing to *Pithagoras*, saith, with what sence can I amuse my selfe to the secrets of the Starres, having continually [...]eath or bondage before mine eyes? For at that time the Kings of *Persia* were making preparations to war against his Countrie. All men ought to say so. Being beaten, with ambition, with avarice, with rashnesse, and with superstition, and having such other enemies vnto life within him. Wherefore shall I study and take care about the mobility and variation of the world? When hee is once taught what is fit



to make him better and wiser, he shall be entertained with Logicke, naturall Philosophy, Geometry, and Rhetoricke, then having settled his judgement, looke what [...]cience he doth most addict himselfe vnto, he shall in short time attaine to the perfection of it. His lecture shall be sometimes by way of talke and sometimes by booke: his tutor may now & then supply him with the same Author, as an end & motiue of his institution: sometimes giuing him the pith & substance of it ready chewed. And if of himselfe he be not so throughly acquainted with bookes, that hee may readily find so many notable discourses as are in them to effect his purpose, it shall not be amisse, that some learned man being appointed to keepe him company, who at any time of neede, may furnish him with such munition, as hee shall stand in neede of; that hee may afterward distribute and dispense them to his best vse. And that this kinde of lesson be more easie and naturall then that of *Gaza*, who will make question? Those are but harsh, thornie, and vnpleasant precepts; vaine & idle & immateriall words, on which small hold may be taken; wherin is nothing to quicken the minde. In this, the spirit findeth substance to bide and feed vpon. A fruit without all comparison much better, and that will soone bee ripe. It is a thing worthy consideration, to see what state things are brought vnto in this our age; and how Philosophie, even to the wisest, and men of best vnderstanding, is but an idle, vaine and fantasticall name, of small vse, and lesse worth, both in opinion and effect. I thinke these Sophistries are the cause of it, which have forestalled the waies to come vnto it: They doe very ill, that goe about to make it seeme as it were inaccessible for children to come vnto, setting it foorth with a wrimpled, gastlie, and frowning visage; who hath [...]asked her with so counterfet, pale, and hideous a countenance? There is nothing more beauteous, nothing more delightfull, nothing more gamesome; and as I may say, nothing more fondly wanton: [77]for she presenteth nothing to our eyes, and preacheth nothing to our eares, but sport and pastime. A sad and lowring looke plainly declareth, that that is not hir haunt. *Demetrius* the Gramarian, finding a companie of Philosophers sitting close together in the Temple of *Delphos*, said vnto them, *Either I am deceived, or by your plausible and pleasant lookes, you are not in any serious and earnest discourse amongst your selues; to whom one of them named Heracleon the Megarian answered, That belongeth to them, who busie themselves in seeking, whether the future tense of the verbe [...] hath a double [...], or that labour to find the derivation of the comparatives, [...] and of the superlatives [...] it is they, that must chafe in intertaining themselves with their science: as for discourses of Philosophie they are wont to glad, reioyce, and not to vex and molest those that vse them.*

Deprendas animi torment a latentis in aegro I [...] sa [...]. 9 18.  
 Corpore, deprendas & gaudia, sumit v [...]rumqu [...]  
 Inde [...]abitum facies.

You may perceive the torments of the mind,  
 Hid in sicke bodie, you the joyes may find,  
 The face such habite takes in either kind.

That mind which harboureth Philosophie, ought by reason of hir sound health, make that bodie also sound and healthie: it ought to make hir contentment to through-shine in all exterior parts: 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 stoutnesse, and lively audac [...]tie, with an active and pleasing gesture, and with a settled and cheerefull countenance. The most evident token, and apparant signe of true wisdom, is a constant, and vnconstrained rejoicing, whose estate is like vnto all things above the Moone, that is, ever cleare, alwaies bright. It is *Baroco* and *Baralip [...]on*, that makes their followers proove so base and idle, and not Philosophie; they know hi [...]not, but by heare-say; what? Is it not shee, that cleareth all stormes of the mind? And teacheth miserie, samine, and sicknesse to laugh? Not by reason of some imaginarie Epicicles, but by naturall and palpable reasons. Shee aymeth at nothing but vertue: it is vertue shee seekes after; which as the schoole saith, is not pitch on

the top of an high, steeple, or inaccessible hill; for they that have come vnto hir, affirme, that cleane-contrarie, shee keeps hir stand, and holds hir mansion, in a faire, flourishing, and pleasant plaine, whence as from an high watch tower, she suruaieth all things, to be subject vnto hir, to whom any man may with great facilitie come; if he but know the way or entrance to hir pallace: for, the pathes that lead vnto hir, are certaine fresh, and shadie greene allies, sweet and flow [...].e waies, whose ascent is even, easie, and nothing wearisome, like vnto that of heavens-vaults. Forsomuch as they have not frequented this vertue, who gloriously, as in a throne of Majestie sits soveraigne, goodly, triumphant, lovely, equally delicious, and couragious, protesting her-selfe to be a professed and irreconcilable enemie to all sharpnesse, austeritie, feare, and compulsion; having nature for hir guide, fortune and voluptuousnesse for hir companions; they according to their weaknesse have imaginarily fained hir, to have a foolish, sad, grim, quareulous, spitefull, threatning, and disdainfull visage, with an horride and vnpleasant looke; and have placed hir, vpon a craggie, sharpe, and vnfrequented rocke, amidst desert cliffes, and vncouth crags, as a skar-crow, or bug-bear, to affright the common people with. Now the tutour, which ought to know, that he should rather seek to fill the mind, and store the will of his disciple, as much, or rather more, with love and affection, then with awe, and reverence vnto vertue, may shew and tell him, that Poets follow common humours, making him plainly to perceiue, and as it were palpably to feele, that the Gods have rather placed labour and sweat at the entrances, which lead to *U [...]*nus chambers, then at the doores, that direct to *Pallas* cabinets.

And when he shall perceiue his scholler to have a sensible feeling of himselfe, presenting *Bradamant*, or *Angelica* before him, as a Mistresse to enjoy, embelished with a natural, active, generous, and vnspotted beautie, not vglie, or Giant-like, but blithe and livelie, in respect of a wanton, soft, affected, and artificially-flaring beautie; the one attired like vnto a yong man, coyfed with a bright-shining helmet, the other disguised and drest about the head like vnto an impudent harlot, with embroyderies, frizelings, and carcanets of pearles: he will no doubt deeme his owne love to be a man and no woman, if in his choice he differ from that effeminate shepheard of *Phrigia*. In this new kind of lesson, he shall declare vnto him, that the [78]prize, the glorie, and height of true vertue, consisteth in the facilitie, profit, & pleasure of his exercises: so far from difficultie, and incumbrances, that children as well as men, the simple as soone as the wise, may come vnto hir. Discretion and temperance, not force or way-wardnesse are the instruments to bring him vnto hir. *Socrates* (vertues chiefe favorite) that he might the better walke in the pleasant, naturall, and open path, of hir progresies, doth voluntarily and in good earnest, quit all compulsion. Shee is the nurse and softer-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. In limiting and cutting them off, whom she refuseth; she whets-vs-on toward those she leaveth vnto vs; and plenteouslie leaves-vs them, which Nature pleaseth, and like a kind mother giveth vs over vnto sacietie, if not vnto wearisomesse, vnlesse we will peradventure say, that the rule and bridle, which stayeth the drunkard before drunkennesse, the glutton before surfetting, and the let [...].her before the loosing of his haire, be the enemies of our pleasures. If common fortune faile-hir, it cleerely scapes hir; or she cares not for hir, or she frames another vnto hir-selfe, altogether hir owne, not so fleeting, nor so rowling. She knoweth the way how to be rich, mightie and wise, and how to lie in sweet-perfumed beds. She loveth life; she delights in beautie, in glorie, and in health. But hir proper and particular office is, first to know how to vse such goods temperately, and how to loose them constantly. An office much more noble, then severe, without which, all course of life is vnnaturall, turbulent, and deformed, to which one may lawfully joyne those rocks, those incumbrances, and those hideous monsters. 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 to the report of some noble voiage, or other notable and wise discourse, when he shall heare it; that at the found of a Drum, or clang of a Trumpet, which are wont to rowze and arme the youthly heat of his companions, turneth to another that calleth him to see

a play, tumbling, juggling tricks, or other idle loose-time sports; and who for pleassake doth not deeme it more delightsome to returne all sweatie and wearie from a victorious combate, from wrestling, or riding of a horse, than from a Tennis-court, or dancing schoole, with the prize or honour of such exercises; The best remedie I know for such a one, is, to put him prentise to some base occupation, in some good towne or other, yea, were he the sonne of a Duke; according to *Platoes* rule, who saith, *That children must be placed, not according to their fathers conditions, but the faculties of their mind.* Since it is Philosophie that teacheth vs to live, and that infancie as well as other ages, may plainly read hir lessons in the same, why should it not be imparted vnto yoong Schollers?

Udum & molle lutum est, nunc nunc properandus, & acri Pers. sa [...]. [...]<sup>23</sup>.  
Fingendus fine fine rota.

He's moist and soft mould, and must by and by  
Be cast, made vp, while wheele whirl's readily.

We are taught to live, when our life is well-nigh spent. Many schollers have been infected with that loathsome and marrow-wasting disease, before ever they came to read *Aristotles* treatise of Temperance. *Cicero* was wont to say, *That could be out-live the lives of two men, he should never find leasure to studie the Lyrike Poets.* And I find these Sophisters both worse and more vnprofitable. Our childe is engaged in greater matters; And but the first fifteene or sixteene yeares of his life, are due vnto Pedantisme, the rest vnto action: let vs therefore imploy so short time, as we have to live in more necessarie instructions. It is an abuse; remove these thornie quiddities of Logike, whereby our life can no whit be amended, and betake our selves to the simple discourses of Philosophie; know how to chuse and fitlie to make vse of them: they are much more easie to be conceived then one of *Becace* his tales. A childe comming from nurse is more capeable of them, then he is to learne to read or write. Philosophie hath discourses, whereof infancie as well as decaying old-age may make good vse. I am of *Plutarkes* mind, which is, that *Aristotle* did not so much amuse his great Disciple about the arts how to frame Sillogismes, or the principles of Geometrie, as he endeoured to instruct-him with good precepts, concerning valour, prowess, magnanimitie, and temperance, and an vndanted assurance not to feare any thing; and with such munition he sent him, being yet verie yoong, to subdue the Empire of the world, onely with 30000. footemen, 4000. horsemen, and 42000. Crownes in monie. As for other artes and sciences ■ he saith *Alexander* honored them, and commended their excellencie and comlinesse; [79]but for any pleasure he tooke in them, his affection could not easilie be drawne to exercise them.

—petite hinc invenésque senésque S [...]t. 5.64. Finem animo certum, miserisque viatica canis.

Young men and old, draw hence (in your affaires)  
Your minds set marke, provision for graire haire.

It is that which *Epicurus* said in the beginning of his letter to *Meniceus*: *Neither let the youngest shunne, nor the oldest wearie himselfe in philosophying, for who doth otherwise seemeth to say, that either the season to live happily is not yet come, or is already past.* Yet would I not have this yoong gentleman pent-vp, nor carelesly cast-off to the heedlesse choller, or mesancholie humour of the hastie Schoole-master. I would not have his budding spirit corrupted with keeping-him fast-tied, and as it were labouring foureteene or fifteene houres a day poaring on his booke, as some doe, as if he were a day-labouring man; neither doe I thinkeit fit, if at any time, by reason of some solitarie or melancholie complexion, he should be seene with an over-indiscreet application given to his booke, it should be cherished in him; for, that doth often make-him both vnapt for civill conversation, and distracts him from better employments: How many have I seene in my daies, by an over-greedie desire of

knowledge, become as it were foolish? *Carneades* was so deeply plunged, and as I may say besotted in it, that he could never have leasure to cut his haire, or pare his nailes: nor would I have his noble maners obscured by the incivilitie and barbarisine of others. The French wisdome hath long since proverbially been spoken-of, as verie apt to conceive studie in hir youth, but most vnapt to keepe it long. In good truth, we see at this day, that there is nothing lovelier to behold, then the young children of *France*; but for the most part, they deceive 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 vnderstanding hold this opinion, that the Colledges to which they are sent (of which there are store) doe thus besot-them: whereas to our scholler, a cabinet, a gardin, the table, the bed, a solitarinesse, a companie, morning and evening, and all houres shall be alike vnto him, all places shall be a studie for him: for Philosophie (as a former of judgements, and modeler of customes) shall be his principall lesson, having the priviledge to entermedle hir selfe with all things, and in all places. *Isocrates* the Orator, being once requested at a great banquet to speake of his arte, when all thought he had reason to answere, 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 companie assembled together to be merrie, and make good cheere, would be but a medlie of harsn and jarring musicke. The like may be said of all other Sciences. But touching Philosophie, namely in that point where it treateth of man, and of his duties, and offices, it hath been the common judgement of the wisest, that in regard of the pl [...]asantnesse of hir conversation, she ought not to be rejected, neither at banquets, nor at sportes. And *Plato* having invited hir to his solemne feast, we see how kindly she entertaineth the companie with a milde behaviour, fitly suting hir selfe to time and place, notwithstanding it be one of his learned'st and profitable discourses.

Aequè pauperibus prodest, loc [...]pletibus aequè, Hor. lib. 1 epis [...]. 125.  
Et neglecta aequè pueris senibúsque nocebit.

Poore men alike, alike rich men it easeth,  
Alike it scorned, old and yoong displeaseth.

So doubtlesse he shall lesse be idle then others; for even as the paces we bestow walking in a gallerie, although they be twice as many more, wearie-vs not so much as those we spend in going a set journey: So our lesson 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 sports and exercises shall be a part of his studie; running, wrestling, musicke, dancing, hunting, and managing of armes, and horses. I would have the exterior demeanor or decencie, and the dispolition of his person to be fashioned together with his mind: for, it is not a mind, it is not a bodie that we erect, but it is a man, and we must not make two parts of him. And as *Plato* saith, *They must not be erected one without another, but equally be directed, no otherwise then a couple of horses matched to draw in one selfe-same [...]eem [...]*. And to heare-him, doth he not seeme to imploy more time and care in the exercises [80]of his bodie: and to thinke that the mind is together with the same exercised, and not the contrarie? As for other matters, this institution ought to be directed by a sweet-severe mildnesse; Not as some doe, who in lieu 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 my seeming, doth more bastardise and dizzie a wel-borne, and gentle nature: If you would have him stand in awe of shame and punishment, doe not so much enure him to-it: accustome him patiently to endure sweat and cold, the sharpnesse of the wind, the heat of the sunne, and how to despise all hazards. Remove from him all nicenesse and quaintnesse in clothing, in lying, in eating, and in drinking: fashion him to all things; that he prove not a faire and wanton-puling boy, but a lustie and vigorous boy: When I was a child, being a man, and now am old, I have ever judged & believed the same.

But amongst other things, I could never away with this kind of discipline used in most of our Colledges. It had peradventure been lesse-hurtfull, if they had somewhat inclined to mildnesse, or gentle intreatie. It is a verie prison of captivated youth, and proves dissolute, in punishing it before it be so. Come vpon them when they are going to their lesson, and you heare nothing but whipping and brawling, both of children tormented, and masters besotted with anger and chafing. How wide are they, which go about to allure a childs mind to go to his booke, being yet but tender and fearefull, with a stearne-frowning countenance, and with hands-full of rods? Oh wicked and pernicious manner of teaching! which *Quintillian* hath verie well noted, that this imperious kind of authoritie, namely, this way of punishing of children, drawes many dangerous inconveniences with-in. How much more decent were it, to see their school-houses and formes strewed with greene boughes and flowers, then with bloodie burchen-twigs? If it lay in me, I would do as the Philosopher *Speusippus* did, who caused the pictures of Gladnesse and Ioy, of *Flora*, and of the Graces, to be set-vp round about his school-house. Where their profit lieth, there should also be their recreation. Those meats ought to be sugred-over, that are healthfull for childrens stomakes, and those made bitter that are hurtfull for them. It is strange to see how carefull *Plato* sheweth himselfe in framing of his lawes about the recreation & pastime of the youth of his Citie, and how far he extends himselfe about their exercises, sports, songs, leaping, and dancing, wherof he faith, that severe antiquitie gave the conduct and patronage vnto the Gods themselves, namely, to *Apollo*, to the Muses, and to *Munerva*. Marke but how far-forth he endevoareth to give a thousand precepts to be kept in his places of exercises both of bodie and mind. As for learned Sciences, he stands not much vpon them, and seemeth in particular to commend Poesie, but for Musickes-sake. All strangenesse and selfe particularitie in our manners, and conditions, is to be shunned, as an enemie to societie and civill conversation. Who would not be astonished at *Demophons* complexion, chiefe steward of *Alexanders* household, who was wont to sweat in the shadow, and quiver for cold in the sunne? I have seene some to startle at the smell of an apple, more then at the shot of a peece; some to be frighted with a mouse, some readie to cast their gorge at the sight of a messe of creame, and others to be scared with seeing a fetherbed shaken: as *Germanicus*, who could not abide to see a cock, or heare his crowing. There may happily be some hidden propertie of nature, which in my judgement might easilie be removed, if it were taken in time. Institution hath gotten this vpon me (I must confesse with much a doe) for, except beere, all things else that are mans foode agree indifferently with my taste. The bodie being yet souple, ought to be accommodated to all fashions and customes; and (alwaies provided, his appetites & desires be kept vnder) let a yong man boldly be made fit for all Nations and companies-yea, if need be, for all disorders and sorfetings; let him acquaint himselfe with all fashions; That he may be able to doe all things, and love to do none but those that are commendable. Some strict Philosophers commend not, but rather blame *Calisthenes*, for loosing the good favour of his Master *Alexander*, only because he would not pledge him as much as he had drunke to him. He shall laugh, jest, dallie, and debauch himselfe with his Prince. And in his debauching, I would have him out-go all his fellowes in vigor and constancie, and that he omit not to doe evill, neither for want of strength or knowledge, but for lacke of will. *Multum interest, vtrum peccare quis nolit, aut nesctat. There is a great difference, whether one have no will, or no wit to do amisse.* I thought to have honored a gentleman (as great a stranger, & as far from such riotous disorders as any is in *France*) by enquiring of him in verie good companie, how many times in all his life he had bin drunke in *Germanie*, [81]during the time of his abode there, about the necessarie affaires of our King; who tooke 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 been much perplexed when they have had Ho. epist. 17. 23. occasion to converse with that nation. I have often noted with great admiration, that wonderfull nature of *Alcibiades*, to see how easilie he could sute himselfe to so divers fashions, and different humors, without prejudice vnto his health; sometimes exceeding the sumptuousnesse and pompe of the Persians, and now and

then surpassing the austeritie and frugalitie of the Lacedemonians, as reformed in *Sparta*, as voluptuous in *Icnia*.

Omnis Aristippum decuit color, & status, & res.25.

All colours, states, and things are fit  
For courtly *Aristippus* wit.

Such a one would I frame my Disciple,

—quem duplici panno patientia velat. 29. Mirabor, vitae via si conversa decebit,

Whom patience clothes with sutes of double kind,  
I muse, if he another way will find.

Personamque feret non inconcinnus vtramque.

He not vnfitly may,  
Both parts and persons play.

Loe-heer my lessons, wherein he that acteth them, profiteth more, then he that but knoweth them, whom if you see, you heare, and if you heare him, you see him. God forbid, saith some bodie in *Plato*, that to Philosophize, be to learne many things, and to exercise the artes. *Hanc amplissimam omnium artium bcne vivendi disciplinam, vita magis quàm litter is persequuti* Ci [...]. Tusc. q [...]. lib. 4. *sunt. This discipline of living well, which is the amplest of all other artes, they followed rather in their lives, then in their learning or writing.* *Leo* Prince of the Phliasians, enquiring of *Heraclides Ponticus*, what arte he professed, he answered. Sir, I professe neither art nor science; but I am a Philosopher. Some reproved *Diogenes*, that being an ignorant man, he did neverthesse meddle with Philosophie, to whom he replied, so much the more reason have I, and to greater purpose doe I meddle with-it. *Hegesias* praid him vpon 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 figges to eate, why doe you not likewise chuse, not the painted and written, but the true and naturall exercises? He shall not so much repeat, as act his lesson. In his actions shall he make repetition of the same. We must observe, whether there be wisdom in his enterprises, integritie in his demeanor, modestie in his jestures, justice in his actions, judgement and grace in his speech, courage in his sicknesse, moderation in his sports, temperance in his pleasures, order in the government of his house, and indifferencie in his taste, whether it be flesh, fish, wine, or water, or whatsoever he feedeth vpon. *Qui disciplinam* Ci [...]. ib. lib. 2. *suam non ostentationem scientiae, sed legem vitae putet: quique obtemperet ipse sibi, & acretis pareat. Who thinks his learning not an ostentation of knowledge, but a law of life, and himselfe obayes himselfe, and doth what is decreed.*

The true mirror of our discourses, is the course of our lives. *Xeuxidamus* answered one that demaunded of him, why the Lacedemonians did not draw into a booke, the ordinances of prowesse, that so their yong men might read them; *it is*, saith he, *because they would rather accustome them to deeds and actions, then to bookes and writings*, Compare at the end of fifteene or sixteene yeares one of these collegiall Latinizers, who hath employed all that while onely in learning how to speake, to such a one as I meane. The world is nothing but babling and words, and I never saw man, that doth not rather speake more than he ought, then lesse. Notwithstanding halfe our age is consumed that way. We are kept foure or five yeares learning to vnderstand bare words, and to joine them into clauses, then as long in proportioning a great bodie extended into foure or five parts; and five more at least, ere we can succinctly know how to mingle, joine, & interlace them handsomly into a subtil fashion,

and into one coherent orbe. Let-vs leave-it to those, whose profession is to doe nothing else. Being once on my journey toward *Orleans*, it was my chance to meet vpon that plaine that lieth on this side *Clery*, with two Masters of Arts, traveling toward *Burdeaux*, about fiftie paces one from another far-off behind them, I descrie a troupe of horsemen, their Master riding formost, who was the Earle of *Rochefocault*; one of my servants enquiring [82]of the first of those Masters of artes, what Gentleman he was that followed him; supposing my servant had meant his fellow-scholler, for he had not yet seen the Earles traine, answered pleasantly, *He is no gentleman Sir, but a Gramarian, and I am a Logitian*. Now, we that contrariwise seek not to frame a Gramarian, nor a Logitian, but a compleat gentleman, let vs give them leave to mispend their time; we have else-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 hale them-on perforce. I heare some excuse themselves, that they cannot expresse their meaning, and make a semblance that their heads are so full-stufft with many goodly things, but for want of eloquence they can neither vtter nor make shew of them. It is a meere fopperie. And will you know what? in my seeming, the cause is, They are shadows and *Chimeraes*, proceeding of some formelesse conceptions, which they cannot distinguish or resolve within, and by consequence are not able to produce them, in asmuch as they vnderstand not themselves: And if you but marke their earnestnesse, and how they stammer & labour at the point of their deliverie, you would deeme, that what they go withall, is but a conceiving, and therefore nothing neere downelying; and that they doe but licke that imperfect and shapelesse lump of matter, As for me, I am of opinion and *Socrates* would have it so, that he who hath a cleare and lively imagination in his mind, may easilie produce and vtter the same, although it be in *Bergamask*, or *Welsh*, and if he be dombe, by signes and tokens.

Uertáque praevisam rem non invita sequentur. Hor. art. poet. 311.

When matter we fore-know,  
Words voluntarie flow.

As one said, as poetically in his prose, *Cùm res animum occupavere, verba ambiunt*. When Sen. contr [...]u. lib. 7. proae. *matter hath possess their minds, they hunt after words*: and another: *Ipsae res verba rapiunt*. *Things themselves will catch and carry words*: He knowes neither Ablative, Conjunctive, Substantive, nor Grammar, no more doth his Lackey, nor any Oyster wife about the streets, and yet if you have a mind to it, he will intertaine you your fill, and peradventure stumble as litle and as seldome against the rules of his tongue, as the best Master of artes in *France*. He hath no skill in Rhetoricke, nor can he with a preface fore-stall and captivate the Gentle Readers good will: nor careth he greatly to know it. In good sooth, all this garish painting is easilie defaced, by the lustre of an in-bred, and simple truth; for these dainties and quaint devises, serve but to amuse the vulgare sort, vnapt and incapable to taste the most solide, and firme meat: as *Afer* verie plainly declareth in *Cornelius Tacitus*. The Ambassadors of *Samos* being come to *Cleomenes* King of *Sparta*, prepared with a long prolix Oration, to stir him vp to war against the tyrant *Policrates*, after he had listned a good while vnto them, his answere was: *Touching your Exordium or beginning I have forgotten it; the middle I remember not; and for your conclusion I will do nothing in it*. A fit, and (to my thinking) a verie good answere; and the Orators were put to such a shift, as they knew not what to replie. And what said another? the *Athenians* from out two of their cunning Architects, were to chuse one to erect a notable great frame: the one of them more affected and selfe-presuming, presented himselfe before them, with a smooth fore-premeditated 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 few words, spake thus: *Lords of Athens, what this man hath said, I will performe*. In the greatest earnestnesse of *Ciceroes* eloquence many were drawne into a kind of admiration; But *Cato* jeasting at it,

said, *Have we not a pleasant Consull? A quicke cunning Argument, and a wittie saying,* whether it go before, or come after, it is never out of season. If it have no coherence with that which goeth before, nor with what commeth after; it is good and commendable in itselfe. I am none of those that thinke a good Ryme, to make a good Poeme; let him hardly (if so he please) make a short sillable long, it is no great matter: if the invention be rare and good, and his wit and judgement have cunningly plaied their part. I will say to such a one; he is a good Poet, but an ill Versifier.

Emunctae naris, durus componere versus. [...].r. lib 1. Cat. 4. 8. Lucil.

A man whose sense could finely pearce,  
But harsh and hard to make a verse.

Let a man (saith *Horace*) make his worke loose all seames, measures, and ioynnts.

Tempora certa modósque, & quod prius ordine verbum est, 58.  
[83] *Posterius facias, praeponens vltima primis: 62.*  
Invenias etiam disiecti membra Poetae.

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

He shall for all that, nothing gain-say himselfe, every piece will make a good shew. To this purpose answered *Menander* those that chid him, the day being at hand, in which he had promised a Comedy, and had not begun the same, *Tut-tut*, said he, *it is alreadie fi [...]shied, there wanteth nothing but to adde the verse vnto-it:* for, having ranged and cast the plot in his mind, he made small accompt of feete, of measures, or cadences of verses, which indeed are but of small import in regard of the rest. Since great *Ronzarde* and learned *Bellay*, have raised our French Poesie vnto that height of honour, where it now-is: I see not one of these petty-ballad-makers, or prentise-dogrell rymers, that doth not bumbast his labours with high swelling and heaven-disimbowellling words, and that doth not marshall his cadences verie neere as they doe. *Plus sonat quàm valet. The sound is more then the weight or worth.* And *Sen. epist. 40.* for the vulgar sort, there were never so many Poets, and so few good: but as it hath been easie for them to represent their rymes, so come they far short in imitating the rich descriptions of the one, and rare inventions of the other. But what shall he doe, if he be vrged with sophisticall subtilt [...]es about a Sillogisme? A gammon of Bacon makes a man drinke, drinking quencheth a mans thirst, *Ergo*, a gammon of bacon quencheth a mans thirst. Let him mock at-it, it is more wittie to be mockt at, then to be answered. Let him borrow this pleasant counter-craft of *Aristippus; Why shall I vnbind that, which being bound doth so much trouble me?* Some one proposed certaine Logically quiddities against *Cleanthes*, to whom *Chrisippus* said; vse such jugling tricks to plaie with children, and divert not the serious thoughts of an aged man to such idle matters. If such foolish wiles, *Contorta & aculeata sophismata*, Ci [...]. Acad. qu. lib. 4. *Intricate and fünged sophismes*, must perswade a lie, it is dangerous; but if they proove void of any effect, and moove 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; *Aut qui non verba rebus aptant, sedres extrinsecus arcessunt, quibus verba convenient. Or such as fit not words to matter, but fetch matter from abroad, whereto words be fitted.* And another, *Qui a [...]icuius verbi decore placentis, vocentur ad id quod non proposuerunt* *Sen. epist. 59. scribere. Who are allured by the grace of some pleasing word, to write that they intended not to write.* I doe more willingly winde vp a wittie notable sentence, that so I may sew-it vpon me, then vnwinde my thread to goe fetch it. Contrariwise, it is for words to serve and waite vpon the matter, and not for matter to attend vpon words, and if the French tongue



cannot reach vnto-it, let the Gaskonie, or any other. I would have the matters to surmount, and so fill the imagination of him that harkneth, that he have no remembrance at all of the words. It is a naturall, simple, and vnaffected speach that I love, so written as it is spoken, and such vpon the paper, as it is in the mouth, a pithie, sinnowie, full, strong, compendious, and materiall speach, not so delicate and affected, as vehement and piercing.

Haec demum sapiet dictio, quae feriet. Epitaph. L [...] ca [...]. 6.

In fine, that word is wisely fit,  
Which strikes the sence, the marke doth hit.

Rather difficult then tedious, void of affection, free, loose and bold, that every member of-it seeme to make a bodie; not Pedanticall, nor Frier-like, nor Lawyer-like, but rather downe-right, Souldier-like. As *Suetonius* calleth that of *Iulius Caesar*, which I see no reason wherefore he calleth it. I have sometimes pleased my selfe in imitating that licentiousnesse or wanton humour of our youths, in wearing of their garments; as carelesly to let their cloaks hang downe over one shoulder; to weare their cloakes scarfe or bawdrikewise, and their stockings loose-hanging about their legs. It represents a kind of disdainfull fiercenesse of these forraine embellishings, and neglect carelesnesse 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 vnseemely in a Courtier. And in a Monarchie every Gentleman ought to addresse himselfe vnto a Courtiers carriage. Therefore do we well somewhat to encline to a native and carelesse behaviour. I like not a contexture, where the seames and pieces may be seene: As in a well compact bodie, what [84]need a man distinguish and number all the bones and veines severally? *Quae veritati operam* Sen. epist. 40. m 75. p. *dat oratio, incomposita sit & simplex. Quis accuratè loquitur, nisi qui vult putidè l [...]qui? The speach that intendeth truth must be plaine and vnpollisht: Who speaketh elaborately, but he that meanes to speake vnsavouredly?* That eloquence offereth injurie vnto things, which altogether drawes-vs to observe-it. As in apparell, it is a signe of pusillanimitie for one to marke himselfe, in some particular and vnusuall fashion: so likewise in common speach, for one to hunt after new phrases, and vnaccustomed-quaint words, proceedeth of a scholasticall and childish ambition. Let me vse none other then are spoken in the hals of *Paris*. *Aristophanes* the Gramarian was somewhat out of the way, when he reprov'd *Epicurus*, for the simplicitie of his words, and the end of his arte oratorie, which was onely perspicuitie in speach. The imitation of speach, by reason of the facilitie of it, followeth presently a whole nation. The imitation of judging and inventing, comes more slow. The greater number of Readers, because they have found one selfe-same kind of gowne, suppose most falsly to holde one like bodie. Outward garments and cloakes may be borrowed, but never the sinews and strength of the bodie. Most of those that converse with me, speake like vnto these Essayes; but I know not whether they thinke alike. The Athenians (as *Plato* averreth) have for their part great care to be fluent and eloquent in their speach; The Lacedemonians endevour to be short and compendious; And those of *Creet* labour more to be plentifull in conceits, then in language. And these are the best. *Zeno* was wont to say, *That he had two sorts of disciples; the one he called [...], curious to learne things*, and those were his darlings, the other he termed [...], 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 part of our time about that onely. I would first know mine owne tongue perfectly, then my neighbours with whom I have most commerce. I must needs acknowledge, that the Greeke and Latine tongues, are great ornaments in a gentleman, but they are purchased at over-high a rate. Vse-it who list, I will tell you how they may be gotten better cheape, and much sooner then is ordinarily vsed, which was tried in my selfe. My late father, having by all the meanes and industrie, that is possible for man, sought amongst the wisest, and men of best vnderstanding, to find a most

exquisite and readie way of teaching, being advised of the inconveniences then in vse; was given to vnderstand, that the lingring while, and best part of our youth, that we imploy in learning the tongues, which cost them nothing, is the only cause we can never attaine to that absolute perfection of skill and knowledge, of the Greekes, and Romanes. I doe not believe that to be the onely cause. But so it-is, the expedient my father found-out, was this; that being yet at nurse, and before the first loosing of my tongue, I was delivered to a Germaine (who died since, a most excellent Phisitian in *France*) he being then altogether ignorant of the French tongue, but exquisitely readie and skilfull in the Latine. This man, whom my Father had sent-for of purpose, and to whom he gave verie great intertainment, had me continually in his armes, and was mine onely overseer. There were also iojned vnto him two of his countrimen, but not so learned; whose charge was to attend, and now and then, to play with me; and all these together did never intertaine me with other then the Latine tongue. As for others of his houshold, it was an inviolable rule, that neither himselfe, nor my mother, nor man, nor maide-servant, were suffered to speake one word in my companie, except such Latine words, as every one had learned to chat and prattle with me, It were strange to tell how euery 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 houshold servants, namely such as were neerest and most about-me. To be short, we were all so Latinized, that the townes round about vs had their share of-it; insomuch as even at this day, many Latine names both of workmen and of their tooles, are yet in vse among them. And as for my selfe, I was about six yeares old, and could vnderstand no more French or Perigordine, then Arabike, and that without arte, without bookes, 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 *Nicholas Grucchi*, [85]who hath written, *De comitijs Romanorum*, *Williám G [...]erenti*, who hath commented *Aristotle: George Buchanan*, that famous Scottish Poet, and *Marke-Antonie Muret*, whom (while he lived) both *France* and *Italie* to this day, acknowledge to haue been the best Orator: all which have beene my familiar tutors, have often tolde me, that in mine infancie I had the Latine tongue so readie and so perfect, that themselves feared to take me in hand. And *Buchanan*, who afterward I saw attending on the Marshall of *Brissacke*, told me, he was about to write a treatise of the institution of children, and that he tooke the model and patterne from mine: for, at that time he had the charge and bringing vp of the yong Earle of *Brissack*, whom since we have seene proove so woorthy and so valiant a captaine. As for the Greeke, wherein I have but small vnderstanding, my father purposed to make me learne-it by arte; But by new and vncustomed meanes, that is, by way of recreation and exercise. We did tosse our declinations, and conjugations to and fro, as they do, who by way of a certaine game at tables learne both Arithmetike and Geometrie. For, amongst other things he had especially beene perswaded to make me taste and apprehend the fruits of dutie and science by an vnforced kinde of will, and of mine owne choice; and without any compulsion or rigor to bring me vp in all mildenesse and libertie: yea with such kinde of superstition, that, whereas some are of opinion, that suddenly to awaken yoong children, and as it were by violence to startle and fright them out of their dead sleepe in a morning (wherein they are more heaue and deeper plunged then we) doth greatly trouble and distemper 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 vpon me. This example may serve to judge of the rest; as also to commend the judgement and tender affection of so carefull and loving a father: who is not to be blamed, though hee reaped not the fruites answerable to his exquisite toyle, and painefull manuring. Two things hindered the same; first the barrennesse and vnfit soyle: for howbeit I were of a [...]ound and strong constitution, and of a tractable and yeelding condition, yet was I so heaue, so sluggish, and so dull, that I could not be rouzed (yea were-it to goe to play)

from-out mine idle drowzinesse. What I saw, I saw it perfectly; and vnder this heavy, and as it were Lethe-complexion did I breed hardie imaginations, and opinions farre-above my yeares. My spirit was very slow, and would goe no further then it was led by others; my apprehension blockish, my invention poore; and besides, I had a marvelous defect in my weake memorie: it is therefore no woonder, if my father could never bring me to any perfection. Secondly, as those that in some dangerous sicknesse, moved with a kind of hopefull & greedie desire of perfect health againe, give eare to every Leache or Emperike, and follow all counsels, the good-man being exceedingly fearefull to commit any oversight, in a matter he tooke so to heart, suffered himselfe at last to be led away by the common opinion, which like vnto the Cranes, followeth ever those that go before, and yeilded to custome: Having those no longer about him, that had given him his first directions, and which they had brought out of *Italie*. Being but six yeeres old I was sent to the Colledge of *Guienne*, then most flourishing and reputed the best in *France*, where it is impossible to adde any thing to the great care he had, both to chuse the best and most sufficient Masters, that could be found, to reade vnto me, as also for all other circumstances pertaining to my education; wherein contrary to vsuall customes of Colledges, he observed many particular rules. But so it is, it was ever a Colledge. My Latin tongue was forthwith corrupted, whereof by reason of discontinuance, I afterward lost all manner of vse: which new kind of institution, stood me in no other stead, but that at my first admittance, it made me to ouer-skip some of the lower formes, and to be placed in the highest. For at thirteene yeares of age, that I left the Colledge, I had read over the whole course of Philosophie (as they call it) but with so small profit, that I can now make no account of it. The first taste or feeling I had of bookes, was of the pleasure I tooke in reading the fables of *Ovids* Metamorphosies; for, being but seaven or eight yeares old, I would steale and sequester my selfe from all other delights, onely to reade them: Forsomuch as the tongue wherein they were written was to me naturall; and it was the easiest booke I knew, and by reason of the matter therein contained, most agreeing with my yong age. For of King *Arthur*, of *Lancelot du Lake*, of *Amadis*, of *Huon of Burdeaux*, and such idle time-consuming, and wit-besotting trash of bookes wherein youth doth commonly amuse it selfe, I was not so much as acquainted with their [86]names, and to this day know not their bodies, nor what they containe: So exact was my discipline. Wherby I became more carelesse to studie my other prescript lessons. And well did it fall out for my purpose, that I had to deale with a very discreet Master, who out of his judgement could with such dexteritie winke▪ at, and second my vntowardlinesse, and such other faults that were in me. For by that meanes, I read-over *Virgils Aeneades*, *Terence*, *Plautus*, and other Italian Comedies, allured thereunto by the pleasantnesse of their severall subjects: Had he beene so foolishly-severe, or so sverely froward as to crosse this course of mine, I think verily I had never brought any thing from the Colledge, but the hate and contempt of Bookes, as doth the greatest part of our Nobilitie. Such was his discretion, and so warily did he behave himselfe, that he saw and would not see: hee would foster and encrease my longing: suffering me but by stealth, and by snatches to glut my selfe with those Bookes; holding ever a gentle hand over me, concerning other regular studies. For, the chiefest thing my father required at their hands (vnto whose charge he had committed me) was a kinde of well-conditioned mildnesse, and facilitie of complexion. And, to say truth, mine had no other fault, but a certaine dull-languishing, and heavie slothfulnessse. The danger was not, I should do-ill, but that I should doe nothing.

No man did ever suspect, I would prove a bad, but an vnprofitable man: foreseeing in me rather a kind of idlenesse, than a voluntary craftinesse. I am not so selfe-conceited but I perceive what hath followed. The complaints that are daily buzzed in mine eares are these; that I am idle, colde, and negligent in offices of friendship, and dutie to my parents, and kinsfolkes; and touching publike offices, that I am over-singular and disdainefull. And those that are most iniurious cannot aske, wherefore I have taken, and why I have not paid? but may rather demand, why I doe not quit, and wherefore I doe not give? I would take it as a favour, they should wish such effects of supererogation in me. But they are vnjust and over-

partiall, that will goe about to exact that from me, which I owe not, with more rigor than they will exact from themselves that which they owe; wherein if they condemne me, they vtterly cancell, both the gratifying 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 at all. Wherefore I may so much the more freely dispose of my fortune, by how much more it is mine, and of my selfe that am most mine owne. Notwithstanding, if I were a great blazoner of mine owne actions, I might peradventure barre such reproches, and justly vpbraid some, that they are not so 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 ceased not at the same time to have peculiar vnto it selfe well-setled motions, true and open judgements, concerning the objects, which it knew; which alone, and without any helpe or communication it would digest. And amongst other things I verily beleeeue, it would have proved altogether incapable, and vnfit to yeeld vnto force, or stoope vnto violence. Shall I account or relate this qualitie of my infancie, which was, a kinde of boldnesse in my lookes, and gentle softnesse in my voice, and affabilitie in my gestures, and a dexteritie in conforming my selfe to the parts I vndertooke? for before the age of the

Alter ab undecimo tum me vix ceperat annus: Virg. Buc. [...]cl. 8. 39.

Yeares had I (to make even.)  
Scarse two above eleven.

I have vnde-rgone and represented the chiefest parts in the Latin Tragedies of *Buchanan*, *Guerenti*, and of *Muret*; which in great state were acted and plaid in our colledge of *Guienne*: wherein *Andreas Goveanus* our Rector principall; who as in all other parts belonging to his charge, was without comparison the chiefest Rector of *France*, and my selfe (without ostentation be it spoken) was reputed, if not a chiefe master, yet a principall Actor in them. It is an excercise I rather commend than disalow in yong gentlemen: and have seene 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 heeretofore been esteemed a lawfull exercise, and a tollerable profession in men of honor, namely in *Greece*. *Aristoni tragico actori rem aperit: huic & genus & fortuna honesta erant: nec ars quia nihil tale apud Graecos Lib dec. 3. 1. 4. pudori est, ea deformaebat. He imparts the matter to Ariston a Player of tragedies, whose progenie [87] and fortune were both honest; nor did his profession disgrace them, because no such matter is a disparagement amongst the Graecians.*

And I have ever accused them of impertinencie, that condemne and disalow such kindes 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 publike sports. Politike and wel-ordered commonwealths, endeavor rather carefully to vnite and assemble their Citizens together; as in serious offices of devotion, so in honest exercises of recreation. Common societie and loving friendship is thereby cherished and increased. And besides, they cannot have more formall and regular pastimes allowed them, then such as are acted and represented in open view of all, and in the presence of the magistrates themselves: And if I might beare sway, I would thinke it reasonable, that Princes should sometimes, at their proper charges, gratifie the common people with them, as an argument of a fatherly affection, and loving goodnesse towards them: and that in populous and frequented cities, there should be Theatres & places appointed for such spectacles; as a diverting of worse inconveniences, and secret actions. But to come to my intended purpose, there is no better way then to allure the affection, and to entice the appetite: otherwise a man shall breede but asses laden with Bookes. With jerkes of roddes they have their satchels full of learning given them to keepe. Which to do well, one must not onely harbor in him-selfe, but

wed and mary the same with his minde.

**The six and twentieth Chapter.**  
**It is follie to referre Truth or Falsehood to our sufficiencie.** ↪

IT is not peradventure without reason, that we ascribe the facilitie of beleeving and easines of perswasion, vnto simpl [...] c [...]tie and ignorance: For me semeth to have learn theretofore, that beliefe was, as it were an impression conceiued in our minde, and according as the same was found either more soft, or of leue resistance, it was easier to imprint any thing therein. *Venecessesse est lancem in libra po [...]deribus impositis deprimi: sic animum perspicuis cedere. As it is Cic. Acad. qu. 1. 4 necessarie a scale must goe downe the balla [...]c when weights are put into it, so must a minde yeelde to things that are manifest.* Forasmuch therefore, as the minde being most emptie and without counterpoize, so much the more easily doth it yeeld vnder the burthen of the first perswasion. And that's the reason why children, those of the common sort, women, and sickefolks, are so subject to be n [...]is-led, and so easie to swallow gudgeons. Yet on the other side it is a sottish presumption to disdaine and condemn that for false, which vnto vs seemeth to beare no shew of likelihood or truth: which is an ordinarie fault in those who perswade themselves to be of more sufficienc [...]e than the vulgar sort. 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 witchcrafts, or any other thing reported, which I could not well conceive, or that was beyond my reach,

Somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, sagas, Hor. lib. 2. ep. 2. 208.  
Nocturnos lemures, portentáque Thessali-

Dreames, magike terrors, witches, vncouth-wonders,  
Night-walking sprites, *Thessalian* conjur'd thunders.

I could not but feele a kinde of compassion to see the poore and seely people abused with such follies. And now I perceive, that I was as much to be moaned my-selfe: Not that experience hath since made me to discern any thing beyond my former opinions: yet was not my curiositie the cause of it, but reason hath taught me, that so resolutely to condemne a thing for false, and impossible, is to assume vnto himselfe the advantage, to have the bounds and limits of Gods will, and of the power of our common mother Nature tied to his sleeue: And that there is no greater folly in the world, then to reduce them to the measure of our capacitie▪ and bounds of our sufficiencie▪ If we terme those things monsters or miracles to [88]which our reason cannot attaine, how many such doe daily present themselves vnto our sight? Let vs consider through what clowdes, and how blinde-folde we are led to the knowledge of most things, that passe our hands: verily we shall finde, it is rather custome, than science that remooveth the strangenesse of them from-vs:

—iam nemo fessus saturúsque viden [...],i, Lucr. li. 2. Susplicere in caeli dignatur  
lucida templa.

Now no man tir'd with glut of contemplation  
Deignes to have heav'ns bright Church in admiration.

And that those things, were they newly presented vnto vs, wee should doubtlesse deeme them, as much, or more vnlikely, and incredible, then any other.

—si nunc primùm mortalibus adsint 1042:  
Ex improviso, ceu sint obiecta repentè,  
Nil magis his rebus poterat mirabile dici,  
Aut minus antè quod auderent fore credere gentes.

If now first on a sudden they were here  
Mongst mortal men, object to eie or care,  
Nothing, than these things, would more wondrous bee,  
Or that, men durst lesse thinke, ever to see.

He who had never seene 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 them to be the extreamest that nature worketh in that kinde.

Scilicet & fluvius qui non est maximus, ei est Lib. 6. 671.  
Qui non antè aliquem maior em vidit, & ingens  
Arbor homóque videtur, & omnia de genere omni  
Maxima quae vidit quisque, haec ingentia fingit.

A streame none of the greatest, may so seeme  
To him, that never saw a greater streame.  
Trees, men, seeme huge, and all things of all sorts,  
The greatest one hath seene, he huge reports.

*Consuetudine oculorum assuescunt animi, neque admirantur, neque requirunt rationes carum* Cic. Nat. D [...]. 1. 2 *rerum, quas semper vident. Mindes are acquainted by cust [...]me of their eies, nor doe they admire, or enquire the reason of those things, which they continually behold.* The noveltie of things doth more incite vs to search-out the causes, than their greatness: we must judge of this infinit power of nature, with more reverence, and with more acknowledgement of our owne ignorance and weakenesse. How many things of small likelihood are there, witnessed by men, woorthie of credit, whereof if we cannot be perswaded, we should at least leave them insuspence? For, to deeme them impossible, is by rash presumption to presume and know how farre possibilitie reacheth. If a man did well vnderstand, what difference there is betweene impossibilitie, and that which is vnwonted, and betweene that which is against the course of nature, and the common opinion of men, in not beleaving rashly, and in not disbeleaving easily; the rule of *Nothing too-much*, commanded by *Chilon*, should be observed. When we finde in *Froysard*, that the Earle of *Foix*, (being in *Bearn*\*) had knowledge of the defeature at *Iuberoth*, of king *John* of *Castile*, the morrow next it hapned, and the meanes 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 to be solemnized, and commanded them to be celebrated throughout all *Italie*. For, the authoritie of the witnesses hath peradventure no sufficient warrant to restraine vs. But what? if *Plutarke*, besides divers examples which he alleageth of antiquitie, saith to have certainly knowne, that in *Domitians time, the newes of the battle lost by Antonius in Germanis many daies iourneies thence, was published at Rome, and divulged through the world, the very same day it succeeded*: And if *Caesar* holdes, that it hath many times happened, that report hath foregone the accident: Shall we not say, that those simple people have suffered themselves to be cousoned and seduced by the vulgar sort, because they were not as cleare-sighted as we? Is there any thing more daintie, more vnspotted, and more lively then *Plinies* judgement, whensoever it pleaseth him to make shewe of it? Is there any farther from vanitie? I omit the excellencie of his learning and knowledge, whereof I make but small reckoning: [89]in which of those two parts doe we exceed him? Yet there is no scholer so meanelly learned, but will convince him of lying, & read a lecture of contradiction against him vpon the progresse of natures workes. When wee reade in *Bouchet* the myracles wrought by the reliques of Saint *Hillarie*, his credit is not sufficient to barre vs the libertie of contradicting him: yet at randon to condemne all such like histories, seemeth to me a notable impudencie. That famous man Saint *Augustine*, witnesseth to have seene a blinde childe, to recover his sight, over the reliques of Saint *Gervase* and *Protaise* at *Milene*: and a woman at *Carthage*, to have beene cured of a canker, by the signe of the holy Crosse, which a woman

newly baptized made vnto her: and *Hesperius* a familiar friend of his, to have expelled certaine spirits, that molested his house, with a little of the earth of our Saviors sepulcher; which earth being afterwards transported into a church, a Paralitike man was immediatly therewith cured: and a woman going in procession, having as she past-by with a nose-gaie toucht the case wherein Saint *Stevens* bones were, and with the same afterward rubbed her eies, she recovered her sight, which long before she had vtterly lost: & divers other examples, where he affirmeth to have bin an assistant himselfe. What shall we accuse him of, and two other holy Bishops, *Aurelius* and *Maximinus*, whom he calleth for his witnesses? Shal it be of ignorance, of simplicity, of malice, of facility, or of imposture? Is any man living so impudent, that thinks he may be compared to them, whether it be in vertue or piety, in knowledge or judgement, in wisdome or sufficiency? *Qui vi rationem nullam afferrent, ipsa auctoritate me frangerent: Who Cic▪ Di [...]. li. 1. though they alleadged no reason, yet might subdue me with their very authoritie.* It is a dangerous fond hardinesse, and of consequence, besides the absurd temerity it drawes with it, to despise what we conceive not. For, after that according to your best vnderstanding, you have established the limits of truth, and bounds of falsehood, and that it is found, you must necessarily beleeeve things, wherein is more strangenesse, then in those you deny; you have alreadie bound your selfe to abandon them. Now that which me thinkes brings as much disorder in our consciences, namely in these troubles of religion wherin we are, is the dispensation Catholikes make of their beliefe. They suppose to shew themselves very moderate and skilfull, when they yeeld their adversaries any of those articles now in question. But besides that, they perceive not what an advantage it is for him that chargeth you, if you but once begin to yeeld & give them ground; and how much that encorageth him to pursue his point: those articles which they chuse for the lightest, are oftentimes most important. Either a man must wholly submit himselfe to the authoritie of our Ecclesiasticall pollicie, or altogether dispence himselfe from it: It is not for vs to determine what part of obedience we owe vnto it. And moreover, I may say it, because I have made triall of it, having sometimes vsed this libertie of my choice, and particular election, not regarding certaine points of the obseruance of our Church, which seeme to beare a face, either more vaine, or more strange; comming to communicate them with wisemen, I have found that those things have a most solide and steadie foundation, and that it is but foolishnesse and ignorance, makes vs receiue them with lesse respect and reverence then the rest. Why remember we not, what, and how many contradictions we finde and feele even in our owne judgement? How many things served vs but yesterday as articles of faith, which to day we deeme but fables? Glory and curiositie are the scourges of our soules. The latter induceth vs to have an oare in every ship, and the former forbids vs to leave any thing vnresolved or vndecided.

### **The seauen and twentieth Chapter. Of Friendship.**

COnsidering the proceeding of a Painters worke I have; a desire hath possessed mee to imitate him: He maketh choise of the most convenient place and middle of everie wall, there to place a picture, laboured with all his skill and sufficiency; and all void places about it he filleth vp with antike Boscage or Crotosko works; which are fantastical pictures, having no grace, but in the variety and strangenesse of them. And what are these my compositions [90]in truth, other than antike workes, and monstrous bodies, patched and hudled vp together of divers members, without any certaine or well ordered figure, having neither order, dependencie, or proportion, but casuall and framed by chance?

Desinit in piscem mulier formosa supernè. Hor. art. poe. 4.

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

Touching this second point I goe as farre as my Painter, but for the other and better part I am farre behinde: for my sufficiency reacheth not so farre, as that I dare vndertake, a rich, a polished, and according to true skill, and arte-like table. I have advised my selfe to borrow one of *Steven de la Boitie*, who with this kinde of worke shall honour all the world. It is a discourse he entituled, *Voluntary Servitude*, but those who have not knowen him, have since very properly rebaptized the same. *The against one*. In his first youth he writ, by way of Essaie, in honour of libertie against Tyrants. It hath long since beene dispersed amongst men of vnderstanding, not without great and well deserved commendations: for it is full of wit, and containeth as much learning as may be: yet doth it differ much from the best he can do. And if in the age I knew-him in, he would have vndergone my desaigne, to set his fantasies downe in writing, we should doubtlesse see many rare things, and which would very neerely approach the honour of antiquity: for especially touching that part of natures gifts, I know none may be compared to him. But it was not long of him, that ever this Treatize, came to mans view, and I believe he never sawe it since it first escaped his hands: with certaine other notes concerning the edict of Ianuarie, famous by reason of our intestine warre, which haply may in other places finde their deserved praise. It is all I could ever recover of his reliques (whom when death seized, he by his last will and testament, left with so kinde remembrance, heire and executor of his librarie and writings) besides the little booke, I since caused to be published: To which his pamphlet I am particularly most bounden, for so much as it was the instrumentall meane of our first acquaintance. For it was showed me long time before I sawe him; and gave me the first knowledge of his name, addressing, and thus nourishing that vnspotted friendship, which we (so long as it pleased God) have so sincerely, so entire and inviolably maintained betweene vs, that truely a man shall not commonly heare of the like; and amongst our moderne men no signe of any such is seene. So many partes are required to the erecting of such a one, that it may be counted a wonder, if fortune once in three ages contract the like. There is nothing to which Nature hath more addressed vs than to societie. And *Aristotle* saith, *that perfect Law-givers have had more regardfull care of friendship then of iustice*. And the vtmost drift of it's perfection is this. For generally, all those amities which are forged and nourished by voluptuousnesse or profit, publike 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 fruit with friendship, then it selfe alone: Nor doe those foure auncient kindes of friendships; *Naturall, sociall, hospitable, and venerian*, either particularly or conjointly beseeme the same. That from children to parents may rather be termed respect: Friendship is nourished by communication, which by reason of the over-great disparitie cannot bee found in them, and would happily offend the duties of nature: for neither all the secret thoughts of parents can be communicated vnto children, lest it might engender an vnbeseeing familiaritie betweene them, nor the admonitions and corrections (which are the chieftest offices of friendship) could be exercised from children to parents. There have nations beene found, where, by custome, children killed their parents, and others, where parents slew their children, thereby to avoide the hindrance of enter-bearing one another in after times: for naturally one dependeth from the ruine of another. There have Philosophers beene found disdaining this naturall conjunction, witnessse *Aristippus*, who being vrged with the affection he ought his children, as proceeding from his loynes, began to spit, saying, *That also that excrement proceeded from him, and that also we engendred wormes and lice*. And that other man, whom *Plutarke* would have perswaded to agree with his brother, answered, *I care not a straw the more for him, though he came out of the same wombe I did*. Verily the name of Brother is a glorious name, and ful of loving kindnesse, and therefore did he and I terme one another sworne brother: but this commixture, dividence, and sharing 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 [91]aliance, and lovely conjunction: If brothers should conduct the progresse of their advancement and thrift in one same path and course, they must necessarily oftentimes hinder and crosse one another. Moreover, the



correspondencie and relation that begetteth these true and mutually-perfect amities, why shall it be found in these? The father and the sonne may very well be of a farre differing complexion, and so many brothers: He is my sonne, he is my kinsman; but he may be a foole, a bad, or a peevisish-minded man. And then according as they are friendships, which the law and dutie of nature doth command-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 her owne, then that of affection and amitie. Sure I am, that concerning the same I have assaied all that might be, having had the best and most indulgent father that ever was, even to his extreamest age, and who from father to sonne was descended of a famous house, and touching this rare-seene vertue of brotherly concord very exemplare:

—& ipse Hor. l. 2. od. 2. 6. Notus in fratres animi paterni,

To his brothers knowne so kinde,  
As to beare a fathers minde.

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

(—*neque enim est de [...] nescta nostri Quae dulcem curis miscet amaritiem.*)

(Nor is that Goddess ignorant of me,  
Whose bitter sweetes with my cares mixed be.)

to be more active, more fervent, and more sharpe. But it is a rash and wavering fire, waving and diverse: the fire of an ague subject to fits and stints, and that hath but slender hold-fast of vs. In true friendship, it is a generall & vniversall heat, and equally tempered, a constant and settled heat, all pleasure and smoothnes, that hath no pricking or stinging in it, which the more it is in lustfull love, the more is it but a ranging and mad desire in following that which flies vs,

Come segue la lepre il cacciatore Ariof. can. 10. [...]. 7.  
Al freddo, al caldo, alla montagna, al lito,  
Ne piu l'estima poiche presa vede,  
E sol dietro a chi sugge affrettail piede.

Ev'n as the huntsman doth the hare pursue,  
In cold, in heate, on mountaines, on the shore,  
But cares no more, when he her tan'e espies,  
Speeding his pace, onely at that which flies.

As soone as it creepeth into the termes of friendship, that is to say, in the agreement of wils, it languisheth and vanisheth away: enjoying doth loose it, as having a corporall end, and subject to sacietie. On the other side, friendship is enjoyed according as it is desired, it is neither bred, nor nourished, nor encreaseh but in jovissance, as being spirituall, and the minde being refined by vse and custome. Vnder this chiefe amitie, these fading affections have sometimes found place in me, lest I should speake of him, who in his verses speakes but too much of it. So are these two passions entred into me in knowledge one of another, but in comparison never: the first flying a high, and keeping a proud pitch, disdainfully beholding the other to passe her points farre vnder 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, & a match ordinarily concluded to other ends: A thousand strange knots are there in commonly to be vnknit, 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 same, but it selfe. Seeing (to speake truly) that the ordinary sufficiency of women, cannot answer this conference & communication, the nurse of this sacred bond: nor seeme their mindes strong enough to endure the pulling of a knot so hard, so fast, and durable. And truly, if without that, such a genuine and voluntarie acquaintance might be contracted, where not onely mindes had this entire ioyissance, but also bodies, a share of the aliance, and where a man might wholly be engaged: It is certaine, that friendship would [92]thereby be more compleate and full: But this sex could never yet by any example attaine vnto it, and is by ancient schooles rejected thence. And this other Greeke licence is justly abhorred by our customes, which notwithstanding, because according to vse it had so necessarie a disparitie of ages, and difference of offices betweene lovers, did no more sufficiently answer the perfect vnion and agreement, which heere we require: *Quis est enim iste amor Cic. Tusc. que. 4. amicitiae? curneque deformem adolescentem quisquam amat, neque for mosum senem? For, what love is this of friendship? why doth no man loue either a deformed yong man, or abeantifull old man?* For even the picture the *Academic* makes of it, will not (as I suppose) disavowe mee, to say thus in her behalfe: That the first furie, enspired by the son of *Venus* in the lovers hart, vpon the object of tender youths-flower, to which they allow all insolent and passionate violences, an immoderate heate may produce, was simply grounded vpon an externall beauty; a false image of corpor all generation: for in the spirit it had no power, the sight whereof was yet concealed, which was but in his infancie, and before the age of budding. For, if this furie did seize vpon a base minded courage, the meanes of it's pursute, where riches, gifts, favour to the advancement of dignities, and such like vile marchandize, which they reproove. If it fell into a most generous minde, the interpositions were likewise generous: Philosophicall instructions, documents to reverence religion, to obey the lawes, to die for the good of his countrie: examples of valor, wisdom and justice. The lover endeavoring and studying to make himselfe acceptable by the good grace and beauty of his minde (that of his body being long since decayed) hoping by this mentall societie to establish a more firme and permanent bargaine. When this pursute attained the effect in dueseason, (for by not requiring in a lover, he should bring leasure and discretion in his enterprise, they require it exactly in the beloved; for as much as he was to judge of an internall beauty, of a difficile knowledge, & abstruse discovery) then by the interposition of a spirituall beauty was the desire of a spiritual conception engendred in the beloved. The latter was heere chiefest; the corporall, accidentall and second, altogether contrarie to the lover. And therefore do they preferre the beloved, and verifie that the gods likewise preferre the same: and greatly blame the Poet *Aeschylus*, who in the love between *Achilles* and *Patroclus* ascribeth the lovers part vnto *Achilles*, who was in the first and beardlesse youth of his adolescency, and the fairest of the Graecians. After this generall communitie, the mistris and worthiest part of it, predominant & exercising her offices (they say the most availeful commodity did therby redound both to the private & publike) That it was the force of countries received the vse of it, and the principall defence of equitie and libertie: witnesse the comfortable loves of *Hermodiu* and *Aristogiton*. Therefore name they it sacred and divine, and it concerns not them whether the violence of tyrants, or the demisnesse of the people be against them: To conclude, all can be alleaged in favour of the Academy, 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 facienda ex Cic. ibid. pulehritudinis specie. That love is an endeavor of making frendship by the shew of beautie.* I returne to my description in a more equitable & equall maner. *Omnino amicitiae corroboratis iam confirmatis [...] Cic. Ami [...]. ingenijs & aetatibus indicandae sunt. Clearely friendships are to be indge by wits, and ages already strengthened and confirmed.* As for the rest, those we ordinarily call friendes and amities, are but acquaintances and familiarities, tied together by some occasion or commodities, by meanes whereof our mindes are entertained. In the amitie I speake of, they entermixe and confound themselves one in the other, with so vniuersall a commixture, that they weare out, and can no more finde the seame that hath conjoynded them together. If a

man vrge me to tell wherefore I loved him, I feele it cannot be expressed, but by answering; Because it was he, because it was my selfe. There is beyond all my discourse, and besides what I can particularly report of it, I know not what inexplicable and fatall power, a meane and Mediatrix of this indissoluble vnion. Wee sought one another, before we had seene one another, and by the reports we heard one of another; which wrought a greater violence in vs, than the reason of reports 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 solemne meeting of a whole towneship, we found ourselves so surprized, so knowne, so acquainted, and so combinedly bound together, that from thence forward, nothing was so neere vnto vs, as one vnto another. He writ an excellent Latine Satyre; since published; by which he excuseth and expoundeth the precipitation [93]of our acquaintance, so suddenly come to her perfection; Sithence it must continue so short a time, and begun so late (for we were both growne men, and he some yeeres older than my selfe) there was no time to be lost. And it was not to bee modelled or directed by the paterne of regular and remisse friendship, wherein so many precautions of a long and preallable 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 foure, nor a thousand: It is I wot not what kinde of quintessence, of all this commixture, which having seized all my will, induced the same to plunge and loose it selfe in his, which likewise having seized all his will, brought it to loose and plunge it selfe in mine, with a mutuall greedinesse, and with a semblable concurrance. I may truely say, loose, reserving nothing vnto vs, that might properly be called our owne, nor that was either his, or mine. When *Lelius* in the presence of the Romane Consuls, who after the condemnation of *Tiberius Gracchus*, pursued all those that had beene of his acquaintance, came to enquire of *Caius Blossius* (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 he had willed thee to burne our Temples?* *Blossius* answered, *He would never have commanded such a thing. But what if he had done it?* replied *Lelius*: The other answered, *I would have obeyed him*: If hee were so perfect a friend to *Gracchus*, as Histories report, he needed not offend the Consuls with this last and bolde confession, and should not have departed from the assurance hee had of *Gracchus* his minde. But yet those, who accuse this answer as seditious, vnderstand not well this mysterie: and doe not presuppose in what termes he stood, and that he held *Gracchus* his will in his sleeve, both by power and knowledge. They were rather friends than Cittizens, rather friends than enemies of their countrey, or friends of ambition and trouble. Having absolutely committed themselves one to another, they perfectly held the reines 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 same.) The answer of *Blossius* was such as it should be. If their affections miscarried, according to my meaning, they were neither friendes one to other, nor friends to themselves. As for the rest, this answer soundes no more than mine would doe, to him that would in such sort enquire of me; if your will should commaund you to kill your daughter, would you doe it? and that I should consent vnto it: for, that beareth no witness of consent to do it: because I am not in doubt of my will, and as little of such a friends will. It is not in the power of the worlds discourse to remove me from the certaintie I have of his intentions and judgements of mine: no one of it's actions might be presented vnto me, vnder what shape soever, but I would presently finde the spring and motion of it. Our mindes have jumped so vnitedly together, they have with so fervent an affection considered of each other, and with like affection so discovered and sounded, even to the very bottome of ech others heart and entrails, that I did not onely know his, as well as mine owne, but I would (verily) rather have trusted him concerning any matter of mine, than my selfe. Let no man compare any of the other common friendships to this. I have as much knowledge of them as another, yea of the perfectest of their kinde: yet will I not perswade any man to confound their rules, for so 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 sort distrust the same. *Love him* (saide *Chilon*) *as if you should one day hate him againe. Hate him as if you should love him againe.* This precept, so abhominable in this soveraigne and mistress Amity, is necessarie and wholesome in the vse 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 accounted of: this confusion so full of our willes is cause of it: for euen as the friendship I beare vnto my selfe, admits no increase, by any succour I give my selfe in any time of neede, whatsoever the Stoickes alleadge; and as I acknowledge no thanks vnto my selfe for any service I doe vnto my selfe, so the vnion 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 [94]them; willes, thoughts, judgements, goods, wives, children, honour, and life; and their mutuall agreement, being no other than one soule in two bodies, according to the fit 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 betweene 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 wherof I speake, one might give vnto another, the receiver of the benefit should binde his fellow. For, each seeking more than any other thing, to doe each other good, he who yeelds both matter and occasion, is the man sheweth himselfe liberall, giving his friend that contentment, to effect towards him what he desireth most. When the Philosopher *Diogenes* wanted money, he was wont to say; *That he re-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 auncient singular example. *Eudamidas* the Corinthian had two friends. *Charixenus* a Sycionian, and *Aretheus* a Corinthian; being vpon 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 maintaine her when she shall be [...]lde: To Charixenus the marrying of my daughter, and to give her as great a dowry as he may: and in case one of them shall chance to die before, I appoint the survivor to substitute his charge, and supply his place.* Those that first saw this testament, laughed and mocked at the same; but his heires being advertised thereof, were very well pleased, and received it with singular contentment. And *Charixenus* one of them, dying five daies after *Eudamidas*, the substitution being declared in favour 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 *Eudamidas*, 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 indivisible; each man doth 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 soules, or sundry willes, that he might conferre them all vpon this subject. Common friendships may be divided; a man may love beautie in one, facilitie of behaviour in another, liberalitie in one, and wisdom in another, paternity in this, fraternity in that man, & so forth: but this amity which possesseth the soule, and swaies it in all soveraigntie, it is impossible it should be double. If two at one instant should require helpe, to which would you runne? Should they crave contrary off [...]ces of you, what order would you follow? Should one commit a matter to your silence, which if the other knew would greatly profit him, what course would you take? Or how would you discharge your selfe? A singular and principall friendship dissolveth all other duties, & freeth all other obligations. The secret I have sworne not to reveale to another, I may without periurie impart it vnto him, who is no other but my selfe. It is a great and strange woonder for a man to

double himselfe; & those that talk of tripling, know not, 'nor cannot reach vnto the height of it. *Nothing is extreame, that 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 loue them: he multiplieth in brother-hood, a thing most singular, and alonely one, and then which one alone is also the rarest to be found in the world. The remainder of this history agreeth very wel with what I said; for, *Eudamidas* giveth as a grace & fauor to his friends to employ them in his need: he leaveth them as his heires of his liberality, which consisteth in putting the meanes into their hands, to doe him good. And doubtlesse, the force of friendship is much more richly shewen in his deed, then in *Aretheus*. To conclude, they are imaginable effects, to him that hath not tasted them; and which makes me woonderfully to honor the answer of that yong Souldier to *Cyrus*, who enquiring of him, what he would take for a horse, with which he had lately gained the prize of a race, and whether he would change him for a Kingdome? *No surely my Liege* (said he) *yet would I willingly forgoe him to gaine a true friend, could I but finde a man worthy of so precious an alliance.* He said not ill, in saying, *could I but finde.* For, a man shall easily finde men fit for a superficiall acquaintance; but in this, wherein men negotiate from the very centre of their harts, and make no spare of any thing, it is most requisite, all the wardes and springs be sincerely wrought, and perfectly true. In confederacie [...], which hold but by one end, men have nothing to provide [95]for, but for the imperfections, which particularly doe interest and concerne 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 acquaintances, that those who serve-me contract with me. I am nothing inquisitive whether a Lackey be chaste or no, but whether he be diligent: I feare not a gaming Muletier, so much as if he be weake; nor 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 do in the world.

Mihi sic vsus est: Tibi, vt opus est facto, face. Ter. Heau. act. [...] scen. 1. 28.

So is it requisite for me;  
Doe thou as needfull is for thee.

Concerning familiar table-talke, I rather acquaint my selfe with, and follow a merry conceited humour, than a wise man: And in bed I rather prefer beauty, then goodnesse; and in society or coversation of familiar discourse, I respect rather sufficiency, though without *Preua' hommie*, and so of all things else. Even as he that was found riding vpon an hobby-horse, playing with his children, besought him, who thus surprized him, not to speake of-it, vntil he were a father himself, supposing the tender fondnesse, and fatherly passion, which then would possesse his minde, should make him an impartiall iudge of such an action. So would I wish to speake to such as had tried what I speake of: but knowing how far such an amitie is from the common vse, & how seld seene and rarely found, I looke not to finde a competent iudge. For, even the discourses, which sterne antiquitie hath left vs concerning this subject, seeme to me but faint and forcelesse in respect of the feeling I have of it: And in that point the effects exceed the very precepts of Philosophie.

Nil ego contul [...]rim iucundo sanus amico. Hor. li. 1. Sat. 5. 44.

For me, be I well in my wit,  
Nought, as a merry friend, so fit.

Ancient *Menander* accounted him happy, that had but met the shadow of a true friend: verily he had reason to say so, especially if he had tasted of any: for truely, if I compare all the rest of my forepassed life, which although I have by the meere mercy of God, past at rest

and ease, and except the losse of so deare a friend, free from all grievous affliction, with an ever-quietnesse of minde, as one that have taken my naturall and originall commodities in good payment, without searching any others: if, as I say, I compare-it all vnto the foure yeares, I so happily enjoyed the sweet company, and deare-deare society of that worthy man, it is nought but a vapour, nought but a darke and yrkesome light. Since the time I lost him,

quem semper acerbum, Virg. Aen. 5. 49.  
Semper honoratum (sic Di [...] voluistis) habebo,

Which I shall ever hold a bitter day,  
Yet ever honor'd (so my God t'obey)

I doe but languish, I doe but sorrow: and even those pleasures, all things present-me with, in stead of yeelding me comfort, doe but redouble the grieffe of his losse. We were copartners in all things. All things were with vs at halfe; me thinkes I have stolne his part from him.

—Nec fas esse v [...]a me voluptate hîc frui Ter Heau. act. 1. scen 1. 97. D  
[...]crevi, tantisper dum ille abest meus particeps.

I have set downe, no joy enjoy I may,  
As long as he my partner is away.

I was so accustomed to be ever two, and so enured to be never single, that me thinks I am but halfe my selfe.Hor. li. 2. [...]d. 17. 5.

Illam me [...] si partem animae tulit,  
Maturior vis, quid moror altera,  
Nec charits aequè nec superstes,  
Integer? Ille dies vtramque  
Duxit ruinam.

Since that part of my soule riper fate reft me,  
Why stay I heere the other part he left me?  
[96] Nor so deere, nor entire, while heere I rest:  
That day hath in one ruine both opprest.

There is no action can betide me, or imagination possesse me, but I heare him saying, as indeed he would have done to me: 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.

Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus, Lib. 1. [...]d. 24. 1.  
Tam chari capitis?

What modesty or measure may I beare,  
In want and wish of him that was so deare?

O misero frater adempte mihi! Catul. ele. 4. 20. 92. 23. 95.  
Omnia tecumv [...] àperierunt gaudia nostra,  
Quae tuus in vita dulcis alebat amor.  
Tu mea, tu moriens fregisti commoda frater, 21 94  
Tecum vnà tota est nostra sepulta anima,  
Cuius ego interitu tota de mente fugau  
Haec studia, atque omnes delicias animi. 25  
Alloquar? audiero nunquam tua verba loquentem?  
Nunquam ego te vita frater amabili [...]r,  
Aspiciam post hac? at certè semper amabo. El. 1. 9.

O brother reft from miserable me,  
 All our delight's are perished with thee,  
 Which thy sweete love did nourish in my 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 mindes sweete-meates, studies of this kinde;  
 Never shall I, heare thee speake, speake with thee?  
 Thee brother, then life dearer, never see?  
 Yet shalt thou ever be belou'd of mee.

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

Because I have found this worke to have since bin published (and to an ill end) by such as seeke to trouble and subvert the state of our common-wealth, nor caring whether they shall reforme it or no; which they have fondly inserted among other writings of their invention, I have revoked my intent, which was to place-it here. And lest the Authors memory should any way be interessd with those that could not thoroughly know his opinions and actions, they shall vnderstand, that this subject was by him treated of in his infancie, onely by way of exercise, as a subject, common, bare-worne, and wyer-drawne in a thousand bookes. I will never doubt but he beleevd what he writ, and writ as he thought: for hee 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*, than at *Sarlac*; and good reason why: But he had an other maxime deeply imprinted 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 cuntry, nor a sharper enemie of the changes, innovations, newfangles, and hurly-burlies of his time: He would more willingly have imployed the vtmost of his endeavours to extinguish and suppress, then to favour or further them: His minde was modelled to the patterne of other best ages. But yet in exchange of his serious treatise, I will here set you downe another, more pithie, materiall, and of more consequence, by him likewise produced in that tender age.

[97]

**The eight and twentieth Chapter.**  
**Nine and twentie Sonnets of Steven de la Boetie, to the Ladie of**  
**Grammont, Countesse of Guissen.** ↪

MADame, I present you with nothing that is mine, either because it is already yours, or because I finde nothing therein woorthy of you. But wheresoever these verses shall be seene, for the honor which thereby shall redound to them, by having this glorious *Corisand* [...] of *Andoms* for their guide, I thought it good to adorne them with your woorthie name. I have deemed this present fit for your Ladiship, forsomuch as there are few Ladies in *France*, that either can better judge of Poesie, or fitter apply the vse of it, then your woorthy selfe: and since in these her drooping daies, none can give it more life, or vigorous spirit, than you, by those rich and high-tuned accords, wherewith amongst a million of other rar [...] beauties, nature hath richly graced you. Madame, these verses deserve to be cherished by you: and I am perswaded you will be of mine opinion, which is, that none have come out of *Gaskonie*, that either had more wit, or better inuention, and that witness to have proceeded from a richer vaine. And let no jealousie possesse you, inasmuch as you have but the remainder of that, which whilome I caused to be printed vnder the name of my Lord of *Foix*, your woorthy, noble and deare kinsman: For truely, these have a kinde of livenessse, and more piercing Emphasis than any other, and which I can not well expresse: as hee 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 he wooed and solicited her for marriage, and began to feele I wot not what martiall-chilnesse, and husbands-coldnesse. And I am one of those, whose opinion is, that divine Poesie doth no where fadge so well, and so effectually applaudeth, as in a youthfull, wanton, and vnbridled subject. The above-mentioned nine and twentie Sonnes of *Boetie*, and that in the former impressions of this booke were heere set downe, have since beene printed with his other works.

### **The nine and twentieth Chapter. Of Moderation.**

AS if our sense of feeling were infected, wee 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 excesse in vertue, because it is no longer vertue if any excesse be in it*, doe but jeast at words.

Insani sapiens nomen ferat, aequus iniqui, Hor. lib. 1. epi. 6. 25.  
Ultra quàm satis est, virtutem si petat ipsam.

A wise man mad, just vnjust, may I name,  
More then is meet, ev'n vertue if he claime.

Philosophie is a subtile consideration. A man may love vertue too much, and excessively demeane himselfe in a good action. Gods holy word doth apply it selfe to this byase. *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 for her sonnes death brought the first stone: Not *Posthumius* the Dictator, that brought his owne sonne to his end, whom the heate and forwardnesse [98]of youth, had haply before his ranke, made to charge his enemies, seeme so just as strange vnto me. And I neither love to perswade or follow so savage and so deare a vertue. The Archer that overshootes his marke, doth no otherwise than he that shooteth short. Mine eies trouble me as much in climbing vp toward a great light, as to goe downe in the darke. *Caliscles* in *Plato* saith, *The extremitie of Philosophie to bee hurtfull: and perswades no man to wade further into it, then the bounds of profit: And that taken with moderation, it is pleasant and commodious, but in the end it makes a man wilde and vicious, disdainfull of religion and of common lawes: an enemy of civill conversation: a foe to humane sensualitie, and worldly pleasures: incapable of all politike administration; and vnfit to assist others or to helpe himselfe: apt to be without revenge buffeted, and bassled*. He saith true: for in her excesse, she enthralleth our naturall libertie, and by an importunate wile, diverts vs from the faire and plaine path, which nature traceth out for vs. The love we beare to women, is very lawfull; yet doth Divinitie bridle and restraine the same. I remember to have read in *Saint Thomas*, in a place where he condemneth marriages of kinsfolkes 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 sound 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 surcrease may easily transport a husband beyond the bounds of reason. Those Sciences that direct the maners of men, as Divinitie and Philosophie, medleth with all things. There is no action so private and secret may be concealed from their knowledge and jurisdiction. Well doe they learne that search and censure their libertie. It is women communicate their partes as much as a man list to wantonize with them: but to phisicke them bashfulnesse forbids them. I will then in their behalfe teach husbands this, if there be any too much flesht vpon them: which is, that the verie pleasures they have by the familiaritie of their wives, except



moderately vsed; they are reprooved: and not onely in that, but in any other vnlawfull subjects, a man may trespasse in licentiousnesse and offend in excesse. Those shamelesse endearings, which the first heate suggests vnto vs in that sportfull delight, are not onely vndecently, but hurtfully employed towards our wives. Let them at least learne impudencie from another hand. They are ever broad-waking when wee neede them. I have vsed no meanes but naturall and simple instruction. Marriage is a religious and devout bond: and that is the reason the pleasure a man hath of it, should be a moderate, staied, and serious pleasure, and mixed with severitie, it ought to bee a voluptuousnesse somewhat circumspect and conscientious. 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 homicide*, according to *Plato*. Certaine nations (and amongst others, the Mahometane) abhorre Conjunction with women great with childe. Many also with those that have their monethly disease. *Zenobia* received her husband but for one charge; which done, al the time of her conception, she let him goe at randon, and that past, she gave him leave to begin againe: a notable and generous example of marriage.

*Plato* borroweth the narration (of some needy and hunger-starven Poet) of this sport. That *Iupiter* one day gave his wife so hot a charge, impatient to stay till she came to bed, hee laide her along vpon the floore, and by the vehemence of his pleasure forgot the vrgent and weighty resolutions lately concluded vpon with the other gods of his caelestiall court; boasting he found it as sweet at that time, as he had done, when first he spoiled her of her virginitie, by stealth and vnknowne to their parents. The Kings of *Persia*, called for their wives, when they went to any solemne feast, but when much drinking and wine began to heate them in good earnest they sent them to their chambers, seeing they could no longer refrain, but must needs yeeld to sensual tie, lest they should be partakers of their immoderate lust; and in their steade sent for other women, whom this duty of respect might not concerne. *All pleasures and gratifications are not well placed in all sortes of people*. *Epaminondas* had caused a dissolute young man to be imprisoned: *Pelopidas* entreated him, that for his sake he would set him at libertie, but he refused him, and yeelded to free him at the request of an harlot of his, which likewise sued for his enlargement; saying, *it was a gratification due vnto a Courtizan, and not to a Captaine*. *Sophocles* being partner with *Pericles* in the Pretorship, seeing by chance a faire boy to passe by: *Oh what a beauteous boy goeth yonder!* said he to *Pericles*: *That [99] speech were more fitting another then a Pretor*, answered *Pericles*, *who ought not onely to haue chaste handes, but also vnpolluted eies*. *Aelius Verus* the Emperour, his wife complaining that he followed the love of other women, answered *he did it for conscience sake, for so much as mariage was a name of honour, and dignity, and not of foolish and lascivious lust*. And our Ecclesiasticall Historie, hath with honour preserved the memorie of that wife, which sued to be divorced from her husband, because she would not second and consent to his over-insolent and lewde embracements. To conclude, there is no voluptuousnesse so just, wherein excesse and intemperance is not reprochfull vnto vs. But to speake in good sooth, is not a man a miserable creature? He is scarce come to his owne strength by his naturall conditions, to taste one onely compleate, entire and pure pleasure, but he laboreth by discourse to cut it off: he is not wretched enough, except by arte and study he augment his miserie.

Fortunae miseris auxiliis arte vias. Propert. li. 3. cl. 6.32.

Fortunes vnhappie ill,  
We amplifie by skill.

Humane wisdom doth foolishly seeke to be ingenious in exercising her-selfe to abate the number, and diminish the pleasure of sensualities, that pertaine to vs: as it doth favorably and industriously in employing her devises, to paint and set a luster on evils, before our eyes, and therewith to recreate our sense. Had I beene chiefe of a faction, I would have followed a more naturall course, which to say true, is both commodious and sacred, and should peradventure have made my selfe strong enough to limite the same. Although our spirituall and corporall Physitians: as by covenant agreed vpon betweene them, finde no way of recoverie, nor remedies for diseases of bodie and minde, but by torment, grieffe and paine, watching, fasting, haire-shirts, farre and solitarie exile, perpetuall prison, roddes and other afflictions, have therefore beene invented: But so, that they be truely afflictions, and that there be some stinging sharpenesse in them: And that the successe be not as *Gallios* was, who having beene confined to the ile of *Lesbos*, newes came to *Rome*, that there he lived a merry life; and what the Senate had laide vpon him for a punishment, redounded to his commodity: wherevpon they agreed to revoke him home to his owne house and wife, strictly enjoying him to keepe the same, thereby to accommodate their punishment to his sense and feeling. For he to whom fasting should procure health and a merrie heart, or he to whom poison should 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 pleasure. Bitternesse and difficultie are circumstances fitting their operat on. That nature which should take Reubarbe as familiar, should no doubt corrupt the vse of it; it must be a thing that hurts the stomacke, if it shal cure it: and heere the common rule failes, that infirmities are cured by their contraries: for one ill cureth another. This impression hath some reference to this other so ancient, where some thinke they gratifie both heaven and earth by killing and massacring themselves, which was vniversally embraced in all religions. Even in our fathers age; *Amurath* at the taking of *Isth [...]**us*, sacrificed six hundred yoong Graecians to his fathers soule: to the end their blood might serve as a propitiation to expiate the sinnes of the deceased. And in the new countries discovered in our daies yet vncorrupted, and virgins, in regard of ours, it is a custome well nigh received everiewhere. All their idolles are sprinkled with humane blood, not without divers examples of horrible crueltie. Some are burnt alive, and halfe roasted drawn from the fire, that so they may pull out their harts and entrails; othersome, yea women are fleade quicke, and with their yet-bleeding skins, they invest and cover others. And no lesse of examples of constant resolution. For these wretched sacrificable people, old men, women and children, some daies before, goe themselves begging their almes, for the offering of their sacrifice, and all of full glee, singing, and dancing with the rest, they present themselves to the slaughter. The Ambassadors of the Kings of *Mexico*, in declaring and magnifying the greatnesse of their Master to *Fernando Cortez*, after they had tolde him, that he had thirtie vassals, whereof each one was able to levie a hundred thousand combatants, and that he had his residence in the fairest and strongest Citie vnder heaven, added moreover, that he had fifty thousand to sacrifice for every yeere: verily some affirme that they maintaine continuall warres with certaine mightie neighbouring Nations, not so much for the exercise and training of their youth, as that they may have store of prisoners taken in warre to supply their sacrifices. In another province, to welcome the saide *Cortez*, [100]they sacrificed fiftie men at one clap. I will tell this one storie more: Some of those people having beene beaten by him, sent to know him, and to intreat him of friendship. The messengers presented him with three kinds of presents, in this manner: *Lord, if thou be a fierce God, that lovest to feed on flesh and bloud, here are five slaves, eate them, and we will bring thee more: if thou be a gentlie milde God, heere is incense and feathers; but if thou be a man, take these birdes and frutes, that heere we present and offer vnto thee.*

### The thirtieth Chapter. Of the Caniballes.↩

AT what time King *Pirrhus* came into *Italie*, after he had survaide the marshalling of the Armie, which the Romanes sent against him: *I w [...] not*, said he, *what barbarous men these are* (for so were the Graecians wont to call all strange nations) *but the disposition of this Armie, which I see, is nothing barbarous*. So said the Graecians of that which *Flaminius* sent into their countrie: And *Phillip* viewing from a Tower the order and distribution of the Romane campe, in his kingdome vnder *Publius Sulpitius Galba*. Loe how a man ought to take heede, 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 me a man, who for the space of ten or twelve yeeres had dwelt in that other world, which in our age was lately discovered in those parts where *Villegaignon* first landed, and surnamed *Antartike France*. This discoverie of so infinite and vaste a countrie, seemeth woorthy great consideration. I wot not whether I can warrant my selfe, that some other be not discovered heereafter, sithence so many worthie men, and better learned then we are, have so many ages beene deceived in this. I feare me our eies be greater then our bellies, and that we have more curiositie then capacitie. We embrace all, but we fasten nothing but winde. *Plate* maketh *Solon* to report, that he had learn't of the Priests of the citie of *Says* in *Aegypt*, that whilom, and before the generall Deluge, there was a great Iland called *Atlantis*, situated at the Plat. Time. mouth of the straite of *Gibraltar*, which contained more firme land then *Affrike* and *Asia* together. And that the Kings of that countrie, who did not onely possesse that Iland, but had so farre entred into the maine land, that of the bredth of *Affrike*, they held as farre as *Aegypt*; and of *Europes* length, as farre as *Tus [...]jame*: and that they vndertooke to invade *Asia*, and to subdue all the nations that compasse the Mediterranean Sea, to the gulfe of *Mare-Maggiore*, and to that end they traversed all *Spaine*, *France* and *Italie*, 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 extreame ruine of waters wrought strange alterations in the habitations of the earth: as some hold that the Sea hath divided *Sicilie* from *Italie*,

Haecloca vi quondam, & vasta convulsa ruina Virg. A [...]n. lib. 3. 414. 416.  
Dissiluisse ferunt, cùm protinus vtr aque tellus  
Vna foret.

Men say, sometimes 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 *Negroponte* from the maine land of *Be [...]tia*, and in other places joyned landes that were sundred by the Sea, filling with mudde and sand the chanel betweene them.

—sterilisque diu palus apt áqueremis Hor. art. Poet. 65. Vi [...]inas vrbes alit, &  
grave sentit aratrum.

The fenne long barren, to be row'd in, now  
Both feedes the neighbour townes, and feeles the plow.

But there is no great apparance, 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, [101]to have remooved the same more then twelve hundred leagues, as we see it is. Besides, our moderne Navigations have now almost discovered, that it is not an Iland, but rather firme land, and a continent, with the East *Indias* on one side, and the countries lying vnder the two Poles on the other; from which if it be divided, it is with so narrow a straite, and intervalle, that it no way deserveth to be named an Iland: For, it seemeth there are certaine motions in these vast bodies, some naturall, and other some febricitant, as well as in ours. When I

consider the impression my river of *Dordoigne* worketh in my time, toward the right shoare of her discent, and how much it hath gained in twentie yeares, and how many foundations of divers houses it hath overwhelmed and violently carried away; I confesse it to be an extraordinarie agitation: for, should it alwaies keepe one course, or had it euer kept the same, the figure of the world had ere this beene overthrowne: But they are subject to changes and alterations. Sometimes they overflow and spread themselves on one side, sometimes on another; and other times they containe themselves in their naturall beds or chanel. I speak not of sudden [...]undations, whereof we now treat the causes. In *Modoc* alongst the Seacoast, my brother the Lord of *Arsacke*, may see a towne of his buried vnder the sands, which the Sea casteth vp before it: The toppes of some buildings are yet to be discerned. His Rents and Demaines have been changed into barren pastures. The inhabitants thereabouts affirme, that some yeeres since, the Sea encrocheth so much vpon them, that they have lost foure leagues of firme land: These sandes are her fore-runners. And we see great hillockes of gravell mooving which march halfe a league before it, and vsurpe on the firme land. The other testimonie of antiquitie, to which some will referre this discoverie, as in *Aristotle* (if at least that little booke of vnheard of woonders be his) where he reporteth that certaine Carthaginians having sailed ad [...]wart the *Atlant [...] Sea*, without the strait of *Gibraltar*, after long time, they at last discovered a great fertill Iland; all replenished with goodly woods, and watred with great and deepe rivers, farre distant from all land, and that both they and others, allured by the goodnes and fertility of the soile, went thither with their wives, children, and houshold, and there began to enhabite and settle themselves. The Lords of *Carthage* seeing their cuntry by little and little to be dispeopled, made a lawe and expresse inhibition, that vpon paine of death no more men should goe thither, and banished all that were gone thither to dwell, fearing (as they said) that in successe of time, they would so multiply as they might one day supplant them, and overthrow their owne estate. This narration of *Aristotle*, hath no reference vnto our new found countries. This servant I had, was a simple and rough-hewen fellow: a condition fit to yeeld a true testimonie. For, subtile people may indeed marke more curiously, and observe things more exactly, but they amplifie and glose them: and the better to perswade, and make their interpretations of more validity, they cannot chuse but somewhat alter the storie. They never represent things truely, but fashion and maske them according to the visage they saw them in; and to purchase credit to their judgement, and draw you on to beleeeve them, they commonly adorne, enlarge, yea, 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 vpon, and to give a true likelihood vnto false devises, and be not wedded to his owne will. Such a one was my man; who besides his owne report, hath many times shewed me divers Mariners, and Marchants, whom hee had knowne in that vovage. So am I pleased with his information, that I never enquire what Cosmographers say of it. We had need of Topographers to make vs particular narrations of the places they have beene in. For some of them, if they have the advantage of vs, that they have seene *Palestine*, will challenge a priviledge, to tell vs newes 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 subjects. For one may have particular knowledge of the nature of one river, and experience of the qualitie of one fountaine, that in other things knowes no more then another man: who neverthesse to publish this little scantling, will vndertake to write of all the Phisickes. From which vice proceed divers great inconveniences. Now (to returne to my purpose) I finde (as farre as I have beene informed) there is nothing in that nation, that is either barbarous or savage, vnlesse men call that barbarisme which is not common to them. As indeed, we have no other ayme of truth and reason, then the example and *Idea* of the opinions and customes of the cuntry we live in. There is ever perfect religion, perfect policie, perfect and compleat vse of all things. They are even savage, as we call those [102]fruites wilde, which nature of hir selfe, and of hir ordinarie progresse hath produced: where as indeede, they are those which our selves have altered by our artificiall devises, and diver ted from their common

order, we should rather terme savage. In those are the true and most profitable vertues, and naturall properties most lively and vigorous, which in these we have bastardized, applying them to the pleasure of our corrupted taste. And if notwithstanding, in divers fruites of those countries that were never tilled, we shall finde, that in respect of ours they are most excellent, and as delicate vnto our taste; there is no reason, arte should gaine the point of honour of our great and puissant mother Nature. We have so much by our inventions, surcharged the beauties and riches of her workes, that we have altogether over-choaked her: yet where ever her puritie shineth, she makes our vaine, and frivolous enterprises woonderfully ashamed.

Et veniunt hederæ sponte sua melius, Propert. l. 1. cl. 2. 10.  
Surgit & in solis formosior arbutus antris,  
Et volucres nulla duleius arte canunt.

Ivies spring better of their owne accord,  
Vnhanted plots much fairer trees afford,  
Birdes by no arte much sweeter notes record.

All our endeuous or wit, cannot so much as reach to represent the nest of the least birdlet, it's contexture, beautie, profit and vse, no nor the webbe of a seelie spider. *All things (saith 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 vnto me, because they have received very little fashion from humane wit, and are yet neere their originall naturalitie. The lawes of nature doe yet command them, which are but little bastardized by ours, And that with such puritie, as I am sometimes grieved the knowledge of it came no sooner to light, at what time there were men, that better than we could have judged of it. I am sorie, *Lycurgus & Plato* had it not▪ for me seemeth that what in those nations we see by experience, doth not onely exceed all the pictures wherewith licentious Poesie hath proudly imbellished the golden age, & al hir quaint inventions to faine a happie condition of man, but also the conception & desire of Philosophie. They could not imagine a genuitie so pure and simple, as we s [...]e [...]by experience; nor ever beleeeve our societie might be maintained with so little arte and humane combination. It is a nation, would I answer *Plato*, that hath no kinde of traffike, no knowledge of Letters, no intelligence of numbers, no name of magistrate, nor of politike superioritie; no vse of service, of riches or of povertie; no contracts, no successions, no partitions, no occupation but idle; no respect of kinred, but common, no apparell but naturall, no manuring of lands, no vse of wine, corne, or mettle. The very words that import lying, fal [...]hood, treason, dissimulations, covetousnes, envie, detraction, and pardon, were never heard of amongst them. How dissonant would hee finde his imaginarie common-weath from this perfection?

Hos natura modes primùm dedit.

Nature at first vprise,  
These 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 see a sicke body amongst them; and they have further assured me, they never saw any man there, either shaking with the palsie, toothlesse, with eies dropping, or crooked and stooping 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 thereabout of open and champaine ground. They have great abundance of fish and flesh, that have no resemblance at all with ours, and eate them without any sawces, or skill of Cookerie, but plaine boiled or broiled. The first man that brought a horse thither, although he had in many other voyages conversed with them, bred so great a horror in the land, that before they could take notice of him, they slew him with

arrowes. Their buildings are very long, and able to containe two or three hundred soules, covered with barks of great trees, fastned in the ground at one end, enterlaced and ioyned close together by the tops, after the maner of some of our Granges; the covering whereof hangs downe to the ground, and steadeth them as a flancke. They have a kinde of woode so hard, that ryving and cleaving the same, they make blades, swords, and grid-irons to broile [103]their meate with. Their beds are of a kinde of cotten cloth, fastned to the house-roofe, as our ship-cabbanes: everic one hath his severall cowch; for the women lie from their husbands. They rise with the Sunne, and feed for all day, as soone as they are vp: and make no more meales after that. They drinke not at meate, as *Suidas* reporteth of some other people of the East, which dranke after meales, but drinke many times a day, and are much given to pledge carowses. Their drinke is made of a certaine roote, and of the colour of our Claret wines, which lasteth but two or three daies; they drinke it warme: It hath somewhat sharpe taste, wholsome for the stomack, nothing heady, but laxative for such as are not vsed vnto it, yet verie pleasing to such as are accustomed vnto it. Instead of bread, they vse a certain white composition, like vnto Corianders confected. I have eaten some, the taste whereof is somewhat sweete and wallowish. They spend the whole day in dauncing. Their yoong men goe a hunting after wilde bestes with bowes and arrowes. Their women busie themselves therewithilst 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 houshold, walking from one end of the house to the other, repeating one selfe-same sentence many times, till he have ended his turn [...] (for their buildings are a hundred paces in length) he commends but two things vnto his auditorie, *First, valour against their enemies, then lovingnesse vnto their wiues*. They never misse (for their restraint) to put men in minde of this dutie, that it is their wives which keepe their drinke luke-warme, and well-seasoned. The forme of their beds, cordes, swordes, blades, and woodden bracelets, wherewith they cover their handwrists when they fight, and great Canes open at one end, by the sound of which they keepe time and cadence in their dauncing, are in many places to be seene, and namely in mine own house. They are shaven all-over, much more close and cleaner than wee are, with no other Razors than of wood or stone. They beleeeve their soules to be eternall, and those that have deserved 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 seldome shew themselves vnto the people; but when they come downe, there is a great feast prepared, and a solemne assemblie of manie townships together (each Grange as I have described maketh a village, and they are about a French league one from another.) The Prophet speakes to the people in publike, exhorting them to embrace vertue, and follow their dutie. All their morall discipline containeth but these two articles; first an vndismaied resolution to warre, then an inviolable affection to their wiues. Hee doth also Prognosticate of things to come, and what successe they shall hope for in their enterprises: hee either perswadeth or disswadeth them from warre; but if he chance to misse of his divination, and that it succeed otherwise than hee foretolde them, if hee be taken, he is hewen in a thousand peeces, and condemned for a false Prophet. And therefore he that hath once misreckoned himselfe is never seene againe. Divination is the gift of God; the abusing wherof should be a punishable imposture. When the Divines amongst the Scithians had foretold an vntruth, they were couched along vpon hurdles full of heath or brushwood, drawne by oxen, and so maniced hand and foote, burned to death. Those which manage matters subject to the conduct of mans sufficiencie, are excusable, although they shew the vtmost of their skill. But those that gull and conicatch vs with the assurance of an extraordinarie facultie, & which is beyond our knowledge, ought to be double punished; first because they performe not the effect of their promise, then for the rashnesse of their imposture and vnadvisednesse of their fraud. They warre against the nations, that lie beyond their mountaines, to which they go naked, having no other weapons then bowes, or wodden swords, sharpe at one end, as our broaches are. It is an admirable thing to see the constant

resoluitiō of their combates, which never end but by effusion of blood & murder: for they know not what feare or rowts are. Every Victor brings home the head of the enemie he hath slaine as a Trophey of his victorie, and fastneth the same at the entrance of his dwelling place. After they have long time vsed and entreated their prisoners well, and with all commodities they can devise, he that is the Master of them; summoning a great assembly of his acquaintance; tieth a corde to one of the prisoners armes, by the end whereof he holdes him fast, with some distance from him, for feare he might offend him, and giveth the other arme, bound in like maner, to the dearest friend he hath, and both in the presence of all the assemblie kill him with swordes: which done, they roste, and then eare [104]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 anciētlie the Scithians wont to do,) but to represent an extreame, and inexpressible revenge. Which we proove thus; some of them perceiving the Portugales, who had confederated themselves with their adversaries, to v [...]e another kinde of death, when they tooke them prisoners; which was, to burie them vp to the middle, and against the vpper part of the body to shoote arrowes, and then being almost dead, to hang them vp; they supposed, that these people of the other world (as they who had sowed the knowledge of many vices amongst their neighbours, and were much more cunning in all kindes of evils and mischiefe then they) vnder-tooke not this maner of revenge without cause, and that consequently it was more smartfull, and cruell then theirs, and therevpon began to leave their old fashion to follow this. I am not sorie 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 thinke there is more barbarisme in eating men alive, then to feed vpon them being dead; to mangle by tortures and torments a body full of lively sense, to roast him in peeces, to make dogges and swine to gnawe and teare him in mammockes (as wee have not onely read, but seene very lately, yea and in our owne memorie, not amongst ancient enemies, but our neighbours and fellow-citizens; and which is woorse, vnder pretence of pietie and religion) then to roast and eate him after he is dead. *Chrysippus* and *Zeno*, arch pillars of the Stoicke sect, have supposed that it was no hurte at all, in time of need, and to what end soever, to make vse of our carrion bodies, and to seed vpon them, as did our forefathers, who being besieged by *Caesar* in the Citie of *Alexia*, resolved to sustaine the famine of the siege, with the bodies of old men, women, & other persons vnserviceable and vnfit to fight.

Vascones (fama est) alimentis talibus vsi [...]ure sat. 15 93  
 Produxere animas.

*Gascoynes* (as same reports)  
 Liu'd with meates of such sorts.

And Phisitions feare not, in all kindes of compositions availefull to our health, to make vse of it, be it for outward or inward applications: But there was never any opinion found so vnnaturall and immodest, that would excuse treason, treacherie, disloialty, tyrannie, crueltie, and such like, which are our ordinarie faults. We may then well call them barbarous, in regard of reasons rules, but not in respect of v [...] at exceed them in all kinde of barbarisme. Their warres are noble and generous, and have as much excuse and beautie, as this humane infirmitie may admit: they ayme at nought so much, and have no other foundation amongst them, but the meere jealousie of vertue. They contend not for the gaining of new landes; for to this day they yet enjoy that naturall vbertie and fruitesulnesse, which without labouring toyle, doth in such plenteous aboundance furnish them with all necessary things, that they neede not enlarge their limits. They are yet in that happy estate, as they desire no more, then what their naturall necessities direct them: whatsoever is beyond it, is to them fuperfluous. Those that are much about one age, doe generally enter-call one another brethren, and such as are yoonger, they call children, and the aged are esteemed as fathers to all the rest. These leave this full possession of goods in common, and without division to their heires, without other

claime or title, but that which nature doth plainly impart vnto all creatures, even as shee brings them into the world. If their neighbours chance to come over the mountaines to assaile or invade them, and that they get the victory over them, the Victors conquest is glorie, and the advantage to be and remaine superior in valour and vertue: else have they nothing to doe with the goods and spoyles of the vanquished, and so returne into their countrie, where they neither want any necessarie thing, nor lacke this great port on, to know how to enioy their condition happily, and are contented with what nature affoord [...]th them. So doe these when their turne commeth. They require no other ransome 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 remissely to yeeld one jot of an invincible courage. There is none seene 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 entertaine them with threats of future death, with the torments they shall endure, with the preparations intended for [105]that purpose, with mangling and slicing of their members, and with the feast that shall be kept at their charge. All which is done, to wrest some remisse, and exact some faint-yeelding speech of submission from them, or to possesse them with a desire to escape or runne away; that so they may have the advantage to have danted and made them afraid, and to have forced their constancie. For certainly true victory consisteth in that onely point.

—Victoria nulla est [...] Quàm quae confessos animo quoque subingat hostes.

No conquest such, as to suppress  
Foes hearts, the conquest to confesse.

The Hungarians, a most warre-like nation, were whilome woont to pursue their pray no longer then they had forced their enimie to yeeld vnto their mercie. For, having wrested this confession from-him, they set him at libertie without offence or ransome, except it were to make him sweare, never after to beare armes against them. Wee get many advantages of our enemies, that are but borrowed and not ours: It is the qualitie of porterly-rascall, 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 enimie stoope, and to bleare his eies 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 woorthlesse man. The reputation and woorth of a man consisteth in his heart and will: therein consists true honor: Constancie is valour, not of armes and legs, but of minde and courage? it consisteth not in the spirit and courage of our horse, nor of our armes, but in ours. He that obstinately faileth in his courage, *Si succiderit, de genu pugnât, If hee slip or fall, he fights vpon his knee.* He that in danger of imminent death, is no whit danted in his assurednesse; he that in yeelding vp his ghost be holding his enimie with a scornefull and fierce looke, he is vanquished, not by vs, but by fortune: he is slaine, but not conquered. The most valiant, are often the most vnfortunate. So are there triumphant losses in envie of victories. Not those foure-sister-victories, the fairest that ever the Sunne beheld with his all-seeing eie, of *Salamis*, of *Plateae*, of *Micale*, and of *Sicilia*, durst ever dare to oppose all their glorie together, to the glory of the King *L [...]Jonidas* his discomsiture and of his men, at the passage of *Thermopylae*: what man did ever runne with so glorious an envie, or more ambitious desire to the goale of a combat, then Captaine *Ischolas* to an evident losse and overthrow? who so ingeniously or more politikely did ever assure him-selfe of his welfare, then he of his ruine? He was appointed to defend a certaine passage of *Peloponesus* against the *Arcadians*, which finding himselfe altogether vnable to performe, seeing the nature of the place, and inequality of the forces, and resolving, that whatsoever should present it selfe vnto his enimie, must necessarily be vtterly defeated: On the other side, deeming it vnwoorthy both his vertue and magnanimitie, and the Lacedemonian name, to



[...]a [...]le or faint in his charge, betweene these two extremities he resolved vpon a meane and indifferent course, which was this. The yoongest and best disposed of his troupe, he reserved for the service and defence of their countrie, to which hee sent them backe; and with those whose losse was least, and who might best be spared, hee determined to maintaine that passage, and by their death to force the enemie, to purchase the entrance of it as deare as possibly he could; as indeed it followed. For being suddenly environed round by the Arcadians: After a great slaughter made of them, both himselfe and all his were put to the sword. Is any Trophey assigned for conquerours, that is not more duly due vnto these conquered? A true conquest respecteth rather an vndanted resolution: and honourable end, then a faire escape, and the honour of vertue doth more consist in combating then in beating. But to returne to our historie, 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 cheerefull countenance, and vrge their keepers to hasten their triall, they outrageously defic, and injure them. They vpbraide them with their cowardlinesse, and with the number of battels, they have lost againe theirs. I have a song made by a prisoner, wherein is this clause, Let them boldly come altogether, and flocke in multitudes, to feed on him; for with him they shall feed vpon their fathers, and grandfathers, that heeretosore have served his bodie for food and nourishment: These muscles, (saith he) this flesh, and these veines, are your owne; fond men as you are, know you not that the substance of your forefathers limbes is yet tied vnto ours? Taste them well, for in [106]them shall you finde the relish of your owne flesh: An invention, that hath no shew of barbarisme, Those that paint them dying, and that represent this action, when they are put to execution, delineate the prisoners spitting in their executioners 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 so in good sooth, or we must be so indeed: There is a woondrous 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 beautie in their marriages is woondrous strange and remarkable: For, the same jealousie our wives have to keepe vs from the love and affection of other women, the same 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 industrie, to have as many rivals as possibly they can, forasmuch as it is a testimonie of their husbands vertue. Our women would count it a woonder, but it is not so: It is vertue properly Matrimoniall; but of the highest kinde. And in the Bible, *Lea*, *Rachell*, *Sara*, and *Iacobs* wives, brought their fairest maiden servants vnto their husbands beds. And *Livia* seconded the lustfull appetites of *Augustus* to her great prejudice. And *Stratonica* the wife of king *Dei [...]tarus* did not onely bring a most beauteous chamber-maide, that served her, to her husbands bed, but very carefully broughtvp the children he begot on her, and by all possible meanes aided and furthered them to succeed in their fathers roialtie. And least a man should 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 authoritie, without discourse or judgement, and because they are so blockish, and dull-spirited, that they can take no other resolution, it is not amisse, wee alleadge some evidence of their sufficiencie. Besides what I have said of one of their warlike songs, I have another amorous canzonet, which beginneth in this sence: *Adder stay, stay good adder, that my sister may by the patterne of thy partie-coloured coate drawe the fashion and worke of a rich lace, for me to giue vnto my love; so may thy beautie, thy nimblenesse or disposition be ever preferred before all other serpents.* The first couplet is the burthen of the song. I am so conversant with Poesie, that I amy judge, this invention hath no barbarisme at all in it, but is altogether Anacreontike. Their language is a kinde of pleasant speech, and [...]ath a pleasing sound, and some affinitie with the Greeke terminations. Three of that nation, ignorant how deare the knowledge of our corruptions will one day cost their repose, securitie, and happinesse, and how their ruine shall proceed from this commerce, which I imagine is

already well advanced, (miserable as they are to have suffered themselves to be so cosoned by a desire of new-fangled novelties, and to have quit the calmenesse of their climate, to come and see ours) were at *Roane* 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 Citie; afterward some demanded their advise, and would needes know 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 sorie for it, the other two I yet remember. They saide, *First, they found it very strange, that so many tall men with long beards, strong and well armed, as it were about the Kings persen (it is very likely they [...]ent the Switzers of his guard) would submit themselues to obey a beardlesse childe, and that we did not rather obuse one amongst them to command the rest.* Secondly (they have a maner of phrase whereby they call men but a moytie one of another.) *They had perceived, there were men amongst vs f [...]ll gorged with all sortes of commodities, and others which hunger-starved, and bare with neede and povertie, begged at their gates: and found it strange, these moyties so needie could endure such an iniustice, and that they tooke not the others by the throte, or set fire on their houses.* I talked a good while with one of them, but I had so bad an interpreter, and who did so ill apprehend my meaning, and who through his foolishnesse was so troubled to conceive my imaginations, that I could draw no great matter from him. Touching that point, wherein I demaunded of him, what good he received by the superioritie he had amongst his councitmen (for he was a Captaine and our Marriners 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, hee shewed me a distance of place, to signifie they were as many as might be contained in so much ground, which I guessed to be about 4. or 5. thousand men: moreover I demanded, [107]if 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-waies athwart the hedges of their woods, for him to passe through at ease. All that is not very ill; but what of that? They weare no kinde of breeches nor hosen.

### **The one and thirtieth Chapter.**

#### **That a man ought soberly to meddle with iudging of divine lawes.** [↪](#)

THings vnknowne are the true scope of imposture, and subject of Legerdemaine: forasmuch as strangenesse it selfe doth first giue 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 easie matter to please, speaking of the nature of the Gods, then of mens:* For the Auditors ignorance lends a faire and large carriere, and free libertie, to the handling of secret hidden matters. Whence it followeth, that nothing is so firmly beleueed, as that which a man knoweth least; nor are there people more assured in their reports, then such as tell vs fables, as Al [...]humists, Prognosticators, Fortune-tellers, Palmesters, Phisitians, *idgenus omne, and such like.* To which, if I durst, I would joyne a rable of men; that are ordinarie interpreters and controulers of Gods secret desseignes, presuming to finde out the causes of every accident, and to prie into the secrets of Gods divine will, the incomprehensible motives of his works. And howbeit, the continuall varietie 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 pen [...]ill drawe both white and blacke. There is this commendable observance in a certaine Indian nation, who if they chance to be discomfited 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 suffiseth a Christian to beleewe, that all things come from God, to receive them from his divine, and inscrutable wisdom with thanksgiving, and in what manner soever they are sent him, to take them in good part. But I vtterly disalow a common custome amongst vs, which is to ground and establish our religion vpon the prosperitie of our

enterprises. Our beleefe hath other sufficient foundations, and need not be authorized by events. For the people accustomed to these plausible arguments, & agreeing with his taste, when events sort contrarie and disadvantageous to their expectation, they are in hazard to waver in their faith: As in the civill warres, wherein we are now for religions sake, those which got the advantage, at the conflict of *Roch [...]**labe [...]**lle*, making great ioy and bone-fires for that accident, and vsing that fortune, as an assured approbation of their faction: when afterward they come to excuse their disaster of *Mort-contour* and *Iarnac*, which are scourges and fatherly chastisements: if they have not a people wholly at their mercy, they will easily make him perceive, what it is to take two kinds of corne out of one sa [...]*ke*: & from one and the same mouth to blow both hot and cold. It were better to entertaine it with the true foundations of veritie. It was a notable Seabattle, which was lately gained against the Turkes, vnder the conduct of *Don Iohn* of *Austria*. But it hath pleased God to make vs at other times both see and feele othe [...] such, to our no small losse and detriment. To conclude, it is no easie matter to reduce divine things vnto our ballance, so they suffer no impeachment: And he that would yeeld a reason, why *Arrius* and *Leo* his Pope, chiefe Principals, and maine supporters of this here [...]ie, died both at severall times, of so semblable and so strange deaths (for being forced through a violent bellie-ach to goe from their disputations to their close-stoole, both suddenly yeelded vp their ghosts on them) & exaggerate that divine vengeance by the circumstance of the place, might also adde the death of *Hel [...]**jogabalus* vnto it, who likewise was slaine vpon a privie. But what? *Ireneus* is found to be engaged in like fortune: Gods intent being to teach vs, that the good have some thing else to hope for, and the wicked somewhat else to feare, then the good [108]or bad fortune of this world: He manageth and applieth them according to his secret disposition: and depriveth vs of the meanes, thereby foolishly to make our profit. And those, that according to humane reason will thereby prevaile, doe but mocke themselves. They never give one touch of it, that they receive not two for it. *S. Augustine* giveth a notable triall of it vpon his adversaries. It is a conflict, no more decided by the armes of memorie, than by the weapons of reason. A man should be satisfied with the light, which it pleaseth the Sunne to communicate vnto vs by vertue of his beames; and he that shal lift vp his eies to take a greater within his bodie, let him not thinke it strange, if for a reward of his over-weening and arrogancie he looseth his sight. *Quis hominum potest scire consilium De [...]* *Wisd. 9. 13. aut quis poterit cogitare, quid velit dominus? Who amongst men can know Gods counsell, or who can thinke what God will doe?*

### **The two and thirtieth Chapter.** **To avoide voluptuousnesse in regard of life.** ↩

I Have noted the greatest part of ancient opinions to agree in this: That *when our life affords more evill than good, it is then time to die: and to preserve our life to our torment and incommoditie, is to spurre and shocke the very rules of nature:* as say the old rules.

[...]. G [...]om. Graec. 0.  
Or live without distresse,  
Or die with happinesse.  
[...]. Ib.  
T'is good for them to die,  
Whom life bring's infamie.  
[...]. Soph. S [...]b. [...]er. 118.  
T'is better not to live,  
Then whetchedly not thrive.

But to drive off the contempt of death to such a degree, as to imploy it to distract, and remoov [...] himselfe from honours, riches, greatnesse, and other goods and favours, which wee call the goods of fortune: as if reason had not enough to doe, to perswade vs to forgoe

and leave them, without adding this new surcharge vnto it, I had neither seene the same commanded nor practised vntill such time as one place of *Seneca* came to my hands, wherein counselling *Lucilius* (a man mightie and in great authoritie about the Emperour) to change this voluptuous and pompous life, and to withdraw himselfe from this ambition of the world, to some solitarie, quiet and philosophicall life: about which *Lucilius* alleaged some difficulties: *My advise is (saith he) that either thou leave and quit that life, or thy life altogether: But I perswade thee to follow the gentler way, and rather to vntie than breake what thou hast so ill [...].* It: *alwaies provided thou breake it, if thou canst not otherwise vntie the same.* 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 counsel agreeing with the Stoickes [...]. Judenes: But it is more strange it should be borrowed of *Epicurus*, who to that purpose writeth this consonant vnto *Idomeneus*. Yet thinke I to have noted some such like thing amongst our owne people, but with christian moderation. Saint *Hilarie* Bishop of *Poitiers*, a famous enemy of the *Arrian* heresie, being in *Syria*, was advertised that *Abra* his onely daughter whom hee had left athome with her mother, was by the greatest Lords of the countrie solicited and sued vnto for marriage, as a damosell very well brought vp, faire, rich, and in the prime of her age: he writ vnto her (as we see) that she should remoove her affections, from all the pleasures and advantages might be presented her: for, in his voyage he had found a greater and worthier match or husband of far higher power and magnificence, who should present and endowe hir with roabes and jewels of vnvaluable price. His purpose was to make hir loose the appetite and vse of worldly pleasures, and wholie to wed hir vnto God. To which, deeming his daughters death, the shortest and most assured way, he never ceased by vowes, prayers, [109]and orisons, humbly to beseech God to take her out of this world, and to call her to his mercie, as it came to passe; for [...]ee deceased soone after his returne: whereof he shewed manifest tokens of singular gladnesse. This man seemeth to endeere himselfe above others, in that at first [...]ight he addresseth himselfe to this meane, which they never embrace but subsidiarily, and sithence it is towards his onely daughter. But I will omit the successe of this storie, although it be not to my purpose. Saint *Hilaries* wife, having vnderstood by him, how her daughters death succeeded with his intent and will, and how much more happy it was for hir to be dislodged from out this world, then still to abide therein, conceived so lively an apprehension of the eternall and heavenly blessednesse, that with importunate instancie she solicited her husband, to do as much for her. And God, at their earnest entreatie, and joynt-common prayers, having soone after taken her vnto himselfe: it was a death embraced with singular and mutuall contentment to both.

### **The three and thirtieth Chapter.**

#### **That fortune is oftentimes met withall in pursuite of reason. ↵**

THE inconstancie of Fortunes diverse wavering, is the cause shee should present vs with all sortes of visages. Is there any action of justice more manifest then this? *Caesar Bor [...]* Duke of *Val [...]* *Intino [...]*s, having resolved to poison *Adrian* Cardinall of *Cornetto*, with whom Pope *Alexander* the [...]xt, his father and he were to sup that night in *Vaticane*, sent certaine bottles of empoysoned wine before, and gave his Butler great charge to have a special care of it. The Pope comming thither before his sonne, and calling for some drinke; the butler supposing the Wine had been so 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 never imagining his bottles had bene toucht, tooke the cup and pledged his father, so that the Pope died presently; and the sonne, after he had long time bene tormented with sicknesse, recovered to another woorse fortune. It somtimes seemeth, that when we least think on her, shee is pleased to sporte with vs. The Lord of *Estree*, the guidon to the Lord of *Dand [...]*sme, and the Lord of *Liques*, Lieutenant to the Duke of *Ascot*, both servants to the Lord of *Founguesell [...]*s sister, albeit of contrarie factions (as it happneth among neighboring bordurers) the Lord of *Liques* got her to wife: But even vpon his wedding day,

and which is woorse, before his going to bed, the bridegroome desiring to breake a staffe in favour of his new Bride and Mistris, went out to skirmish neere to Saint *Omer*, where the Lord of *Estree* being the stronger tooke him prisoner, and to endear his advantage, the Lady her selfe was faine,

Coni [...]gis ant [...] [...]actan [...]vi dimittere collum, Catul. [...]l [...]. 4. 81  
Quàm veniens vna atque altera rursus hyems  
Noctibus in longis audium saturasset amorem,

Her new feeres necke for'st was she to forgoe,  
Ere winters one and two returning sloe,  
In long nights had ful-fil'd  
Her love so eager wil'd.

in courtesie, to sue vnto him for the deliverie of his prisoner, which he granted; the French Nobilitie never refusing Ladies any kindnesse. Seemeth she not to be a right artist? *Constantine* the sonne of *H [...]len* [...]ounded the Empire of *Constantinople*, and so, many ages after, *Constantin* [...] the sonne of *H [...]len* ended the same. She is sometimes pleased to envie our miracles: we hold an opinion, that King *Clovis* besieging *A [...]goulesme*, the wals by a divine favour [...]e [...]l of themselves. And *Bouchet* borroweth of some author, that King *Robert* beleagring a Citie, and having secretly stolne away from the siege to *Orleans*, there to solemnize the feasts of Saint *Aignan*, as he was in his earnest devotion, vpon a certaine passage of the Masse, the walles of the towne besieged, without any batterie, fell flat to the ground. She did altogether contrarie in our warres of *Millane*: For, Captaine *Rens* [...], beleagring the Citie of [110] *Eronna* for vs, and having caused a forcible mine to be wrought vnder a great curtine of the walles, by force whereof, it being violently flowne vp from out the ground, did notwithstanding, whole and vnbroken, fall so right into his foundation againe, that the besieged found no inconvenience at all by it. She sometimes playeth the Phisitian. *Iason Therius* being vtterly forsaken of all Phisitians, by reason of an impostume he had'm his breast, and desirous to be rid of it, though it were by death, as one of the forlorne hope, rusht into a battel amongst the thickest thro [...]g of his enemies, where he was so rightly wounded acrossse the bodie, that his impostume brake, and he was cured. Did shee not exceed the Painter *Protogenes* in the skill of his trade? who having perfected the image of a wearie and panting dog, and in all parts over-tired, to his content, but being vnable, as he desired, hvely to represent the drivel or slaver of his mouth vexed against his owne worke, took his spunge, and moist as it was with divers colours, thr [...] [...]t at the picture, with purpose to blot and deface all hee had done: fortune did so fitly and rightly carrie the same toward the dogs chaps, that there it perfectly finished, what his arte could never attaine vnto. Doth she not sometimes addresse and correct our counsels? *Isahell* Queene of *England*, being to repasse from *Zeland* into her kingdome with an armie, in favour of her sonne against her husband, had vtterly beene cast away, had she come vnto the Port intended, being there expected by her enemies: But fortune against her will, brought her to another place, where shee safely landed. And that ancient fellow, who hurling a stone at a dog, misst him, and there withall hit and slew his stepdame, had she not reason to pronounce this verse,

T [...]  
Chance of it selfe, than wee,  
Doth better say and see?

Fortune hath better advise then wee. *Icetes* had practised and subor [...]ed two souldiers to kill [...]smole [...]n, then residing at *Adra* [...] in *S [...]e [...]ly*. They appointed a time to doe, as he should be assisting at some sacrifice; and scattering then selves amongst the multitude, as they were winking one vpon another, to shew how they had a verie [...]t

opportunitie to doe the deede: Loe heere a third man, that with a huge blow of a sword, striketh one of them over the head and fels him dead to the ground and so runnes away. His fellow suppoting himselfe dis [...] vered, and vndone, runs to the altar, suing for sanctuarie, with promise to confesse the truth; Even as he was declaring the conspiracie, behold the third man, who had likewise beene taken, whom as a murtherer the people tugged and haled through the throng toward [...] *Joleon* and the chiefest of the assembly, where he humbly calleth for mercie, alleading that he had justly murthered the murtherer of his father, whom his good chance was to [...] de there, averring by good witnesses, before them all, that in the Citie of the Leontines, his father had beene proditoriously slaine by him, on whom he had now revenged himselfe. In meede whereof, because he had beene so fortunate (in seeking to right his fathers vntimely death) to save the common-father of the S [...] cilians fro [...] so imminent a danger, he had ten Attike mines awarded him. This fortune in her directions exceedeth all the rules of humane wisdom. But to conclude, is not an expresse application of hir favour, goodnesse, and singular pietie manifestly discovered in this action? *Ignat [...] Jus* the Father and the Sonne, both banished by proscription by the Triumvirs of *Rome* resolved on this generous act, to yeeld their lives one into anothers hands, and therby frustrate the Tyrants cruelty. They furiously with their keen rapiers drawne, ran one against another: Fortune so directed their points, that each received his mortall stroke; adding to the honor of seld-seene an amity, that they had just so much strength left them, to draw their armed and bloody hands from out their goared wounds, in that plight, so fast to embrace, and so hard to claspe one another, that the hangmen were forced, at one stroke, and together, to cut off both their heads; leaving their bodies for ever tied in so honorable a knot, and their wounds so joyned, that they lovingly drew and suckt each others blood, breath, and life.

[111]

### **The foure and thirtieth Chapter. Of a defect in our policies.**

MY whilome-father, a man who had no helpe but from experience, and his owne nature, yet of an vnspotted iudgement, hath heer-tofore told me, that he much desi [...] ed to bring in this custome, which is, that in all cities there should be a certain appointed place, to which, whosoever should have need of any thing, might come and cause his businesse to be registred by some officer appointed for that purpose: As for example, if one have pearles to sell, he should say, I seeke to sell some pearls: and another, I seeke to buy some pearls: Such a man would faine have companie to travell to *Paris*; Such a one enquireth for a servant of this or that qual [...] ties; Such a one seeketh for a Master; another a work-man; Some this; some that; every man as he needed. And it seemeth that this meanes of enter-warning one another; would b [...] ing no small co [...] oditie vnto common commerce & societie; For there are ever [...] onditions that enter-seeke one another, and because they vnderstand not one another, they leave men in great n [...] es [...] tie. I vnderstand, to the infamous reproach of our age, that even in our sight, two [...] ost excellent men in knowledge, have miserably perished for want of food and other necessaries: *L [...] lius Gregorius Giraldu* in *Italy*, and *Sebast [...] an [...] Castalio* in *Germa [...] ie*: And I verily beleeve there are many thousands, who had they knowne or vnderstood their wants, would either have sent for them, and with large stipends entertained them, or would have convaide them succour, where ever they had beene. The world is not so generally corrupted, but I know some, that would earnestly wish, and with hartly affections desire, the goods which their forefathers have left them, might, so long as it shal 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 and vertue are remarkable; many of which are daily seene to be pursued by ill fortune even to the vtmost extremitie, and that would take such order for them, as had they not their ease and content, it might onely be imputed to their want of reason or lacke of discretion. In this Oeconomicke or houshold order

my father had this order, which I can commend, but no way follow: which was, that besides the day booke of household affaires, wherein are registered at least expences, payments, gifts, bargains & sales, that require not a Nota [..]es hand to them, which booke a receiver had the keeping of: he appointed another journall-booke to one of his servants, who was h [..]s clarke, wherein he should insert & orderly set downe all accidents worthy the noting, & day by day register the memories of the historie of [..]as 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 bad tidings, who came, who went, changing or remooving of household officers, taking of new, or discharging of old servants, and such like matters. An ancient custome, and which I would have all men vse and bring into fashion againe in their severall homes: and I repent my selfe, I have so foolishly neglected the same.

### **The five and thirtieth Chapter. Of the vse of Apparell.**

Whatsoever I ayme at, I must needs force some of customes contradictions, so carefully hath she barred all our entrances. I was devising in this chil-cold season, whether [112]the fashion of these late discovered Nations to go naked, be a custome forced by the hote temperature of the ayre, as we say of the Indians and Moores, or whether it be an originall manner of manking. Men of vnderstanding, forasmuch as whatsoever is contained vnder heaven (as saith the holie Writ) is subject to the same lawes, are wont in such-like considerations, where naturall lawes are to be distinguished from those invented by man, to have recourse to the generall policie of the world, where nothing that is counterfet can be admitted. Now all things being exactly furnished else-whence with all necessaries to maintaine this being, it is not to be imagined that we alone should be produced in a defective and indigent estate, yea, and in such a one, as can not 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 wethers:

Propterea que ferè res omnes, aut corio sunt, Lucr. lib. 4. 932.  
Aut seta, aut conchis, aut callo, aut cortice tectae.

Therefore all things almost we cover'd make,  
With hide, or haire, or shels, or brawne, or barke.

Even so were we: But as those who by an artificiall light extinguish the brightnesse of the day, we have quenched our propermeanes, by such as wee have borrowed. And wee may easily discern, that only custome makes that seeme impossible vnto vs, which is not so: For of those nations that haue no knowledge of clothes, some are found situated vnder the same heaven, and climate, or paralell, that we are-in, and more cold and s [..]arper the [..]ours. Moreover, the tenderest parts of vs are ever bare and naked, as our eyes, face, mouth, nose, and eares; and our countrie-swaines (as our forefathers wont) most of them at this day goe bare-breasted downe to the navill. Had we bene borne needing petti-coats and breeches, there-is no doubt, but nature would have armed that which she hath left to the batterie of seasons and furie of wethers, with some thicker skin or hide, as shee hath done our fingers ends, and the soales of our feet. Why seemes this hard to be believed? Betweene my fashion of apparell, and that of one of my countrie-clownes, I find much more difference betweene him and me, then betweene his fashion, and that of a man who is cloathed but with his bare skin. How many men (especially in *Turkie*.) go ever naked for devotions sake? A certaine man demanded of one of our loytring rogues, whom in the deep of frostie Winter, he saw

wandering vp and downe with nothing but his shirt about-him, and yet as blithe and lustie as an other that keepe himselfe muffled and wrapt in warme furies vp to the eares; how he could have patience to go so. *And have not y [...], good sir,*) answered he) *your face all bare? Imagine I am all face.* The Italians report (as far as I remember) of the Duke of *Florence* his foole, who when his Lord asked him, how being so ill clad, he could endure the cold, which he hardly was able to doe himselfe; To whom the foole replied; *Master, vse but my receipt, and put all the cloathes you have vpon you, as I dee all mine; you shall feel no more cold then I doe.* King *Massinissa*, even in his oldest daies, were-it never so cold, so frostie, so stormie, or sharpe wether, could never be induced, to put some thing on his head, but went alwaies bareheaded. The like is reported of the Emperor *S [...]* *verus*. In the battels that past betweene the Aegyptians, and the Persians, *Herodotus* saith, that both himselfe and divers others tooke speciall notice, that of such as lay slaine on the ground, the Aegyptians sculs were without comparison much harder then the Persians: by reason that these go ever with their heads covered with coifs and turbants, and those from their infancie ever shaven and bare-headed. And King *Agesilaus*, even in his decrepite age, was ever wont to weare his clothes both winter and Summer alike. *Suetonius* affirmeth, that *Caesar* did ever march for most before his troupes, and most commonly bare-headed, and on foote, whether the sunne shone, or it rained. The like is reported of *Hanniball*,

—tum vertice nudo, Syl. Ital. 250. Excipere insanos imbres, coel [...]que ruinam.

Bare-headed then he did endure,  
Heav'ns ruine and mad-raging showre.

A Venetian that hath long dwelt amongst them, and who is but lately returned thence, writteth, that in the Kingdome of *Pegu*, both men and women, having all other parts clad, goe ever bare-footed, yea, and on horse-backe also. And *Plato* for the better health and preservation [113]of the body doth earnestly perswade, that no man should ever give the feet and the head other cover, then Nature hath allotted them. He whom the Polonians chuse for their king next to ours, who may worthily be esteemed one of the greatest princes of our age, doth never weare gloves, nor what wether soeuer it be, winter or summer, other bonnet a broad than in the warme house. As I cannot endure to goe vnbuttoned or vntrussed, so the husband-men neighbouring about me, would be, & feele themselves as fettred or hand-bound, with going so. *Varro* 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 enure and arme-vs against iniuries of the wether, than in respect of reverence. And since wee are speaking of cold, and are French-men, accustomed so strangely array our selves in party-coloured sutes (not I', because I seldome weare any other then blacke or white, in imitation of my father) let-vs adde this one thing more, which *Captaine Martyn du Bellay* relateth in the voyage of *Luxemburg*, where hee saith to have seene so harde frosts, that their munition-wines were faine to be cut and broken with hatchets and wedges, and shared vnto the Souldiers by weight, which they caried a way in baskets; and *Ovid*.

Nudaque consistunt formam servantia testae Ovid Trist. l 3. el. 10. 23.  
Vina, nec hausta meri, sed data frusta bibunt.

Bare wines, still keeping forme of caske, stand fast,  
Not gulpes, but gobbets their wine they taste.

The frosts are so hard and sharpe in the emboguing of the Meotis fennes, that in the very place where *Mithridates* Lieutenant had delivered a battle to his enemies, on hard ground, and drie-footed, and there defeated them; the next summer, he there obtained another sea-battle against them. The Romanes suffered a great disadvantage in the fight they had with the



Carthaginians nere vnto *Placentia*, for so much as they went to their charge with their blood congealed, and limbes benumbed, through extreame colde: whereas *Hanniball*, had caused many fires to be made through-out his campe, to warme his souldiers by, and a quantitie of oile to be distributed amongst them, that therwith annointing themselves, they might make their sinewes more supple and nimble, and harden their pores against the bitter blasts of colde winde, which then blewe, and nipping piercing of the ayre. The Graecians retreat from *Babilon* into their countrie, is renowmed, by reason of the many difficulties and encombrances they encountred withall, and were to surmount: whereof this was one, that in the mountaines of *Armenia*, being surprised and encircled with so horrible and great quantitie of snow, that they lost both the knowledge of the countrie, aud the wayes: wherewith they were so straitely beset, that they continued a day and a night without eating or drinking; and most of their horses and cattell died: of their men a great number also deceased; many with the glittering and whitenesse of the snow, were strucken blinde: diverse through the extremitie were lamed, and their limbes shrunken vp, many starke stiffe, and frozen with colde, although their senses were yet whole. *Alexander* saw a nation, where in winter they burie their fruite-bearing trees vnder the ground, to defend them from the frost: a thing also vsed amongst some of our neighbours. Touching the subject of apparell: the King of *Mexico* was wont to change and shift his clothes foure times a day, and never wore them againe, employing his leavings and cast-sutes for his continuall liberalities and rewardes; 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 yonger. ↪

I Am not possessed with this common errour, to judge of others according to what I am my selfe. I am easie to beleeeve 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 beleeeve and conceive a thousand maners of life, contrary to the common sorte: I more easily admit and receive difference [114]then resemblance in vs. I discharge as much as a man will, another being of my conditions and principles, and simply consider of it in my selfe, without relation, framing it vpon it's owne modell. Though my selfe be not continent, yet do I sincerely commend and allow the continencie of the Capuchines, and Theatines, and highly praise their course of life. I doe by imagination, insinuate my selfe into their place: and by how much more they be other then my selfe, so much the more doe I loue and honour them. I would gladly haue every man iudged apart, and not be drawne my selfe in consequence by others examples. My weakenesse doth no way alter the opinions I should have of the force and vigor of those that deserve it. *Sunt, qui nihil suadent, quàm quod se imitari posse confidunt. There bee Cic. Orat. ad Br. such as advise to nothing, but what they trust themselves can imitate.* Crawling on the face of the earth, I cease not to marke, even into the clouds, the inimitable height of some heroicke mindes. It is much for me to have a formall and prescript iudgement, if the effects be not so, and at least to maintaine the chiefe part exempted from corruption. It is something to have a good minde, when my forces faile 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 farre to seeke, and seemes to be no other thing than a Colledge supposition, and a gibrish-word.

— virtutem verba putant, vt Lucum ligna: Hor. ep. 6. l. 1. 31.

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

*Quam vereri d [...]berent, etiam si percipere non possent. Which yet they should reverence, though they could not reach vnto.* It is an eare-ring or pendent to hang in a cabinet, or at the tongues end, as well as at an eare for an ornament. There are no more vertuous

actions knowne; those that beare a shew of vertue, have no essence of it: for profit, glorie, custome, feare, and other like strange causes direct vs to produce them. Iustice, valour, integritie, which we then exercise, may by others consideration, and by the countenance they publikely beare, be termed so: but with the true workeman, it is no vertue at all. There is another end proposed; another efficient cause. Vertue alloweth of nothing, but what is done by her, and for hir alone. In that great battell at Potidaea which the Graecians vnder *Pausanias* gained of *Mardonius* and the Persians, the victors following their custome, comming to share the glorie and prise of the victory betweene them, ascribed the pre-excellencie of valor in that conflict to the *Spartane* nation. The Spartanes imparciall judges of vertue, when they came to decide, to what particular man of their countrie, the honor to have done best in that day, shuld of right belong; they found that *Aristodemus* had most couragiously engaged and hazarded himselfe: Yet gave him not the prise of honour of it, because his vertue had beene thereunto incited, by an earnest desire to purge himselfe from the reproch and infamie, which hee had incurred in the action at *Thermopyles*, and from all daring ambition to die couragiously, thereby to warrant his former imputation. Our judgements are yet sicke, and follow the depravations of our customes. I see the greatest part of our spirits to affect wit, and to shew themselves ingenious, by obscuring and detracting from the glorie of famous and generall ancient actions, giving them some base and malicious interpretation, fondly and enviously charging them with vaine causes, and frivolous occasions. A subtill invention no doubt. Let any man present me, with the most excellent and blamelesse action, and I will oppose it with fiftie vicious and bad intentions, all which shall carrie a face of likeli-hood. God knowes (to him that will extend them) what diversitie of images our internall will doth suffer: They doe not so maliciously as grosely and rudely endeuour to be ingenious with all their railing and detraction. The same paine a man taketh to detract from these noble & famous names, and the verie same libertie, would I as willingly take to lend them my shoulders to extoll and magnifie them. I would endeavour to charge these rare and choise-figures, selected by the consent of wise men, for the worlds example, as much, and as high, as my invention would give me leaue with honour, in a plausible interpretation, and favourable circumstance. And a man must thinke, that the diligent labours of our invention, are farre beyond their merit. It is the part 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 transport vs to the favour and pursuite of so sacred formes, what these doe contrarie, they either doe it through malice or knaverie, with purpose to reduce and sute their beliefe to [115]their capacitie, where of I lately spake: or rather as I thinke, because their sight is not of sufficient power or clearnes, nor addressed to conceive or apprehend the farre-shining brightnes of vertue in naturall and genuine purity: As *Plutarke* saith, that in his time, some imputed the cause of *Cato* the yongers death to the feare he had conceived of *Cesar*: whereat he hath some reason to be moved: by which a man may iudge, how much more he would have beene offended with those that have ascribed the same vnto ambition. Oh foolish people! Hee would no doubt have performed a faire action, so generous and so iust, rather with ignominie, then for glorie. This man was truely a patterne, whom nature chose to shew how farre humane vertue may reach, and mans constancie 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 *Catoes* commendacions, and for the interest of *Cato*, and by incidencie for theirs also. Now ought a gentleman well-bred, in respect of others, finde the two former somewhat languishing. The third more vigorous, but suppressed by the extravagancie of force. He will iudge there were yet place for one or two degrees of invention, to reach vnto the fourth, in consideration of which he will through admiration ioyne handes for the last (yet first in some degree and space, but which space he will swear can by no humane spirit be filled-vp) he wil be much amazed, he will be much amated. Loe here are wonders, we haue more Poets than iudges and interpreters of poesie. It is an easier matter to frame it; then to knowe-it: Being base and humble, it may be iudged by the precepts

and art of it: But the good & loftie, the supreme & divine, is beyond rules, and above reason. Whosoever discerneth his beauty, with a constant, quick-seeing, and settled looke, he can no more see and comprehend the same then the splendor of a lightning flash. It hath no community with our iudgement; but ransacketh and ravisheth the same. The furie which pricketh and moves him that can penetrate him, doth also stricke and wound a third man, if he heare-it either handled or recited, as the Adamant stone drawes, not only a needle, but infuseth some of his faculty in the same to drawe others: And it is more apparently seene in theaters, that the sacred inspiration of the Muses, having first stirred vp the Poet with a kinde of agitation vnto choler, vnto griefe, vnto hatred, yea and beyond him self, whether and how soever they please, doth also by the Poet strike & enter into the Actor, and consequently by the Actor, a whole audiorie or multitude. It is the ligament of our senses depending one of another. Even from my infancie, Poesie hath had the vertue to transpierce and transport me. But that lively and feeling-mouing that is naturally in me, hath diversly beene handled, by the diversitie of formes, not so much higher or lower (for they were ever the highest in every kind) as different in colour. First a blithe and ingenious fluidity, then a quaint-witie, and loftie conceit. To conclude, a ripe and constant force. *Ovid*, *Lucan*, and *Virgill*, will better declare it. But here our Gallants are in their full carriere.

Sit Cato dum viuit sanè vel Caesare maior. Mart. lib. epig. 32. 5.

Let *Cato Junior*, while he  
doth live, greater than *Caesar* be.

Saith one.

— & inuictum devictâ morte Catonem, Manil. astr. lib. 4. 87.

*Cato* vnconquered, death being vanquished.

Saith another: And the third speaking of the civill warres betweene *Caesar* and *Pompey*.

Victrix causa dijs placuit, sed victa Catoni. Lucan. bel. ciu. lib. 1. 127.

The cause that overcame with Gods was greater;  
But the cause overcome pleasd *Cato* better.

And the fourth vpon *Caesars* commendations:

Et cuncta terrarum subacta, Hor. lib. 2. ad 1. 23.  
Praeter atrocem animum Catonis.

Of all the earth all parts intralld,  
*Catoes* minde onely vnappalled.

And the hartes-master, after he hath enstalled the names of the greatest Romanes in his picture, endeth thus:

—his dantem iura Catonem.

Chiefe justice *Cato* doe decree Vir. Aen. lib. 8. 670.  
Lawes that for righteous soules should be.

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## The seven and thirtieth Chapter. How we weepe and laugh at one selfe-same thing. ↩

WHen we reade in Histories, that *Antigonus* was highly displeased with his sonne, at *Plut.* vit. Pyrrhus f. what time he presented vnto him the head of King *Pirrhus* his enemie, slaine but a little before in fight against him; which he no sooner saw, but hee burst foorth a weeping. And that *Renate* Duke of *Lorraine*, wept for the death of *Charles* Duke of *Burgundie*, whom hee had eftsoones discomfired, and was as an assistant mourner at his funeralles: And that in the battel of *Auroy* (which the Earle of *Montfort* had gained against the faction of *Charles de Blois*, for the Dutchie of *Britanie*) the victorious conqueror met with the bodie of his enemie deceased, mourned very grievously for him; a man must not suddenly exclaime.

Ecosi auvien', che l'animo ciaseuna  
Sua passion, sotto contrarie manto  
Ricuopre, con la vista hor chiara, hor bruna.

So happens it, the minde covers each passion  
Vnder a cloake of colours opposite,  
To sight now cleare, now darke, in divers fashion.

When *Caesar* was presented with *Pompeis* head, Histories report that he turn'd his looks aside, as from a ghastly and vnpleasing spectacle. There hath beene so long a correspondencie and societie in the managing of publike affaires, mutually betweene them, such a communitie of fortunes, so many reciprocally offices and bondes of alliance, that a man cannot think his countenance to have beene forced, false, and w [...]ly, as this other supposeth.

— tutúmque putauit I am bonus esse socer, lacrymas non sponte cadentes *Lucan.*  
lib. 9. 1040. Effudit gemitúsque expressit pectore laeto.

Now to be kinde indeed he did not doubt  
Father in lawe, teares, which came hardly out  
He shed, and grones exprest  
From inward pleased brest.

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

Haredis fletus sub persona risus est. *Aul. Gell. noct. Att. li. 17. c. 14.*

The weeping of an heire, is laughing vnder a visard or disguise.

Yet must a man consider, by judging of his accidents, how our mindes are often agitated by divers passions; For (as they say) there is a certaine assembly of divers humors in our bodies, whereof she is soveraigne mistress, who most ordinarily, according to our complexions doth command vs: so in our minde, although it containe severall motions that agitate the same, yet must one chiefly be predominant. But it is not with so full an advantage, but for the volubilitie and supplenesse of our minde, the weakest may by occasion reobtaine the place againe, and when their turne commeth, make a new charge, whence we see, not onely children, who simplie and naturally follow nature, often to weepe and laugh at one selfe-same thing; but none of vs all can vaunt himselfe, what wished for, or pleasant voyage soever he vndertake, but that taking leave of his family and friends, he shall feele a chilling and panting of the heart, and if he shed not teares, at least he puts his foote in the stirrop with a sad and heavie cheere. And what gentle flame soever doth warme the heart of yong virgines, yet are they hardly drawne to leave and forgo their mothers, to betake them to their husbands:

whatsoever this good fellow say;

Est ne nouis nuptis odio Venus, únnê parentum Catul. eleg. 2. 15  
Frustrantur falsis gaudia lacrymulis,  
Vbertim thalami quas intra limina fundunt?  
Non, it a me diui, veragemunt, uiverint.

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Doe yoong Birdes hate indeed fresh *Venus* toyes,  
Or with false teares delude their parents joyes,  
Which in their chambers they powre out amaine?  
So helpe me God, they do not true complaine.

So is it not strange to mourne for him dead, whom a man by no meanes would have alive againe. When I chide my boy, I doe it with the best heart I have: They are true and not fained imprecations: but that fit past over, let him have need of me, I will gladly doe him all the good I can, and by and by I turne ouer another leafe. If I chance to call one knaue or asse, my purpose is not, for ever to enfeoffe him with those nick-names; nor doe I thinke to say, tong thou liest, if immediately after I call him an honest man. No qualitie doth embrace vs purely and vniversally. If it were not the countenance of a foole to speake alone, or to him selfe, 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 fooles teeth, yet do not I thinke it to be my definition. He that seeth me sometimes to cast a frowning looke vpon my wife, or sometimes a loving countenance, and thinkes, that either of them is but fained, he is a foole. *Nero* taking leave of his mother, whom hee sent to be drowned, felt notwithstanding the emotion of that motherly farewell, and at one instant was stricken with horror & pitie. It is said, that the Sunnes-light, is not of one continued piece, but that it so vncessantly, and without intermission doth cast so thicke new raies, one in the necke of another vpon vs, that wee cannot perceive the space betweene them. *Lucr.* l 5. 281.

Largus enim liquidi fons luminis aethereus sol  
Inrigat assidue caelum candore recenti,  
Suppedit atque nouo confestim lumine lumen.

Heav'ns Sunne the plenteous spring of liquid light  
Still heav'n bedewes with splendor fresh and bright,  
Still light supplies with light of fresher sight.

So doth our minde cast her points diversly and imperceptibly. *Artabanus* surprised *Xerxes* his nephew, and chid him for the sudden changing of his countenance. He was to consider the vnmeasurable greatnesse of his forces at the passage of *Hellespont*, for the enterprize of *Greece*. First he was suddenly assailed by an excessive joy, to see so many thousands of men at his service, and witnessed the same by the alacritie and cheerefulnes 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 furthest, within one age) he gan to frowne his browes, and grew so pensive, that he wept. We have with a resolute and inexorable minde pursued the revenge of an injurie, and felt a singular content for the victorie; yet vpon 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 beholdes the thing with another eie, and vnder an other shape it presents it selfe vnto vs. For every thing hath divers faces, sundry byases, and severall lustres. Aliance, kinred, old acquaintances, and long friendship seize on our imagination, and at that instant, passionate the same according to their qualitie; but the turne or change of it, is so violent, that it escapes-vs

Nil adeo fieri celeratione videtur, L. 3. 183.  
Quàm si mens fieri proponit & inchoat ipsa.  
Ocius ergo animus quàm res se perciet vlla,  
Ante oculos quarum in promptu natura videtur.

Nothing in so quicke sort seemes to be done,  
As minde set on a thing, and once begun,  
The minde that swifter stirres before our eies,  
Then any thing, whose forme we soone comprize.

And therefore, intending to continue one body of all this pursuite, we deceive our selves. When *Timoleon* weepeth the murther he hath perpetrated with so mature and generous a determination, he weepeth not for the liberty restored to his cuntry, nor the tyrant, but he weepeth for his brother. One part of his dutie is acted, let vs permit him to play the other.

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### The eight and thirtieth Chapter. Of Solitarinesse. ↩

LEt vs leave apart this outworne comparison, betweene a solitarie and an active life: And touching that goodly saying vnder which ambition and avarice shroud themselves; that we are not borne for our particular, but for the publike good: Let vs boldly refer our selves to those that are engaged; and let them beate their conscience, if on the contrarie, the states, the charges, and this trash of the world, are not rather sought and sued for to draw a private commoditie from the publike. The bad and indirect meanes wherethrough in our age men canvase and toyle to attaine the same, do manifestly declare the end thereof to be of no great consequence. Let vs answer ambition, that her-selfe gives vs the taste of solitarinesse. For what doth she shunne so much as company? What seeketh shee more then elbow-roume? There is no place, but there are meanes and waies to doe well or ill ■ Neverthelesse if the saying of *Bias* be true; *That the woorst part is the greatest*: Or that which *Ecclesiastes* saith, *That of a thousand there is not one good*.

Rari quippe boni numero vix sunt totidem, quot I [...]. sat. 13. 26  
The [...].arum portae, vel divit [...].s ostia Nili:

Good men are rare, so many scarce (I feare)  
As gates of *Thebes*, mouths of rich *Nilus* were.

Contagion is very dangerous in a throng. A man must imitate the vicious, or hate them: both are dangerous: for to resemble them is perilous, because they are many, and to hate many is hazardous, because they are dissemblable, and Marchants that travell by sea, have reason to take heede, that those which goe in the same ship, be not dissolute, blasphemers, and wicked, iudging such company vnfortunate. Therefore *Bias* sayd plesantly to those, that together with him passt the danger of a great storme, & called to the Gods, for helpe: *Peace my maisters, lest they should heare, that you are here with me*. And of a more militarie example, *Albubergue* Viceroy in *India* for *Emanuel* King of *Portugall*, in an extreame danger of a seatempest, tooke a yong boy vpon his shoulders, for this only end, that in the common perill 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 Pallace: but if he may chuse, he will (saith he) *Avoide the sight of it*. If neede require, he will endure the first: but if he may have his choise, he will chuse the latter. He thinks he hath not sufficiently rid himselfe from vices, if he must also contest with other mens faults. *Charondas* punished those for wicked, that were convicted to have frequented [...].ewd companies. There is nothing so dis-sociable and sociable as man the one for his vice the other

for his nature, And I think *Antisthenes* did not satisfie him that vpbraided him with his conversation with the wicked, saying, *That Physitians liue amon [...]*st the sicke. Who if they steade sicke-mens healths, they empaire 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 leasure, and better at ease. But man doth not alwaies seeke the best way to come vnto it, who often supposeth to have quit affaires, when he hath but changed them. There is not much lesse vexation in the gouernement of a private family, than in the managing of an entire state: wheresoever the minde is busied, 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 principal torments of our life.

—ratio & prudentia curas, Hor. li. 1. epist. 11. 25. Non locus eff [...]*si latè maris arbiter aufert.*

Reason and wisdom may set cares aside,  
Not place the Arbiter of seas so wide.

Shift we, or change we places never so often, ambition, avarice, irresolution, feare and concupiscences never leave vs.

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‘Et past equitem sedet atra cura. Ho. 1. 3. od. 1. 39’

Care looking grim and blacke, doth sit  
Behinde his backe that rides from it.

They often follow vs, even into immured cloisters, and into schooles of Philosophie; nor doe hollow rocks, nor wearing of haire-shirts, nor continuall fastings rid vs from them.

hoeret laterilethalis arundo.

The shaft that death implide Vir. Aen. 1. 4. 73  
Sticks by the flying side.

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

Quid terras alio calentes Hor. li. 2. od. 16. 18.  
Sole mutamus? patriâ quis ex [...]  
Se quoque fugit?

Why change we soyles warm'd with another Sunne?  
Who from whom banisht hath himselfe out-runne?

If a man doe not first discharge both himselfe and his minde from the burthen that presseth her, remooving from place to place will stirre and presse her the more; as in a ship, wares well stowed, and closely piled, take vp least roome, you doe a sicke-man more hurt than good, to make him change place, you settle an evill in remooving the same; as stakes or poles, the more they are stirred and shaken, the faster they sticke, and sinke deeper into the ground. Therefore is it not enough, for a man to have sequestred himselfe from the concourse of people: it is not sufficient to shift place, a man must also severe himselfe from the popular conditions, that are in vs. A man must sequester and recover himselfe from himselfe.

—rupiiam vincula, dicas, Nam luctata canis nodum arripit, attamen illa Pers. sat.  
5. 158 Cùm fugit, à collo trahitur pars longa catenae.

You will say haply I my bonds have quit,  
Why so the striving dog the knot hath bit;  
Yet when he flies, much chaine doth follow it.

We carry our fetters with vs: is it not an absolute libertie; we still cast backe our lookes towards that we have left behinde: our minde doth still runne on it; our fansie is full of it.

—nisi purgatum est pectus, quae praelia nobis [...]cr. lib. 5. 44 Atque pericula tunc ingratis ins [...]andum? Quantae conscindunt hominem cuppe [...]inis acres Sollicitum curae, quantûque perinde timores? Quidve superbia, spurcicia, ac petulantia, quantas Effi [...]iu [...]t clades ■ quid luxus desid [...]ésque?

Vnlesse our breast be purg'd, what warres must wee  
What per [...]ls then, though much displeas'd, see ■  
How great feares, how great cares of sharpe desire  
Doe carefull man d [...]stract, torment, enfire?  
Vncleanenesse, wantonnesse, sloth, r [...]ot, pride,  
How great calamities have these implide?

Our evill is rooted in our mide: and it cannot scape from it selfe.

In culpa est animus, qui se non effugit vnquam, *Hor. l. 1. epist. 14* ■ 15 ■

The minde is 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 solitarinesse, and which may be enjoyed even in the frequencie of peopled Cities, and Kings courts: but it is more commodiously enjoied apart. Now sithence wee vndertake to live solitarie, and without companie, let vs cause our contentment to depend of 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. *Stilphon* having escaped the combustion of his Citie, wherein he had lost, both wife, and children, and all his goods; *Demetrius Polsorcetes* seeing him in so great a ruine of his Countrie, with an vnaffrighted countenance, demaunded [120]of him, whether he had received any losse; *He answered, Not and that (thanks given to God) he had lost nothing of his owne.* It is that, which *Antisthenes* the Philosopher said verie pleasantly, *That man ought to provide himselfe with munitions, that might float vpon the water, and by swimming escape the danger of shipwarcke with him.* Verily, a man of vnderstanding hath lost nothing, if he yet have himselfe. When the Citie of *Nola* was over-run by the Barbarians, *Paulinus* Bishop thereof, having lost all he had there, and being their prisoner, prayed thus vnto God: *Oh Lord deliver me from feeling of this losse: for thou knowest as yet they have toucht 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 chuse treasures well, that may be freed from injurie; and to hide them in a place, where no man may enter, and which can not be betrayed but by our selves. A man that is able, may have wives, children, goods, and chiefly health, but not so tie himselfe vnto them, that his felicitie depend on them. We should reserve a store-house for our selves, what need soever chance; altogether ours, and wholly free, wherein we may hoard-vp, and establish our true libertie, and principall retreat and solita [...]nesse, wherein we must go alone to our selves, take out ordinarie entertainment, and so privatelie, that no acquaintance or communication of any strange thing may therein [...]ind place: there to discourse, to mediate and laugh, as, without wife, without children, and goods, without traine, or seruants; that if by any occasion they be lost, it seeme



not strange to vs to passe it over; we have a mind moving and turning in it selfe; it may keep it selfe companie; it hath wherewith to offend and defend, wherewith to receive, & wherewith to give. Let vs not feare that we shal faint and droop through tedious and mind-tyring idlennesse in this solitarinesse.

In solis sis tibi turba locis.

Be thou, when with thee is not any,  
As good vnto thy selfe as many.

Vertue 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: he whom thou seest so furiously, and as it were besides himselfe, to clamber or crawl vp the citie wals, or breach, as a point-blank to a whole volie of shot, and another all wounded & skarred, crazed and faint, & wel-nie hunger-starven, resolved rather to die, then to open his enemie the gate, and give him entrance; doest thou think he is there for himselfe? No verilie, It is peradventure for such a one, whom neither he, nor so many of his fellowes ever saw, and who happily takes no care at all for them; but is there-whilst wallowing vp to the eares in sensualitie, slouth, and all maner of carnall delights. This man whom about mid-night, when others take their rest, thou seest come out of his studie meagre-looking, with eyes-trilling, flegmatike, squalide, and spauling, doest thou thinke, that plodding on his books he doth seek how he shall become an honest man; or more wise, or more content? There is no such matter. He will either die in his pursuite, or teach posteritie the measure of *Plautus* verses, and the true Orthographie of a Latine word. Who doth not willingly chop and counterchange his health, his ease, yea, and his life for glorie, and for reputation? The most vnprofitable, vaine, and counterfēt coine, that is in vse with vs. Our death is not sufficient to make vs afraid, let vs also charge our selves with that of our wives, of our children, and of our friends, and people. Our owne affaires doe not sufficientlie trouble and vex vs; Let vs also drudge, toile, vex, and torment our selves with our neighbours and friends matters.

Uah quemquámne hominem in animum instituere, aut T [...].r. Ad [...].l. act. 1  
[...]. 1. 13.  
Parare, quod sit charius, quàm ipse est sibi?

Fie, that a man should cast, that aught, then he  
Himselfe of himselfe more belov'd should be.

Solitarinesse mee seemeth hath more apparance 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 remainder of our life vnto our selves: let vs bring home our cogitations and inventions vnto our selves, and vnto our ease. It is no easie matter to make a safe retreat: it doth over-much trouble vs with joyning other enterprises vnto-it. Since God gives vs leasure to dispose of our dislodging. Let-vs prepare our selves vnto-it, packe wee vp our baggage. Let vs betimes bid our companie farewell. Shake we off these violent hold-fasts, which else-where engage vs, and estrange vs from our selves. These so strong bonds must be vntied, and a man may est-soones love this or that, but wed nothing [121]but himselfe, That is to say, let the rest be our owne: yet not so combined and glued together, that it may not be sundred, without fleaing-vs, and therewithall, 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 high time to shake-off societie, since we can bring nothing to it. And he that cannot lend, let him take heed of borrowing. Our forces faile-vs: retire we them, and shut them vp into our selves. He that can suppress and confound in himselfe the offices of so many amities, and of the companie, let him doe it. In this fall, which makes vs, inutile, irksome, and importunate to others; let him take heed he be not importunate, irksome, and vnprofitable to himselfe. Let

him flatter, court and cherish himselfe, and above all, let him governe himselfe, respecting his reason, and fearing his conscience, so that he may not without shame stumble or trip in their presence. *Rarum est enim, vt satis se quis (que) vereatur. For it is a rare matter, that every man sufficiently should stand in awe and reuerence of himselfe. Socrates saith, That yong men ought to be instructed, and men exercised in well doing; and old men withdraw themselves from all civill and militarie negotiations, living at their owne discretion, without obligation to any certaine office.* There are some complexions, more proper for these precepts of retreit than others. Those which have a tender and demisse apprehension, a squeamish affection, a delicate will, and which can not easilie subject or imploy it selfe (of which both by naturall condition and propense discourse, I am one) will better apply themselves vnto this counsell▪ then active minds, and busie spirits; which embrace all, every where engage, and in all things passionate themselves; that offer, that present, and yeeld themselves to all occasions. A man must make vse of all these accidentall commodities, and which are without vs, so long as they be pleasing to vs; but not make them our principall foundation: It is not so, nor reason, nor nature permit-it. Why should we against their lawes subject 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 discourse; to serve themselves, to lie vpon the hard ground, to pull out their owne eyes, to cast their riches into the Sea, to seek for paine and smart (some by tormenting this life, for the happinesse of another; othersome placing themselves on the lowest step, thereby to warrant themselves from a new fall) is the action of an excessive vertue. Let stern [...]r and more vigorous complexions make their lurking glorious and exemplar.

—tuta & parvula laudo, Hor lib. 1. epist. 15. 42. Cùm res deficiunt, satis inter vilia for tis: Verùm vbi quid melius contingit & vnctius, idem Hos sapere, & solos aio benè vivere, quorum Conspicitur ni [...]dis fundata pecunia villis.

When riches faile, I praise the safe estate,  
 Though small; base things doe not high thoughts abate.  
 But when t's better, finer with me, I  
 They onely live well, and are wise, doe crie,  
 Whose coine in faire farmes doth well-grounded lie.

There is worke enough for me to doe without going so far. It sufficeth me vnder fortunes favour, to prepare my selfe for her disfavour; and being at ease, as [...]ar as imagination may attaine vnto, to represent the evill to come vnto my selfe: Even as we enure our selves to Tilts and Tourneyes, and counterfeit warre in time of peace. I esteeme not *Arcesilaus* the Philosopher lesse reformed, because I know him to have vsed houshold implements 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, forsomuch as he both moderately and liberally made vse of them. I know vnto what limits naturall necessitie goeth; and I consider the poore almes-man begging at my dore, to be often more plumb-checkt, in better health and liking then I am: Then doe I enter into his estate, and assay to frame and sute my mind vnto his byase. And so over-running other examples, albeit I imagine death, povertie, contempt, and sicknesse to be at my heeles, I easilie resolve my selfe, not to apprehend any feare of that, which one of lesse worth then my selfe doth tolerate and vndergoe with such patience: And I can not beleieve, that the basenesse or shallownesse of vnderstanding, can doe more then vigor and far-seeing, or that the effects and reason of discretion, can not reach to the effects of custome and vs [...]. And knowing what slender hold-fast these accessorie [122]commodities have, I omit not in full joyssance of them, humbly to beseech God of his mercie (as a soveraigne request) to make me contented with my selfe, and with the goods proceeding from me. I see some gallantly-disposed yong men, who notwithstanding their faire-seeming shew, have many boxes-full of pils in their coffers at home, to take when the rhume shall assaile them; which

so much the lesse they feare, when they thinke the remedie to be at hand. So must a man doe: as also if he feel himselfe subject to some greater infirmitie, to store himselfe with medicaments that may asswage, supple, and stupifie the part grieved. The occupation a man should chuse for such a life, must neither be painfull nor tedious, otherwise, in vaine should we accompt to have sought our abiding there, which depends from the particular taste of every man. Mine doth no way accommodate it selfe to husbandrie. Those that love it, must with moderation applie themselves vnto it.

Conentur sibi res, non se submittere rebus.

Endevour they things to them to submit, Epist. 1. 19.  
Not them to things (if they have *Horace* wit)

Husbandrie is otherwise a servile office, as *Salust* termeth it: It hath more excusable parts, as the care of gardening, which *Xenophon* ascribeth to *Cyrus*: A meane or mediocritie may be found, betweene this base and vile carking care, extended and full of toiling labor, which we see in men that wholie plunge themselves therein, and that profound and extreame retchlesnesse to let all things go at six and seaven, which is seen in others.

—Democriti pecus edit agellos Epist. 12. 12. Cultaque, dum peregrè est animus sine corpore velox.

Cattle destroyde *Democritus*-his sets,  
While his mind bodillesse vagaries fets.

But let-vs heare the counsell, which *Plinie* the yonger giveth to his friend *Cornelius Rusus*, touching this point of Solitarinesse: *I perswade thee in this full-gorged and fat retreat, wherein thou art, to remit this base and abiect care of husbandrie vnto thy servants, and give thy selfe to the studie of letters, whence thou maist gather something, that may altogether be thine owne.* He meaneth reputation: like vnto *Ciceroes* humor, who saith, *That he will imploy his solitarinesse and residence from publike affaires, to purchase vnto himselfe by his writings an immortal life.*

—vsque adeóne Pers. sa [...]. 1. 27. Scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc sciat alter?

Is it then nothing-worth that thou doost know,  
Vnlesse what thou doost know, thou others snow?

It seemeth to be reason, when a man speaketh to withdraw himselfe from the world, that one should looke beyond him. These do-it but by halfes. Indeed they set their match against the time they shall be no more: but pretend to reap the fruit of their dessignes, when they shall be absent from the world, by a ridiculous contradiction. The imagination of those, who through devotion seeke solitarinesse, filling their minds with the certaintie of heavenly promises, in the other life, is much more soundly consorted. They propose God as an object infinite in goodnesse, and incomprehensible in power, vnto themselves. The soule hath therein, in all free libertie, wherewith to glut her-selfe. Afflictions and sorrowes, redound to their profit, being employed for the purchase and attaining of health, and eternall gladnesse. Death, according to ones wish, is a passage to so perfect an estate. The sharpnesse of their rules, is presently made smooth and easie by custome; and carnall concupiscences, rejected, abated, and [...]lulled a sleep by refusing them; for nothing entertaineth them but vse and exercise. *This onely end of another life, blessedly immortal, doth rightly merite we should abandon the pleasures and commodities of this our life. And he that can enlighten his soule with the flame of a lively faith and hope, really and constantly, in his solitarinesse, [...]*th

*build vnto himselfe a voluptuous and delicious life, far surmounting all other lives.* Therefore doth neither the end nor middle of this counsell please me. We are ever falling into a relaps, from an ague to a burning feaver. This plodding occupation of bookes, is as painfull as any other, and as great an enemie vnto health, which ought principally to be considered. And a man should not suffer himselfe to be inveagled by the pleasure he takes in them: It is the same pleasure, that looseth the thriving husband-man, the greedy-covetous, the sinning-voluptuous, and the puft-vp ambitious. The wisest men teach vs sufficiently to beware and thield-vs from the treasons of our appetites, and to discern true and perfect pleasures, from [123]delights blended and entermingled with more paine. For, most pleasures, (say they) tickle, fawne vpon, and embrace-vs, with purpose to strangle-vs, as did the theeves whom the Aegyptians termed *Phili [...]*as: And if the head-ach would seize vpon vs before drunkennesse, we would then beware of too much drinking: but sensualitie the better to entrap-vs, marcheth before, and hideth her tracke from-vs. Bookes are delightfull; but if by continuall frequenting them, we in the end loose both health and cheerefulness (our best parts (let vs leave them. I am one of those who thinke their fruit can no way countervaille this losse. As men that have long time selt themselves enfeebled through some indisposition, doe in the end yeeld to the mercie of Physicke, and by arte have certaine rules of life prescribed them, which they will not transgresse: So he that with-drawes himselfe, as distasted and overtired with the common life, ought likewise to frame and prescribe this vnto the rules of reason; direct and range the same by premeditation, and discourse. He must bid all manner of travell farewell, what shew soever it beare; and in generall shun all passions that any way empeach the tranquillitie of mind and bodie, and follow the course best agreeing with his humour.

Unusquisque sua noverit ire via. Proport. lib. 2. el. 25. [...]8.

His owne way every man  
Tread-out directly can.

A man must give to thriving-husbandrie, to laborious studie, to toilesome hunting, and to every other exercise, the vtmost bounds of pleasure; and beware he engage himselfe no further, if once paine begin to intermeddle it selfe with hir; we should reserve businesse and negotiations, onely for so much as is behoofefull to keep vs in breath, and to warrant vs from the inconveniences which the other extremitie of a base, faint-harted idlenesse 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 books, but such as are pleasant, and easie, and which tickle me, or such as comfort and counsell me, to direct my life and death.

—tacitum sylvas inter reptare salubres Hordib. 1. epist. 4. 4. Curantem quidquid  
dignum sapiente bonoque est.

Silently creeping midst the wholesome wood  
With care what's for a wise-man and a good.

The wiser sort of men, having a strong and vigorous mind may frame vnto themselves an altogether spirituall life. But mine being common, I must help to vphold my selfe by corporall commodities: And age having estsoones dispoiled me of those that were most sutable to my fantasie. I instruct and sharpen my appetite to those remaining, most sortable this other season. We must tooth-and naile retaine the vse of this lives pleasures, which our yeares snatch from vs, one after another:

Carpamus dulcia, nostrum est, Pers. sat. 5. 155  
Quod vivis, cinis & maenes & fabula fies.

Plucke we sweet pleasures: we thy life give thee.  
Thou shalt a tale, a ghost, and ashes be.

Now concerning the end of glorie, which *Plinie*, and *Cicero* propose vnto vs, it is far from my discourse: The most opposit humour to solitarie retiring, is ambition. *Glorie and rest, are things, that cannot squat in one same forme*: as far as I see, these have nought but their armes and legs out of the throng, their mind and intent is further and more engaged in them then ever it was.

Tun ■ vetule auriculis alienis colligis escas? Pers. sat. 1. 22.

Gatherst thou dotard these yeares,  
Fresh baites, fine foode, for others eares?

They have gone-backe that they might leap the better, and with a stronger motion make a nimbler offer amidst the multitude. Will you see how they shoot-short by a cornes breadth? let vs but counterpoise the advise of two Philosophers, and of two most different sects: The one writing to *Idomeneus*, the other to *Lucilius* their friends, to divert them from the managing of affaires and greatnesse, vnto a solitarie kind of life. *You have (say they) lived hither to swimming and floating adrift, come and die in the haven; you have given the past of your life [...]o light, give the remainder vnto darknesse. It is impossible to give-over occupations, if you doe [124] 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 fore-passed actions should over-much dazle you, yea, and follow you even to your den. Together with other concupiscences, shake off that which commeth from the approbation of others. And touching your knowledge and sufficiencie, take you no care of them, they will loose no whit of their effect; if your selfe be any thing the better for them. Remember but him, who being demanded, to what purpose he toyled so much about an Arte, which could by no meanes come to the knowledge of many. Few are enow for me; one will sufi [...]ce, yea, lesse than one will content me, answered 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 vnto you, and one [...]e all the people to you: It is a base ambition to go about to draw glorie from ones idlenesse, 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 seene. You must no longer seeke, what the world saith 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 follie to trust to your selfe, if you cannot governe your selfe. A man may as well faile in solitarinesse, as in companie, there are waies for-it, vntill such time as you have framed your selfe such, 'that you dare not halt before your selfe, and that you shall be ashamed of, and beare a kind of respect vnto your selfe, *Obversentur Cic. Tusc. qu. lib. 2. species honestae animo: Let honest Ideaes still represent themselves before your mind: Ever present Cato,' Phocion, and Aristides vnto your imagination, in whose presence even foolesSen [...]c. epist. 11. would hide their faults, and establish them as controulers of all your intentions. If they be disordered and vntuned, their reverence will order and tune them againe: they will containe you in a way, to be contented with your selfe; to borrow nothing but from your selfe, to settle and stay your mind 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 vnderstands them, he shall accordingly enjoy, and with them rest satisfied, without wishing a further continuance, either of life or name. Loe heere the counsell of truly-pure, and purely-true philosophie, not of a vaine-glorious, boasting, and prating philosophie, as is that of the two first.**

### **The nine and thirtieth Chapter.** **A consideration vpon Cicero.** ↪

One word more in comparison of these two. There are gathered out of *Ciceroes* writing [...] and from *Plinies*, (in mine opinion little agreeing with his vnckle) 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-basenesse in persons of that s [...]ampe, to have gone about to draw some principall glorie from prating and speaking, even to imploy their private Epistles written to their friends; in such sort, as some missing the opportunitie to be sent, they notwithstanding cause them to be published, with this worthie excuse, that they would not loose their travell and lucubrations. Is it not a seemly thing in two *Romane Consuls*, chiefe magistrates of the common-wealth, Emperesse of the world, to spend their time in wittily devising, and closely hudling-vp of a quaint missive or wittie epistle, therby to attaine the reputation, that they perfectly vnderstand their mother-tongue? What could a seelie School-master, who gets his living by such trash, do worse? If the acts of *Xenophon*, or of *Caesar* had not by much exceeded their eloquence, I can not beleeeve, 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-speaking might bring any glorie sutable vnto a great personage, *Scipio* and *Le [...]ius* would never have resigned the honor of their Comedies, and the elegancies, and smooth-sportfull conceits of the Latin tongue, vnto an Affrican servant: For, to prove this labor to be theirs, the exquisit eloquence, & excellent invention therof [125]doth sufficiently declare it: and *Terence* himselfe doth avouch it:- And I could hardly be removed from this opinion. It is a kind of mockerie and iniurie, to raise a man to worth, by qualities mis-seeming his place, and vnfitting his calling, although for some other respects praise-worthie; and also by qualities that ought not to be his principall object. As he that would commend a King to be a cunning Painter, or a skilfull Architect, or an excellent Harquibuzier, or a never missing runner at the Ring. These commendations acquire a man no honour, if they be not presented altogether with those that are proper and convenient vnto him, that is to say, justice, and the skill to governe, and knowledge to direct his people both in peace & warre. In this sort doth Agriculture honour *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 disavow their aprentissage, mar their pen, and affect the ignorance of so vulgar a qualitie; and which our people holds, to be seldome found amongst wise-men, endeavouring to be commended for better qualities. *Demosthenes* his companions in their ambassage to *Philip*, praised their Prince to be faire, eloquent, and a good quaffer. *Demosthenes* said, they were commendations rather fitting a woman, an advocate, and a sponge, then a King.

Imperet bellante prior, iacentem Hor. car. secul. 51.

Lenis in hostem.

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

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

Orabunt causas alij, coelique meatus Virg Aen. lib. 6. 850.

Describent radio, & fulgentia sidera dicent;

Hic regere imperio populos sciat.—

Others shall causes plead, describe the skies  
Motion by instrument, say how stars rise?  
But let him know to rule (just, valiant, wise.)

*Plutarke* saith moreover, *That to appeare so absolutely excellent in these lesse-necessarie parts, is to produce a witness against himselfe, to have ill spent his houres, and fondly bestowed his studie, which might better have been employed to more behoofefull and profitable vse.* So that *Philip* King of *Macedon*, having heard great *Alexander* his sonne sing at a feast a vie with the best Musicians: *Art thou not ashamed* (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 befall you, that you should vnderstand these things better than my selfe.* A King ought to be able to ansere, as *Ipicrates* did the Orator who in his invective vrged him in this manner: *And what art 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 those, but I am he who commaund all those.* And *Antisthenes* made-it as an argument of little valour in *Ism [...]**niias*, when some commended him to be an excellent Flutist. Well I wot, that when I heare some give themselves to imitate the phrase of my Essayes, I would rather have them hold their peace: They doe not so much raise the words, as deprese the sense; so much the more sharply, by how much more obliquely. Yet am I deceived if some others take not more hold on the matter; and how well or ill soever, if any writer hath scattered the same, either more materiall, 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 adde what followes them, I shal dailie increase this volume. And how many stories have I glanced-at therein, that speake not a word, which whosoever shall vnfold, may from them draw infinite Essayes? Nor they, nor my allegations doe ever serve simply for examples, authoritie, or ornament. I doe not onely respect them for the vse I draw from them. They often (beyond my purpose) produce the seed of a richer subject, and bolder matter, and often collaterally, a more harmonious tune, both for me, that will expresse no more in this place, and for them that shall hit vpon my tune.

But returning to vertue, *I find no great choice, betweene him that can speake nothing but evill*, Sen. epist. 115. p. *and one that can talke nothing but to talke well. Non est ornamentum vir [...]**le concinnitas. Finenesse is no great grace for a man. Wise men say, that in respect of knowledge, there is nothing but Philosophie, and in regard of effects, but Vertue;* which is generally fit for all degrees, and for all orders. Something there is alike in these two other Philosophers; for they also promise eternitie to [126]the Epistles, they write to their friends. But after another fashion, and to a good purpose, accommodating themselves to others vanitie; For they send them word, that if care to make themselves knowen vnto future ages, and respect of renowne, doth yet retaine them in the managing of affaires, and makes them feare solitarinesse, and a retired life, to which they would cal them, that they take no more paines for it: forasmuch as they have sufficient credit with posteritie, by answering them; and were it but by the Epistles they write vnto them, they will make their name as famous, and as farre-knowen, as all their publike actions might doe. Besides this difference, they are notfrivolous, idle, and triviall Epistles, and onely compact and held together with exquisite choise words, hudled-vp and ranged to a just smoothe cadence, but stufft and ful of notable sayings, and wise sentences; by which a man doth not only 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 desire of it, and not of things: vnlesse a man will say, that *Ciceroes* being so exceedingly perfect, doth frame it selfe a body of perfection. I will further allegea storie, which to this purpose we reade of him, to make vs palpably feele his naturall condition. He was to make an Oration in publike, and being vrged b [...]t [...]mes to prepare himselfe for it, *Eros* one of his servants 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 libertie. Touching this subject of Epistles, thus much I will say; It is a worke wherin my friends are of opinion I can doe something: And should more willingly have vndertaken to publish my gifts, had I had who to speake vnto. It had beene requisite (as I have had other times) to have had a certaine commerce to draw me on, to encorage me, and to vphold 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 enimie to all falsifications. I should have bin more attentive, and more assured, having a friendly and strong direction, than 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 comicall and familiar stile: But after a maner peculiar vnto my selfe, inept to all publike Negotiations, answering my speech, which is altogether close, broken, and particular: I have no skill in ceremonious letters, which have no other substance, but a faire contexture of complemental phrases and curteous words. I have no taste nor faculty of these tedious offers of ser [...]ice and affection. I believe not so much as is said, and am nothing pleased to say more than I believe. It is farre from that which is vsed now adades: For, there was never so abject and servile a prostitution of presentations; life, soule, devotion, adoration, servant, slave; all these words are so generally vsed, that when they would expresse a more emphaticall intent and respective will, they have no meanes left them to expresse it. I deadly hate to heare a flatterer: which is the cause I naturally affect a pithy, sinnowie, drie, round, and harsh kind of speach; which, of such as have no further acquaintance with me, is judged to encline to disdaine. I honor them most, whom I seeme to regard least: And where my mind marcheth most cheerefully, I often forget the steps of gravitie: And I offer my selfe but saintly and rudely to those whose I am indeed, and present my selfe least, to such as I have most given my selfe. M [...] thinks they should read it in my heart, and that the expression 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 verball complements of the ceremoniall lawes of our civilitie, I know no man so sottishly-barren of speach, as my selfe. And I was never employed to indite Letters of favour or commendatorie, but he for whom they were, judged them drie, barren, and faint. The Italians are great Printers of Epistles, where of I thinke I have a hundred severall Volumes. I deeme those of *Hannibal Caro* to be the best. If all the paper I have heeretofore scribled for Ladies were extant, at what time my hand was truly transported by my passion, a man should haply find some page worthy to be communicated vnto idle and fond-doting youth, embabuinized with this furie. I ever write my letters in posthast, and so rashly-head long, that howbeit I write intolerable ill, I had rather write with mine owne hand, than imploy another: for I find none that can follow me, and I never copie them over againe. I have accustomed those great persons that know me, to endure blots, blurs, dashes, and botches, in my letters, and a sheete without folding or margine. Those that cost me, either most labour or studie, are they that are least worth. When I once begin to traile them, it is a signe my mind is not vpon them. I commonly begin without project: the first word begets the second. Our moderne letters are more fraught with borders, [127]and prefaces, than with matter, as I had rather write two, then fold and make vp one, which charge I commonly resigne to others: So likewise when the matter is ended, I would willingly give another the charge, to adde these long orations, offers, praiers, and imprecations, which we place at the end of them, and wish hartily, some new fashion would discharge vs of them. As also to superscribe them with a legend of qualities, titles, and callings, wherein, lest I might have tripped, I have often times omitted writing, especially to men of Iustice, Lawyers, and Financiers. So many innovations of offices, so difficult a dispensation and ordinance of divers names and titles of honour, which being so dearely bought, can neither be exchanged or forgotten without offence. I likewise find-it gracelesse and idly-fond, to charge the front and inscription of the many bookes and pamphlets, which we daily cause to be imprinted with them.

### **The fortieth Chapter.**

**That the taste of goods or evils doth greatly depend on the opinion we have of them.** ↩

*MEn* (saith 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 establish every where this true proposition. For if evils



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 yeeld themselves vnto our mercie, why should we not have the fruition of them, or applie them to our advantage? If that which we call evill & torment, be neither torment, nor evill, but that our fancie only gives it that quatie, it is in vs to change-it: and having the choice of it, if none compell-vs, we are verie fooles, to bandie for that partie, which is irkesome vnto vs: and to give infirmitie, indigence and contempt, a sharpe and ill taste, if we may give them a good: And if fortune simplie affoord-vs the matter, it lieth in vs to give-it the forme. Now that that which we terme evill, is not so of it selfe, or at least, such as it is, that it depends of vs to give-it another taste, and another countenance (for all comes to one) let vs see whether it can be maintained. If the originall-being of those things we feare, had the credite of it's owne authoritie to lodge it selfe in vs, alike and semblable would it lodge in all: For men be all of one kind, and except the most or least, they are furnished with like meanes to judge, and instruments to conceive. But the diversitie of opinions, which we have of those things, doth evidently shew, that but 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 contrarie. We accompt of death, of povertie, and of sorrow, 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 soveraigne good of nature? the onely sta [...]e of our libertie? and the readie and common receipt of our evils? And as some doe, fearefully-trembling, and senslesly-affrighted, expect her comming, others endure it more easilie then life: And one complaineth of her facilitie;

Mors vt inam pavidos vitae subducere nolles, [...]can. lib. 4. 580.  
Sed virtus to sola daret!

O death! I would thou would'st let cowards live,  
That resolv'd valour might thee only give!

But let vs leave these glorious minds: *Theodorus* answered *Lysimachus*, who threatned to kill him: *Thou shalt doe a great exploit to come to the strength of a Cantharides*. The greatest number of Philosophers are found to have either by designe prevented, or hastned and furthered their deaths. How many popular persons are seen brought vnto death, and not to a simple death, but entermixt with shame, & sometimes with grievous torments, to embrace it with such an vndaunted assurance; some through stubborne wilfulnesse, other-some through a naturall simplicitie, in whom is nothing seene changed from their ordinarie condition; settling [128]their domesticall affaires, recommending themselves vnto their friends, preaching, singing, and entertaining the people: yea, and sometimes vttering words of [...]esting and laughter, and drinking to their acquaintance, as well as *Socrates*? One who was ledde to the gallowes, desired it might not be thorow such a street, for feare a Merchant should set a Ser [...]ant on his backe, for an old debt. Another wished the hang-man not to touch his throat, lest hee should make him swowne with laughing, because hee was so ticklish. Another answered his confessour, who promised him he should suppe that night with our Saviour in heaven, Goe thither your selfe to supper, for I vse to fast a nights. Another vpon the Gibbet calling for drinke, and the hang-man drinking first, said, hee would not drinke after him, for feare hee should take the poxe of him. Everie man hath heard the tale of the Piccard, who being vpon the ladder ready to be throwen downe, there was a wench presented vnto him, with this offer (as in some cases our law doth sometimes tolerate) that if hee would marry her, his life should be saued, who after he had a while beheld her, & perceving that she halted, said hastily, *Away, away, good bang-man, make an end of thy busines, she limps*. The like is reported of a man in *Denmarke*, who being adiudged to haue his head cut off, and being vpon the scaffold, had the like condition offered him, but refused it, because the wench offered him was jaw-falne, long che [...]kt, and sharpe-nosed. A yong

ladde at *Tholous*, being accused of here [...]ie, in all points touching his beleefe, referred himselfe wholly to his Masters faith, (a yong scholar that was in prison with him) and rather chose to die, than hee would be perswaded his Master 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 many were found, who rather than they would say, *God save the King*, suffered themselves to be hanged. And of those base-minded jesters or buffons, some have bin seene, that even at the point of death, would never leave their jesting and scoffing. He whom the heads-man threw off from the Gallowes, cried out, Rowe the Gally, which was his ordinary by-word. Another, who being at his last gaspe, his friends had laid him vpon a pallet alongest the fire-side, there to breathe his last, the Physitian demanding where his grieffe pained him? Answered, betweene the bench and the fire: And the Priest to give him the last vnction, seeking for his feet, which by reason of his sicknesse were shruncken vp, he told him, My good friend you shall finde them at my legges ends, if you looke wel. To another that exhorted him to recommend himself to God, he asked, who is going to him? And the follow 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 best then, answered he, that my selfe carry mine owne commendations to him. In the Kingdome of *Narsinga*, even at this day their Priests wives are buried alive with the bodies of their dead husbands. All other wives are burnt at their husbands funerals, not only constantly, but cheerfully. When their king dieth, his wives, his concubines, his minions, together with all his officers and servants, which make a whole people, present themselves so merrily vnto the fire, wherein his bodie is burned, that they manifestly seem [...] to esteeme-it as a great honour, to accompanie their deceased master to his ashes. During our last warres of *Millaine*, and so many takings, losses, miseries, and calamities of that Citie, the people impatient of so manie changes of fortune, tooke such a resolution vnto death, that I have heard my father say; he kept accompt of five and twentie chiefe housholders, that in one weeke made them-selves away: An accident which hath some affinitie with that of the Xanthians, who being besieged by *Brutus*, did pell-mell-headlong, men, women, and children precipitate them-selves 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 *Brutus* had much adoe, to save a verie small number of-them. Euery opinion is of sufficient power to take hold of a man in respect of life. The first Article of that couragious oath, which the Countrie of *Greece* did sweare, and keep, in the Median warre, was, that every particular man should rather change his life vnto death, than the Persian lawes for theirs. What a world of people are daily seene in the Turkish warres, and the Graecians, more willing to embrace a sharpe, a bitter, and violent death, then to be vncircumcized and baptized? An example whereof no religion is incapable. The Kings of *Castile* having banished the Iewes out of their Countrie, king *Iohn* of *Portugall* for eight crownes a man, sold them a retreat in his dominion, for a certaine time, vpon condition (the time expired) they should avoid, and he find them ships to transport them into *Affrike*. The day of their departure [111]come, which past, it was expressed, that such as had not obeyed, should for-ever remaine bond-slaves; shippes were provided them, but very scarce and sparingly: And those which were imbarked, were so rudely, churlishly, and villainously vsed, by the passengers and marriners; who besides infinit other indignites, loitred so long on the seas, now forward, now backward, that in the end, they had consumed all their victuals, and were forced, if they would keepe themselves alive, to purchase some of them, at so excessive a rate, and so long, that they were never set a shore, til they had brought them so bare, that they had nothing l [...]t them but their shirts. The newes of this barbarous inhumanity being reported to those that were yet on land, most of them resolved to yeeld and continue bound-slaves: whereof some made a semblance to change their religion. *Emanuel* that immediately succeeded *Iohn*, being come to the Crowne, first set them at libertie, then changing his minde, commanded them to depart out of his dominions, and for their passages assigned them three ports. He

hoped, as Bishop *Osorius* reporteth, (a Latine Historian of our ages, not to be despised) that the favor of the libertie, to which he had restored them, having failed to convert them vnto Christianity, the difficultie to commit themselves vnto marriners and pyrates robberies, to leave a Country where they were settled with great riches, for to go seeke vnknown and strange regions, would bring them into *Portugall* againe. But seeing all his hopes frustrate, & that they purposed to passe away, hee cut off two of the three ports he had promised them, that so the tedious distance and incommodie of the passage might retaine some, or rather that he might have the meane to assemble them all together in one place, for a fitter opportunitie of the execution he intended, which was this. Hee appointed that all their children vnder fourteene yeeres of age, should be taken from out the handes of their parents, and remooved from their sight 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 naturall affection betweene the fathers and the children; moreover the zeale vnto their ancient faith, striving against this violent ordinance. Diverse fathers and mothers were ordinarily seene to kill themselues, and with a more cruell example through compassion and love, to throw their yong children into pittes and welles, thereby to shunne the Law. The terme, which he had prefixed them being expired, for want of other meanes, they yeelded vnto thraldome. Some became Christians, from whose faith and race, even at this day (for it is a hundred yeeres since) few Portugalles assure themselves; although custome, and length of time be much more forcible counsellors vnto such mutations, than any other compulsion. In the Towne of *Castelnaw Darry*, more then fifty *Albigois*, all heretikes, at one time, with a determined courage, suffred themselves to be burned alive, all in one same fire, before they would recant & disavow their opinions. *Quoties non modò ductores nostri, sed vniversi etiam exercitus, ad non dubiam mortem concurrerunt? How often have, not only our Leader* (saith *Tully*)C [...], Tus [...]. qu l. [...] *but also our whole armies run roundly together to an vndoubted death?* I have seene one of my samiliar 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 daies: yea in very children of such as for feare of some slight incómodity have yeelded vnto death. And to this purpose saith an ancient Writer, what shall we not feare, if we feare that, which cowardise it selfe hath chosen for her retrait? Heere to huddle vp a long bead-rowle of those of all sexes, conditions, sects, in most happie ages, which either have expected death most constantly, or sought for it voluntarily, and not onely sought to avoid the evils of this life, but some, onely to shun the societie of living any longer: and some; for the hope of a better condition elsewhere, I should never have done. The number is so infinite, that verily it would be an easier matter for me to reckon vp those that have feared the same. Onely this more. *Pirro* the philosopher, finding himselfe vpon a very tempestuous day in a boat, shewed them whom he perceived to be most affrighted through feare, and encouraged them by the example of an hog, that was amongst them, and seemed to take no care at all for the storme: Shall wee then dare to say, that the advantage of reason, whereat we seeme so much to rejoyce, and for whose respect we account our selves Lords and Emperours of all other creatures, hath beene infused into vs for our torment? *What availeth the knowledge of things, if through them we become more demisse?* If thereby wee loose the rest and tranquillitie wherein [130]we should be without them? and if it makes vs of worse condition then was *Pirrhos* hog? Shall we employ the intelligence, heaven hath bestowed vpon vs for our greatest good, to our ruine? repugning natures desseigne and the vniversall order and vicissitude of things, which implieth that every man should vse his instruments and meanes for his owne commoditie? Wel (will some tel me) let your rule fit you against death; but what will you say of indigence and necessitie? what will you also say of minde-grieving sorrow, which *Aristippus*, *Hieronimus*, and most of the wisest have judged the last evill? and those which denied the same in words, confessed the same in effect?

*Possidonium* being extremely tormented with a sharpe and painfull sicknesse, *Pompey* came to see him, and excused himselfe he had chosen so vnfit an houre to heare him discourse of Philosophie: *God forbid (answered Possidonium) that over paine should so farre vsurpe vpon me, as to hinder me from discoursing of so woorthy a subiect.* And thereupon began to speake of the contempt of paine. But there whilst she plaied her part, and vncessantly pinched and vrged him; gainst whom hee exclaimed: *Paine, doe what thou list, I shall never be drawne to say, that thou art an evill.* That saying, which they would make of such consequence, what doth it inferre against the contempt of paine it contends but for the word. And if the pangs thereof moove him not there whilst, why breakes he off his discourse for it? Why thinks he to worke a great exploit, not to call it an evill? All doth not consist in imagination. Heere we judge of the rest. It is assured learning that here doth play her part, our owne senses are judges of it?

Qui nisi sunt veri; ratio quoque falsa sit omnis. Luor [...]. 4. 487.

Which senses if they be not true,  
All reason's false, it must ensue.

Shall we make our skin beleeeue, the stripes of a whip doe tickle it? and perswade our taste, that Aloes be wine of Graves? *Pirrhos* hog is here in our predicament. He is nothing danted at death, but if you beate him, he will grunt, crie and torment himselfe. Shall wee force the generall law of nature, which in all living creatures vnder heaven is seene to tremble at paine? The very trees seeme to groane at offences. Death is but felt by discourse, because it is the motion of an instant.

Aut fuit, aut veniet, nihil est praesentis in illa.

Death hath come, or it will not misse;  
But in it nothing present is.

Mórsque minus poenae, quàm mor a mortis habet. Orid. epis. Ariad. 82.

Deaths pain's lesse, roundly acted,  
Then when death is protracted.

A thousand beasts, a thousand men, are sooner dead then threatned. Besides, what wee principally call feare in death, it is paine her customary fore-runner. Neverthelesse if we must give credit to an ancient father, *Malam mortem non facit, nisi quod sequitur mortem.* Nothing, 'but what follows death, makes death to be evill. And I might more truly say, that neither that which goeth before,' no [...] 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 threats vs to die. But reason accusing our weaknesse, to feare so sudden a thing, so vnavoidable, so insensible; we take this other more excusable pretence. All evils that have no other danger, but of the evill, we count them dangerlesse. The tooth- [...]ch, the paine of the gowt, how grievous soever, because they kill not, who reckoneth them in the number of maladies? Well, suppose that in death wee especially regard the paine: As also, povertie hath nothing to be feared for, but what she casteth vpon vs through famine, thirst, colde, heate, and other miseries, it makes vs feele and endure. So have we nothing to do but with paine. I will willingly grant them, that it is the woorst accident of our being. For, I am the man that hate and shunne 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 dissanull, at least to diminish the same, through patience: And though the body should be mooved thereat, yet to keepe the minde and reason in good temper. And if it were not so, who then

hath brought vertue, valour, force, magnanimitie, and resolution into credit, Where shall they play their part, if there be no more paine defied? *Avida est periculi virtus*, Sen. quar. von. cap. 4. *Vertue is desirous of danger*. If a man must not lie on the hard ground, armed at all assaies, to [131]endure the heat of the scorching Sunne, to feed hungerly vpon a horse, or an asse, to see himselfe mangled and cut in peeces, to have a bullet pluckt out of his bones, to suffer incisions, his flesh to be sticht-vp, cauterized, and searched, all incident to a martiall man; how shall we purchase the advantage and preheminance, which we so greedily seek-after, over the vulgar sort? It is far from avoiding the evill and paines of it, as wise men say, that of actions equally good, one should most be wished to be done, wherein is most paine and griefe. *Non enim hilaritate nec lascivia risu aut ioco comite levitatis, sed saepe etiam tristes firmitate & Cic. de fin. lib. 2. constantia sunt beati. For men are not happy by mirthfulness, or wantonnesse, or laughing, or iesting, which is the companion of lightnesse; but often, even those that are sorrowfull, through their strong heart and constancie*. And therefore was it impossible to perswade our fathers, that conquests atchieved by maine force, in the hazard of warre were not more available and advantageous, then those obtained in all securitie by practises and stratagemes.

Laetius est, quoties magno sibi constat honestum. Luca. [...] 9. 40.

Honestie makes chieftest cheare,  
When it doth cost it selfe most deare.

Moreover, this ought to comfort vs, that naturally, if paine be violent, it is also short; if Cic. de fin. lib. 2. Epic. long, it is easie: *Si gravis, brevis [...]; si longus, levis. If it be grievous, it is short; if it be long, it is light*. Thou shalt not feel-it over long; if thou feel-it over much, it will either end it selfe, or end thee: All comes to one: If thou beare not it, it will beare thee away ■ *Memineris maximos morte finiri, parvos multa habere intervalla requietis; mediocrium nos esse dominos: vt si tolerabiles Lib. 1. sint, feram [...]: sin minus, è vita, quum ea non placeat, tanquam è theatro exeamus. Remember the greatest are ended with death, the lesser have many pauses of rest; we are masters of the meane ones: so 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 chiefe contentment in the soule, and that we do not sufficiently relie on hir; who is the onely, and soveraigne mistress of our condition. The bodie hath (except the least or most) but one course, and one by ase. The soule is variable in all maner of formes, and rangeth to her selfe, and to her estate, whatsoever it be, the senses of the bodie, and all other accidents. Therefore must she be studied, enquired, and sought-after: and her powerfull springs and wardes should be rowzed vp. There is neither reason, nor prescription, nor force can availe against her inclination and cho [...]. Of so infinit byases, that she hath in her disposition, let vs allow hir one sutable and fit to our rest and preservation: Then shall we not onely be sheltered from all offence, but if it please her, also gratified and flattered of all grievances and evils. She indifferently makes profit of all; even errors and dreames, doe profitably bestead her, as a loyall matter, to bring-vs vnto safetie and contentment. It may easilie be seen, that the point of our spirit, is that which sharpneth both paine and pleasure in vs. Beasts wanting the same, leave their free and naturall senses vnto their bodies: and by consequence, single well nigh in every kind, as they shew by the semblable application of their movings. If in our members we did not trouble the jurisdiction, which in that belongs vnto them; it may be thought, we should be the better for-it, and that nature hath given them a just and moderate temperature toward pleasure and toward paine. And it can not chuse but be good and just, being equall and common. But since we have freed and alienated our selves from her rules, to abandon our selves vnto the vagabond libertie of our fantasies: let vs at least help to bend them to the most agreeing side. *Plato* feareth our sharp engaging vnto paine and voluptuousnesse, forsomuch as he over-strictly

tieth and bindeth the soule vnto the bodie: I am rather opposite vnto him, because it is sundred and loosed from it. Even as an enemie becommeth more furious when we flie from him, so doth paine grow more proud if it see-vs tremble vnder it. It will stoope and yeeld vpon better compositions to him that shall make head against-it. A man must oppose and bandie against it. In recoyling and giving ground, we call and draw on, the ruine threatning-vs. Even as the bodie is more steadie and stronge to a charge, if it stand stiffely to it, so is the soule. But let vs come to examples properly belonging vnto weak-backt men, as I am, where we shall find, that it is with paine, as with stones, 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 doluerunt, quantum doloribus se inseruerunt.* August. *So much they grieved, as they interested themselves in griefes.* We feel a dash of a chirurgions [132]razor more then ten blews with a sword in the heat of fight. The painfull throwes of childbearing, deemed both by Phisitians, and by the word of God to be ver [...e] great, and which our women passe with so many ceremonies, there are whole Nations that make no reckoning of them. I omit to speake of the *Lacedemonian* women; but come we to the *Swizzers* of our Infanterie, what change doe you perceiue in them? But that trudging and trotting after their husbands, to day you see them carrie the child about their necke, which but yesterday they bare in their wombe. And those counterfet roging Gyptians, whereof so many are daily seene amongst vs, doe they not wash their children so soone as they are borne? And in the next river that comes to hand? Besides so many harlots, which daily steal their children in the deliuerie as in the conception. The heauteous and noble Ladie of *Sabinus* a Roman Patritian, for the interest of others, did alone, without any bodies help or assistance, and without noise or groning endure the bearing, and deliuerie of two twins. A simple lad of *Lacedemon*, having stolne a Foxe (for they more feared the shame of their foolishnesse in stealing, then we feare the paine or punishment of mis deeds) and hiding the same vnder his cloake, endured rather to have his guts gnawne out by hir, then to discover himselfe. An other who offering incense at a sacrifice, suffered his flesh to burne to the bone, by a coale falne into his sleeve, rather then he would trouble that sacred mysteri [...]. And a great number have been seen, for the onely essay of vertue, following their institution, that at the age of seaven yeares, without so much as changing their countenance, have indured to be whipped to death. And *Cicero* hath seen whole troups, to beat one a [...] other so long, Cic Tuse quaest. lib. 5. with their [...]sts, with their feet, and with their teeth, till they have fainted and falne downe halfe dead, before ever they would confesse to be overcome. *Nunquam [...] m [...]s vi [...]ceret, est enim ea semper invicta, sed nos vmbris, deli [...]ijs, otio, languore, desid [...], animum infecimus: opinionibus maloque more delinitum mollivimus.* *Customes should never overcome nature, for she is still invincible: but we have infected our mind with shadowes, daintinesse, idlenesse, faint ▪ hartednesse, sloughfulness, and have effeminated it, inveagled with opinions, and evill custome.* Every man knowes the storie of *S [...]vola*, who being entred the enemies campe, with a full resolution to kill their Chieftaine, and having missed of his purpose, to checke his effect with a stranger invention, and to cleare his countrie, confessed vnto *Prosenna*, (who was the King he intended to kill) not onely his desaigne, but added moreover, that in his campe there were a great many Romanes, who had vndertaken and sworne the verie same enterprize, and were confederates with him. And to make shew of his dreadlesse magnanimitie, having caused a pan of burning coales to be brought, he saw and suffred his right arme (in penance that it had not effected his project) to be par [...]hed and wel-nigh roasted off: vntill such time as his enemie himselfe, feeling a kind of remorse full horror, commaunded the fire to be caried away. What shall we say of him, that would not vouchsafe to leave, or so much as to interrupt the reading of his booke, whil'st he had an incision made into him? And of him who resolved to skoffe and laugh, even in spight and contempt of the tortures, which were inflicted vpon him, so that the raging crueltie of the hangmen, that held him, and all the inventions of torments that could be devised, being redoubled vpon him, one in the necke of another, gave him over? But he was a Philosopher. What? of one of *Caesars*

gladiators, who with a cheerefull and smiling countenance endured his wounds to be slit and sounded? *Quis mediocris gladiator ingemuit? Quis vultum mutavit vnquam? Quis non modò stet [...], verùm Cic. Tuse quaest. lib. 2. etiam decubuit turpiter? Quis [...]*ùm decubisset, ferrum recipere [...]ssus, collum contraxit? What meane Fencer hath once gro [...]ed? Which of them hath once changed his countenance? Which of them not onely hath s [...]ood vp, but even falne 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 fresher hew of a new skin, endured to have hir face flead all over? There are some, who being [...]ound, and in perfit health, have had some teeth puld-out, thereby to frame a daintier and more pleasing voyce, or to set them in better order. How many examples of contempt of paine or smart have we of that kind and sex? What can they not doe? What will they not doe? What feare they to doe? So they may but hope for some amendment of their beautie?

Uellere queis cura est albos à stirpe capillos, Tibul. lib. [...]. [...].l. [...]. 43.  
Et faci [...]m dempta pelle r [...]ferre novam.

[133]

Who take great care to roote out their gray haire,  
And skinne fleade off a new face to repaire.

I haue seene some swallow gravell, ashes, coles, dust, tallow, candles, and for the no [...]ce, labour and toyle themselves to spoile their stomacke, onely to get a pale bleake colour. To become slender in wast, and to have a straight spagnolized body, what pinching, what guirding, what cingling will they not indure; Yea sometimes with yron-plates, with whalebones, and other such trash, that their very skinne, and quicke flesh is eaten-in and consumed to the bones; Whereby they sometimes worke their owne death. It is common to divers nations of our times, to hurte and gash themselves in good earnest, to give credit to their words. And our king reporteth sundrie examples, of what himselfe sawe in *Poloni [...]*, and towards himselfe, But besides what I know to have by some been imitated in *France*; when I came from the famous Parliament of *Blois*; I had a little before seene a wench in *Picardi [...]* to witnes the vehemencie of hir promises, and also hir constancie, with the bodkin she wore in hir haire, to give hir-selfe foure or five thrusts in hir arme, which made hir skinne to crack and gush out blood. The *Turkes* are wont to wound and scarre themselves for their Ladies sakes, and that the marke may the better appeare, and continue the longer, they wil presently lay fire vpon the cuttes; and to stanch the blood, and better to forme the cicatrice, they will keepe-it on, an incredible while. Honest men that have seene it, have written the same, and sworne it vnto me. And for ten Aspers you shall dayly finde some amongst them, that will give themselves a deepe gash with a Scimitarie, either in their armes or thighes. I am very glad witnesses are so readie at hand; where we have most need of them: For, Christendome affordeth many. And after the example of our holy guide, there have beene divers, who for devotion would needes beare the crosse. We learne by a worthy testimonie of relig [...]on, that Saint *Lewes* the King wore a haire-shirt, vntill such time as he was so aged, that his confessor gave him a dispensation for-it; and that every friday he caused his priests to beate his shoulders with five little yron chaines, which to that purpose were ever caried with his nightgeare. *William* our last duke of *Guienne*, father to that *Eleonore*, who transferred that Dutchie vnto the houses of *France* and *England*, the last ten or twelve yeares of his life, for penancesake wore continually a cor [...]elet, vnder a religious habit. *Foulkes* Earle of A [...]ou went to Ierusalem, there with a rope about his necke, to be whiped by two of his servants, before our Saviours sepulchre. Do we not vpon every good-friday, in sundrie places, see a great number of men and women, scourge and beate themselves so long till they bruse and teare their flesh, even to the bones; I have often seene it my selfe, and that without

enchantment, And some say (for they are masked) there were some amongst them, who for monie would vndertake thereby to warrant other mens religion, by a contempt of smart full paine, so much the greater, by how much the stings of devotion are of more force, th [...] those of covetousnes. *Q. Maximus* buried his son who had beene Consul: *Marcus Ca [...]* Jo his being elected Pretor and *L. Paulus* both his, within few daies, with so cheerefull and settled a countenance, and with out any shew of sorrowe. I have sometimes by way of [...]esting tolde one, that he had confronted divine iustice: For, the violent death of three tall children of his, comming vnto his cares all vpon one day, and sent-him, as it may be imagined, as a great scourge: he was so farre from mourning, that he rather tooke it as a favour and singular gratification at Gods hande. I doe not follow these monstrous humors. Yet have I lost two or three my selfe, whilst they were yong and at nurce, if not without apprehension of sorrow; ‘yet without continuance of grieffe. And *there is no accident woundeth men ac [...]*p [...]r, or *goeth so neere the heart, as the losse of children*. I see divers other common occasions of affliction, which were I assailed by them,’ I should scarcely feele. And I have contemned and neglected some, when it hath pleased God to visit me with them, on which the world setteth so vglie and balefull a countenance, that I hardly dare boast of them without blushing. *Ex quo intelligitur, non in natura, Cic. ib. l 3. sed in opinione esse aegretudinem.* ‘Whereby it is vnderstood, that grieffe consisteth not in nature, but opinion. Opinion is a power full, boold, and vnmeasurable party. Who doth ever so greedily search after rest full ease and quietnes, as *Alexander* and *Caesar* have done after difficulties & vnquietnes [...]e? *Terez*, the father of *Sitalcez*, was woont to say, *that when he had no [...]*jarres, hee’ thought there was no difference betweene him and his horse-keeper. *Cato* the Consull, to assure himselfe of certaine townes in *Spaine*, having onely interdicted some of their inhabitants to wea [...]e armes, many of them killed themselves: *Ferox gens nullam vitam rat [...]* sine arm [...]s [...]sse. A [134] fierce kinde of people, that thought there was no life without armes. How many knowe wee who have abandoned and forsaken the pleasure of an ease-full and quiet life in their houses, and to live with their friends & acquaintance; to follow the toyling-horror of vnfrequented deserts, and that yeelded and cast themselves vnto the abiectnesse, contempt and vilifying of the world, wherewith they have so pleased themselves, as nothing more; *Cardinall Boreme [...]*s, who died lately at *Milane*, in the midst of the pleasures and debawches to which his Nobility, and the great riches he possessed, enticed him, and the ayre of *Italy* afforded him, and his youth allured him, did ever keep himself in so an austere forme of life, that the same gown which served him in Summer he wore in winter. He never lay but vpon strawe; the houres which he might conveniently spare from his charge; he bestowed in continuall study, ever kneeling, and having a smal quantitie 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 wittingly have drawne both profit and preferment from cuckoldrie, the only name wherof is so yrkesome & bail-ful to so many men. If sight be not the most necessary of our senses, at last is it the most pleasing: the most plausible and profitable of our members, seeme those that serve to beget vs: not withstanding divers have mortally hated them, only because they were over mucham [...]able, and for their worthssake have reiected them. So thought he of his e [...]es, that voluntarily put them out. The most common and [...]oundest part of men, holdeth multitude of children to be a signe of great happinesse and comfort; So doe I, and many others, the want of them. And when *Thales* was demaunded *Wherefore he did not marie*, he answered, *because he would leave no issue or line of himselfe behinde him*. That our opinon endeareth and encreaseth the price of things, it is seene in a great number of them, which we doe not regard to esteeme them; but for our vse. And we neither consider their qualities nor vtilities, but only our cost to recover and attaine them: as if it were a part of their substance; and we call that worth in them, not what they bring-vs, but what we bring to them. According as it weigheth, and is of consequence, so it serveth. Whervpon I perceive, we are thriftie husbands of what we lay out. Our opinion never suffers-it to runne a false gallop. *The price giveth a Diamond his title, difficultie to*



*vertue, paine vnto devotion, and sharpenesse vnto phisicke.* Such a one to come vnto povertie, cast those fewe crownes he had into the same sea, wherein so many others, with such carke, danger, and care, on all parts seeke to fish for riches. *Epicurus* saith, *that to be rich is no [...]*ase, but a charge of *affaires*. Verily, it is not want, but rather plenty that causeth avarice. I will speake of mine owne experience, concerning this subiect. I have lived in three kinds of condition, since I came out of my infancie. The first time, which continued well-nigh twenty yeeres, I have passt-it over, as one who had no other means but casuall, and depending from the direction and helpe of others; without any certaine maintenance, or regular prescription. My expences were so much the more carelessly layed-out, and lavishly employed, by how much more they wholly depended on fortunes rashnesse and exhibition. I never lived so well at case: my fortune was never to finde my friends purse s [...]*lutte*: 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 satisfie them. So that I had gotten vnto my selfe the credite of a thriftie kind of good husbandry, though it were somthing shifting and deceiptful. I do naturally feele a kinde of pleasing contentment in paying of my debts, as if I ridde my selfe of a burthenous weight, and free my selfe from the yoake of bondage and ingratitude. Besides, me-thinks I feele a kind of delight, that tickleth me to the quick, in performing a lawfully-iust action, & contenting of others. I except payments that require delays, covenants, & after reckonings: for, if I [...]*d* any body that will vndertake them, I blusningly and iniuriously deferre them as long as I can, for feare of that altercation or wrangling, to which my humor and maner of speach is altogether incompatible. There is nothing I hate more then driving of bargaines: It is a meere commerce of dodging and impudencie. After an houres debating and paltring, both parties will goe from their wordes and oathes for the getting or saving of a shilling: yet did I borrow with great disadvantage. For, having no heart to borrow before others, or by word of mouth, I would adventure it vpon a piece of paper, which with some hath no great power to move or force to perswade, and which greatly helps to refuse, I was wont to commit the succesle of my wants more freely and more carelessly vnto fortune, then I have done since vnto my wit and providence. Most good-husbands thinke-it strange and horrible to live on such vncertainties [135]but they remember not, that most men in the world live so. How many good and well-borne men have heeretofore, and are dayly seene to neglect and leave at six and seaven, their patrimonies and certaine goods, to follow and seeke after court holy water, and wavering-favours of Princes and of fortune; *Caesar* engaged and endebted himselfe about a million of gold, more then he was worth to become *Caesar*. And how many marchants and poore beginners, set-vp and beginne their traffike by the sale of their farmes or cottages which they venter to the *Indias* ■

Tot per impotentia freta; Catul. epig. 4. 18

In so greate scarsitie of devotion, we have thousands of Colledges, which passe the time very conveniently, dayly gaping and expecting from the liberalitie of the heavens, what they must dine withall to morrow. Secondly; they consider not, that this certaintie on which they ground themselves; is not much lesse vncertain and hazardous, then hazad it-selfe. I see miserie as neere beyond two thousand crownesrent, 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 thickest of our riches, and that often there is no meane betwene the high est and lowest fortune.

Fortuna [...]*itrea* est: tum ■ quum splendet, frangitur. Pr [...] Sene [...]*f* ■

Fortune is glasse-like, brittle as t'is bright:  
Light-gon, Light-broken, when it lends best light.

And to turne all our defences, and raisings of high walles topsie-turvie: I find that want and necessitie is by diverse or different causes, as ordinarily seene to accompany and follow those that are rich in goods, as those that have none at all: & that peradventure it is somewhat lesse incommodious, when it is alone, then when it meeteth with riches: They rather come from order, then from receite: *Faber est suae quisque fortunae. Ever, man is the forger of his Eras. chil 2. cent. 4. [...].id. 63. owne fortune.* And me thinkes that a rich man, who is needie, full of businesse, carke and toyle, and troubled in minde, is more miserable, then he that is simply poore. *In div [...].ijs inopes, Sen. epist. 74. P. quod ■ genus egestatis gravissium est. In their aboundance indigent, which is the most grievous kinde of indigence.* The richest and greatest princes are ordinarily vrged by povertie and neede vnto extreame necessities. For, can any be more extreame, then thereby to become Tirants, and vniust vsurpers of their subiects goods, My second manner of life hath beene to have mony; which when I had once fingred, according to my condition I sought to hoord vp some against a raignie day; esteeming that it was no having, vnlesse a man had-ever some what besides his ordinary expences 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 wayes be prevented. For, I would say vnto my selfe; what if I should be surprised by this chance, o [...] that accident? What should I do then? And in pursuite of these vaine and vicious imaginations, I endeoured by hooke or crooke, and by wi [...]e or wit to provide by this superfluous sparing for all inconveniences that might happen: And I could answere him, that would alleadge the number of inconveniences to be ouer-infinite? which if they followed not all men, they accompanied some, and happily the greatest number. An apprehension which I did not passe with out some painefull care. I kept the matter secret, and I (that dare say so much of myselfe) would never speake of my money but falsely; as others doe, who being rich, would seeme to be poore, or beeing poore would appeare rich: and dispence with their conscience, never to wnesse sincerelie what they are worth. Oh ridiculous and shamefull prudence. Did I travell any where? me thought I was never sufficiently provided; and the more I had laden my selfe with coine, the more I had also burthened myselfe with feare: sometimes of my wayes-safetie, othertimes of their trust that had the charge of my sumpters and baggage, whereof as some others that I know, me thought I was never throughly assured, except it were still in my sight. Left I my keyes or my purse behind me? how many suspitions and thornie imaginations, and which is worse, incommunicable did vncessantly haunt-me? My minde was ever on my halfePENNEY; my thoughts ever that way. *The summe being rightly cast, there is ever more paine in keeping, then in getting of mony.* If I did not altogether so much as I say, I at the least endeoured to do-it. Of commodity I had little or nothing. To have more meanes of expences, is ever to have encrease of sorrow. For (as *said Bion*) *The hairy man doth grieve as much a [...] the bald, if he have his haire [136] pulld out.* And after you are once accustomed, and have fixed your thoughts vpon a heape 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 thinke it will all fall. Necessitie must first pinch you by the throate, and touch you neere, before you will lay handes on it. And I should sooner pawne my clothes, or sell my horse, with lesse care and compulsion, then make a breach into that beloved purse, which I kept in store. But the danger was, that a man can hardly prefix any certaine limits vnto his desire (they are hard to be found in things a man deemeth good) and continue at one stay in sparing: A man shall ever encrease this heape, and augment-it from one number to another; yea so long, til he basely and niggardly deprive himselfe of the enjoying of his owne goods, and wholly fix-it on the safe-keeping of them, and never vse them. According to this kind of vsage, those are the richest people of the world, that have the charge of keeping the gates and walles of a rich Cittie. Every monied man is covetous, according to mine opinion. *Plato* marshalleth this humane or corporall goods; *health, beautie, strength, riches: And riches, saith he, are not blind, but cleere-seeing, if they be illuminated by wisdom.* *Dionysius* the yonger, plaide a notable parte; who being advertised,

that one of his *Siracusans*, had hidden a certayn treasure vnder the ground, commanded him to bring it vnto him, which he did, reserving secretly one part of it vnto himselfe, with which hee removed his dwelling vnto another Citie, where having lost the humor of hoarding-vp of treasure, beganne to live a spending and riotous kinde of life: which *Dionysius* hearing, commanded the remainder of his treasure, and which he had taken from him, to be restored vnto him; saying, *That sit hence he had learned how to make vse of it, hee did most willingly redeliver the same vnto him.* I was some yeares of the same humour: I wot not what good *Demon* did most profitably remove me from it, like to the *Siracusan*, and made me to neglect my sparing. The pleasure I apprehended of a farre and chargeable journey, having overthrowne this foolish imagination in me; From which I am falne into a third kinde of life (I speake what I thinke of it) assuredly much more pleasing and formall: which is, that I measure my garment according to my cloth, and let my expences goe together with my comming in; sometimes the one, other-whilst the other exceedes: But they are never farre a sunder. I live from hand to mouth, from day to day, and have I but to supply my present and ordinarie needs, I am satisfied: As for extraordinarie wants, all the provisions of the world will not suffice them. And it is folly to expect that fortune will ever sufficiently arme vs against her-selfe. It is with our owne weapons that we must combate her. Casuall armes will betray vs, when we shall have most need 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 cupidum, pecunia est: non esse emacem, vectigal est. It is currant coine, not to be covetous: it is a thriftie income, not to* Cis. Parad. [...]]s. *be still buying.* I am neither possessed with feare, that my goods shall faile me, nor with desire they should encrease and multiplie. *Divitiarum fructus est in copia: copiam declarat satietas. The fruite of riches is in plentie: sacietie content with enough approoves that plentie.* And I singularlyIbid. gratifie my selfe this correction came vpon me in an age naturally enclined to covetousnesse, 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 passed through both fortunes, & found, that encrease of goods, was no accrease of appetite, to drinke, to eate, to sleepe, or to embrace his wife; and who on the other side felt heavily on his shoulders, the importunitie of ordering and directing his O [...]conomicall affaires, as it doth on mine, determine with himselfe to content a poore yoong 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 everie day to get by the liberalitie and bountie of his good master *Cyrus*, and by warre: alwayes provided, hee should vndertake to entertaine and finde-him honestly, and in good sort, as his guest and friend. In which estate they lived afterward most happily, and mutually content with the change of their condition.

Loe heare 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 clearely given-over his purse, his receites, and his expences, now to one of his chosen servants, and now to another, that he hath lived many yeares as ignorant of his housholde affaires, as any stranger. The confidence in others honestie, is no light testimonie of ones owne integritie: therfore doth God willingly favourit. [137]And for his regard, I see no houshold 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 consultation or meetings may in any sorte interrupt other affaires or disturbe other occupations, which he followeth, more convenient, more quier, and better agreeing with his heart. Therefore doth ease and indigencie depend from every mans owne opinion; and wealth and riches no more then glorie or health, have either more preheminance or pleasure, then he who possesseth them, lendeth them. Every man is either well or ill, according as he findes himselfe. Not he whom another 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 seede and

matter of it, which our minde more powerfull then she, turneth and applieth as best it pleaseth: as the efficient cause and mistress of condition, whether happie or unhappie. Externall accessions take both savor and color from the internall constitution: As garments do not warme-vs by their heate, but by ours, which they are fit to cover, and nourish: he 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 summmer. Verily as vnto an idle and lazie body, studie is but a torment; abstinence from wine to a drunkard, is a vexation; frugalitie is a hart's sorrowe to the luxurious; and exercise molesteth an effeminate body: so is it of all things else. Things are not of themselves so irksome, nor so hard, but our basenes, and weakenesse maketh them such. To iudge of high land great matters, a high and great minde is required; otherwise we attribute that vice vnto them, which indeede is ours. A straight oare 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 same. Well, of so many discourses, which diversly perswade men to contemne death, and patiently to endure paine, why shall we not finde some on to make for our purpose; And of so severall and many kinds of imaginations, that have perswaded the same 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 abstersive drugge, for to remove his evill, let him at least take a lenitive pill to [...]ase the same. *Opinio est quaedum effoeminata ac lev [...]: nec in dolore magis, quam Cic. Tuse. quest lib. 2. eadem in voluptate: quâ, quum liquescimus flu [...]* *qm [...]* *sq*ue *mollitia, apis aculeum fûe clamore ferre non possumus. Totum in eo est, vt tibi imperes. There is a certaine effeminate and light opinion, and that no more in sorrow, then it is in pleasure, where by when we melt and runne over in daintie tendernes, we cannot abide to be stung of a Bee, but must rore and crie out. This is the totall summe of all, that you be maister of your selfe.* Moreouer, a man doth not escape from Philosophie, by making the sharpnes of paines, and humane weakenesse to prevaile so far beyond measure: for, she is compelled to cast hirsselfe over againe vnto these in vincible replication. If it be bad to live in necessitie, at least there is no necessitie, to live innecessitie. 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 nither 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 vniversall, and of most men received is the care of reputation, and studie of glorie, to which we are so wedded, that we neglect, and castoff riches, friends, repose, life and health (goods effectuall and substantiall) to follow that vaine image, and idlie-simple voice, which hath neither bodie, nor hold-fast.

Lafama, ch [...]inuaghisce à vn dolce suon [...] [...]ass. G [...]r. can. 14.

Glisuperbi mortali, & par si bella,  
Evn echo, vn sogno, anzid vn sogn [...] vn o [...]bra,  
Ch [...]dogn [...] vent [...] si dilegua & sg [...]mbra,

[138]

Fame that enveagl's high aspiring men  
With hir harmonious sound, and seemes so faire,  
An Eccho is, a dreame, dreames shadow rather  
Which flies and fleetes as any winde doth gather.

And of mens vnreasonable humors, it seemeth, that the best philosophers doe most slowly, and more vnwillingly cleare themselves of this, then of another: it is the most peevish the most froward, and the most opinative. *Quia etiam bene proficientes animos tentare non cessat. Cic. pro. Arc. po. Because it ceaseth not to tempt even those Mindes that profite best.*

There are not many whereof reason doth so evidently condemne vanitie, but it is so deeply rooted in vs, as I wot not whether any man could ever clearely discharge himselfe of it. When you have alleaged all the reasons you can, and believed all to disavowe and reiect hir, she produceth contrary to your discourses, so intestine inclination, that you have small hold against hir. For (as *Cicero* saith,) *Even those that oppugne hir, will neverthesse have the bookes they write against hir, to beare their names vpon their fronts, endeavoring to make themselves glorious by dispisi [...]g of glory.* Al other things fall within the compasse of commerce: we lend our goods, we employ our lives, if our friends stand in need of-vs: But seldome shall we see a man communicate his honor, share his reputation, and imparte his glory vnto others. *Catulus Luctatius* in the warres against the Cymbres, having done the vtmost of his endeoures to stay his souldiers that fled before their enemies, put-himselfe amongst the runne-awaies, and dissembled to bee a coward, that so they might rather seeme to follow their Captaine, then flie from the enemy: This was a neglecting and leaving off his reputation, to conceale the shame and reproach of other. When *Charles* the fift passed into *Provence*, the yeare a thousand five hundred thirty seaven, some are of opinion, that *Anthony de Leva*, seeing the emperor his master resolutely obstinate to vndertake that voyage, & deeming it wonderfully glorious, maintained neverthesse the contrary, and discourcelled him from-it, to the end all the honour and glory of this counsell might be attributed vnto his Maister; and that it might be said, his good advise and fore-sight to have been such, that contrary to al mens opinions, he had atchieved so glorious an enterprise: Which was, to honor and magnifie him at his owne charges. The Thracian Ambassadors comforting *Achileonida* the Mother of *Brasidas*, for the death of hir son, and highly extolling and commending him, said, he had not left his equall behind him. She refused this private commendation, and particular praise, assigne-it to the publike 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 battaile of *Creedy*, *Edward* the blacke Prince of *Wales*, being yet very yoong, had the leading of the vant-gard: The greatest and chiefe violence of the fight, was in his quarter: The Lordes and Captains that accompanied him, perceiving the great danger, sent vnto King *Edward* the princes father, to come and help them: which when he hard, 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 goe now, and deprive him of the honor of this combates, victory, which he already hath so long sustained; what danger soever there be in-it, it shall wholly be his:* and would neither goe nor send vnto him: knowing, that if he had gone, or sent, it would have beene said, that without his ayd all had beene lost, and that the advantage of this exployt would have beene ascribed vnto him. *Semper enim quod postremum adiectum est, id rem totam videtur traxisse.* For, ever more that which was last added, seemes to have drawne on the whole matter. In *Rome* many thought, and it was commonly spoken, that the chieftest glorious deeds of *Scipio*, were partely due vnto *Lalius*, who notwithstanding did ever advance the greatnesse, further the glory, and second the renowne of *Scipio*, without any respect of his owne. And *Theopompus* King of *Sparta*, to one who tolde him that the common-wealth should subsist and continue still, forsomuch 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 Peere-domes of *France*, had (notwithstanding their sex [...]) right to assist, and priviledge to plead in cases appertaining to the iuridictions, of Peeres. So the Ecclesiasticall Peeres, notwithstanding their profession and function, were bound to assist our Kings in their warres, not onely with hir friends, servants, and tenants, but in their owne person. The Bishop of *Beauvais*, being with *Philip Augustus* in the battell of *Bovines*, did very courageously take part with him in the effect; but thought hee should not be partaker of the fruite and glory of that bloody and violent exercise. He overcame, and forced [139]that day many of the enimies to yeeld, whom he delivered vnto the first gentleman hee met withall, to riffe, to take them prisoners, or at their pleasure to dispose of them. Which he also did with *William Earle of Salisbury*, whom he delivered vnto the Lord *John of Neste*,

with a semblable subtletie of conscience, vnto this other. He desired to fell and strike down a man, but not to wound or hurt him: and therefore never sought but with a great clubbe. A man in my time being accused to the King, to have laide violent hands vpon a Priest, denied it very stoutly, forsomuch as he had onely thumped and trampled him with his feete.

### **The two and fortieth Chapter. Of the inequalitie that is betweene vs.**

*Plutarke* saith 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 sufficiencie of the minde, and of internall 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 could finde in my heart to endeaure 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 praestat! T [...].r. Ph [...].r. act. 5. sc. 3.

O Sir, how much hath one,  
An other man out-gone?

And that there be so many degrees of spirits, 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 its proper qualities. We commend a horse, because he is strong and nimble, I [...].en. sat. 8. 57

— volucrem  
Sic laudamus equum, facili cui plurima palma  
Fervet, & exultat rauco victoria circo.

We praise the horse, that beares most belles with flying,  
And triumphs most in races, hoarce with crying,

and not for his furniture: a graie-hound for his swiftnesse, not for his choller: a hawke for hir wing, not for hir 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 pallace 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 wil take his saddle and clothes from him, you will see him bare and abroad: or if he be covered as in old times they wont to present them vnto Princes to be sold, it is onely his least necessary parts, lest you should amuse 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 considered and required in him,

Regibus hic mos est, vbi equos mercantur, apertos Ho l. 1. sat [...]. 86  
Inspiciunt, ne si facies, vt saepe, decora  
Molli ful [...]a pede est, emptorem inducat hiantem,  
Quòd pulchrae clunes, breve quòd caput, ardua cervix.

This is Kings maner, when they horses buy,  
They see them bare, lest if, as oft we try,  
Faire face have soft hoofes, gull'd the buyer be,  
They buttockes round, short head, high crest may see.

When you will esteeme a man, why should you survey him all wrapt, and envelloped? He then but sheweth vs those parts, which are no whit his owne: and hideth those from vs, by which alone his woorth is to be judged. It is the goodnesse of the sworde you seeke after, and not the worth of the scabbard; for which peradventure you would not give a farthing, [140]if it want his lyming. A man should be iudged by himselfe, and not by his complements. And as an ancient saith very pleasantly: Doe you know wherefore you esteeme him tall. You account the height of his pattens: The Base is no part of his stature: Measure him without his stiltes. Let him lay aside his riches and externall honors, and shew himselfe in his shirt. Hath he a body proper to his functions, sound and cheerefull? What minde hath he? Is it faire, capable and vnpolluted, and happily provided with all hir necessarie parts? Is shee rich of hir owne, or of others goods? Hath fortune nothing of hers to survay therein? If broade-waking she will looke vpon a naked sword: If shee care not which way hir life goeth from hir, whether by the mouth or by the throte; whether it be settled, equable, and contented: It is that a man must see and consider, and thereby judge the extreame differences that are betweene vs: Is he

—sapiens, sibi que imperiosus,  
 Quem neque pauperies, neque mors, neque vin [...]ula terrent, Li. 2. sat. 7. 83.  
 Responsare cupidinibus, contemnere honores  
 Fortis, & in s [...]ipso totus teres atque rotundus,  
 Externi ne quid valeat per l [...]ue morari,  
 In quem manca ruit semper fortuna?—

A wise man, of himselfe commander high,  
 Whom want, nor death, nor bands can terrifie,  
 Resol [...]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 assay.

Such a man is five hundred degrees beyond kingdomes and principalities: Himselfe is a kingdome vnto himselfe.

Sapiens polipse singit fortunam sibi. Plan. Tr [...]n. act. 2. scen. 2.

Trust me, who beares a wise mans name,  
 His fortune to himselfe may frame.

What is there else for him to wish for?

—nónne videmus Lu [...]r. li. 2. 15.  
 Nil aliud sibi naturam latrare, nisi vt quoi  
 Corpore seiunctus dolor absit, mente fruatur,  
 Iucundo sensu cura se [...]otus metúque?

See we not nature nothing else doth barke  
 Vnto hir-selfe, but he, whose bodies barke  
 Is free from paines-touch, should his minde enjoy,  
 Remo'd from care and feare, with sense of joy?

Compare the vulgar troupes of our men vnto him, stupide, base, servile, wavering, and continually floting on the tempestuous Ocean of divers passions, which tosse and retosse the same, wholly depending of others: There is more difference, then is betweene heaven and earth, and yet such is the blindnesse of our custome, that we make little or no account of it. Whereas, if we consider a Cottager & a King, a noble and a handy-crafts man, a magistrate and a private man, a rich man and a poore; an extreame disparitie doth immediatly present it self vnto our eies, which, as a man may say, differ in nothing, but in their clothes. In *Thrace*.

the King was after a pleasant maner distinguished from his people, and which was much endeared: He had a religion apart: a God severall vnto himselfe, whom his subjects might no waies adore: It was *Mercurie*: And he disdained their gods, which were *Mars*, *Bacchus*, and *Diana*; yet are they but pictures, which make no essential dissemblance. For, as enterludeplaiers, you shall now see them on the stage, play a King, an Emperor, or a Duke, but they are no soner off the stage, but they are base rascals, vagabond objects, and portlerly hirelings, which is their naturall and originall condition: Even so the Emperor, whose glorious pomp doth so dazle you in publike:

Scilicet & grandes viridi cum luc [...] s [...]aragdi Luer. li▪ 4. 117.  
Auro includuntur, teritúrque Thalassina vestis  
Assidué, & Ueneris sudorem exercita potat.

Great emerald's with their grasse-greene-light in gold  
[141] Are clos'd, nor long can marriage linnen holde,  
But worne with vse and heate  
of Venerie drink's the sweate.

View him behinde the curtaine, and you see but an ordinarie man, and peradventure more vile, and more seely, then the least of his subiects. *Ille beatus introrsum est; istius bracteata f [...] licit S [...]. [...]pi [...]. 115. as est. One is inwardly happy: an others f [...]licitie is plated and guilt-over.* Cowardise, irresolution, ambition, spight, anger, and envie, moove and worke in him as in another:

Non enim gazae, neque consularis H [...] . 1. 2. [...]. 16. 9  
Summou [...]t lictor, miseros tumultus  
Mentis & curas laqueata circum  
—Tecta voluntas:

Nor treasures, nor Maires officers remoove  
The miserable tumults of the minde,  
Or cares that lie about, or flie above  
Their high-rooft houses with huge beames combinde.

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

Reveráque met us hominum, curae (que) sequaces, Lu [...] . 1. 2. 46.  
Nec metuunt sonitus armorum, nec fera tela,  
Audactérque inter reges, rerúmque potentes  
Versantur, neque fulgorem reverentur ab aur [...].

Indeed mens still-attending cares and feare,  
Nor armor's clashing, nor fierce weapons feare,  
With Kings converse they boldly, and kings peeres,  
Fearing no lightning that from golde appeeres.

Doth the ague, the megrim, or the gout 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 assaile him, can he be comforted by the assistance of the gentlemen of his chamber? If he chance to be jealous or capricious, will our lowtingcurtzie, or putting off of hattes, bring him in tune againe? His bedstead enchased all with gold and pearles hath no vertue to allay the pinching pangues of the cholike.



Nec calidae citius decedunt corpore febres, Id. ib. 34.  
Tex [...]ilibus si in picturis ostróque rubenti  
lacteris, quàm si plebeia in veste cubandum est.

Feavers no sooner from thy bodie flie  
If thou on arras or red scarlet lie  
Tossing, then if thou rest  
On coverlets home-drest.

The flatterers of *Alexander* the great, made him beleieve, that he was the sonne of *Iupiter*; but being one day sore-hurt, and seeing the blood gush out of his wounds: *And what thinke you of this?* (Said he vnto them) *Is not this blood of a lively red hew, and meerely humane?* Me thinkes, it is not of that temper, which *Homer* faineth to trill from the gods wounds. *Hermodorus* the Poet made certaine verses in honour of *Antigonus*, in which he called him the sonne of *Phoebus*; to whom he replied; *My friend, He that emptieth my close-stoole knoweth well, there is no such matter.* He is but a man at all assaies: And if of himselfe he be a man ill borne, the Empire of the whole world cannot restore him.

—puella Pers. sat. 2. 37. Hunc rapiant, quicquid calcaverit, hic rosa fiat.

Wenches must ravish him, what ever he  
Shall treade vpon, eftsoones a rose must be.

What of that? If he be of a grose, stupide, and senseles minde: voluptuousnesse and good fortune it selfe, are not perceived without vigor, wit, and livenessse.

Haec peri [...]de sunt, vt illius animus qui ea possidet, Ter. Heaut. act. 1. sc [...]n.  
2. 21.  
Qui vti scit, ei bona, illi qui non vtitur rectè, mala.

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

#### [142]

Whatsoever 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 aeris aceruus & a [...]ri,  
Aegroto domini deduxit corpore febres, Ho [...]. 1. [...]p. 2. 47  
Non animo curas, valeat possessor oportet,  
Qui comportatis rebus benè cogitat vti.  
Qui cupit, aut metuit, invat illum sic domus aut res,  
Vt lippum pictae tabulae, fomenta podagram.

Not house and land, and heapes of coine and gold  
Rid agues, which their sicke Lords body hold,  
Or cares from minde: th'owner must be in health,  
That well doth thinke to vse his hoarded wealth.  
Him that desires or feares, house, goods, delight,  
As foments doe the gout, pictures sore-sight.

He is a foole, his taste is wallowish and distracted, he enjoyeth it more, then one that hath a great colde, doth the sweetnesse of Greeke wine, or a horse the riches of a costlyfaire furniture, wherewith he is trapped. Even as *Plato* saith, *That health, beautie, strength, riches, and all things else he calleth good, are equally as ill to the vniust, as good to the iust; and the euill contrariwise.* And then ■ where the body and the soule are in ill plight, what neede these

externall commodities? Seeing the least prick of a needle, and passion of the mind is able to deprive vs of the pleasure of the worlds Monarchie. The first fit of an ague, or the first gu [...]rd that the gout gives him, what avails his goodly titles of Majestie?

Totus & argento conflatus, totus & auro.

All made of silver fine, Tibul. 1. El. 7. 71.  
All gold pure from the mine.

doth he not fourthwith loose the remembrance of his pallaces and states? If he be angrie or vexed, can his principalitie keepe him from blushing, from growing pale, from gnas [...]ng his teeth like a Bedlam? Now if it be a man of woorth, and well borne, his royaltie, and his glorious titles will adde but little vnto his good fortune.

Si ventri bene, si lateri est pedibúsque tuis, nil Hor. l. 1. [...]p. 12. 5  
Diviti [...] poterunt regales addere ma [...]us.

If it be well with belly, feete, and sides,  
A Kings estate no greater good provides.

He seeth they are but illusions, and vaine deceit [...]. He may happily be of King *Seleucus* his advise: *That he who fore-knew the weight of a scepter, should he finde-it lying on the ground, he would not daine to take-it vp.* This he said, by reason of the w [...]ghtie, irksome and painefull charges, that are incident vnto a good King. Truly, it is no small matter to governe others, since so many cross [...]s and difficulties offer themselves, if we will governe our selves well. Touching commanding of others, which in shew seemeth to be so sweete, considering the imbecilitie of mans iudgement, and the difficultie of choice in new and doubtfull things. I am confidently of this opinion, that it is much more easie and plausible to follow, then to guide: and that it is a great setling of the minde, to be tied but to one beaten path, and to answer but for himselfe.

Ut satiùs multo iam sit, parere quietum, [...] li. 5. 11 37.  
Quàm regere imperio resv [...]lle.—

Much better t'is, in quiet to obey,  
Then to desire with Kings power all to sway.

Seeing *Ciru* [...] saide, *That it belongs not to a man to command, that is not of more woorth, then those whom he commandeth.* But King *Hieron* in *Xenophon* addeth moreover, *That in truelyenjoying of carnall sensualities, they are of much woorse condition, then private men; forasmuch as ease and facilitie, depriveth them of that sowre-sweete [...]e tickling, which w [...] finde in them.*

Pingu [...]s amor nimiúmque potens, in toedia nobis Orid. am. li. 2. el. 19 25.  
Vertitur, & stomacho dulcis vt esca noc [...]t.

[143]

Fat over-powerfull love doth loathsome grow,  
As fulsome sweete-meates stomackes overthrow.

Thinke wee, that high-minded men take great pleasure in musicke? The satietie thereof makes it rather tedious vnto them. Feasts, banquets, revels, dancings, masks and turneys, rejoyce them that but seldome see them, and that have much desired to see them: the taste of

which-becommeth cloyesome and vnpleasing to those that daily see, and ordinarily have them: Nor doe Ladies tickle those, that at pleasure and without suspect may be glutted with them. He that cannot stay till he be thirstie, can take no pleasure in drinking. Enterludes and commedies rejoyce and make vs merry, but to players they are tedious and tastelesse. Which to proove, we see, it is a delight for Princes, and a recreation for them, sometimes to disguise themselves, and to take vpon them a base and popular kinde of life.

Plerumque gratae principibus vices, Hor. li. 3. [...]d 29. 13.  
 Mundaque parvo sub lare pauperum  
 Coe [...]ae sine aulaeis & ostro,  
 Solicitam explicuere front [...]m.

Princes doe commonly like enterchange,  
 And cleanly meales where poore-men poorely house,  
 Without all tapistry or carpets strange,  
 Vnwrinkled have their care-knit, thought-bent browes.

Nothing doth sooner breed a distaste or satietie, then plentie. What long-ing lust would not beealaide, to see three hundred women at his dispose and pleasure, as hath the Grand *Turke* in his Seraille? And what a desire and shew of hawking had he reserved to himselfe from his ancestors, that never went abroad without seuen thousand falkners at least? Besides which, I thinke, the luster of greatnesse, brings no small incommodities to the enjoying of sweeter pleasures: they lie too open, and are too much in sight. And I wo [...] not why a man should longer desire them to conceale or hide their fault: For, what in vs is indis [...]retion, the people judgeth to be tyrannie, contempt, and disdain of the lawes in them: And besides the ready inclination vnto vice, it seemeth they also adde vnto it the pleasure of gourmandizing, and to prostrate publike observances vnder their feete. Verily *Plato* in his *Gorgias*, *defineth him to be a tyrant, that in a Citie hath leave and power to doe what ever he list.* And therefore often, the shew and publication of their vice hurteth more then the sinne in selfe. Everie man feareth to be spied and controlled; which they are even in their countenances and thoughts: All the people esteeming to have right and interest to judge of them. And we see that blemishes grow either lesser 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 scarre in another place. And that is the reason why Poets faine *Iupiters* loves to have beene effected vnder other countenances, than 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 seene in his greatnesse and majestie. But returne we to *Hieron* [...] he also relateth, how many incommodities he findeth in his royaltie, being so barred, that he cannot at his libertie travell to goe whether he pleaseth, being as it were a prisoner within the limits of his country; and that in all his actions he is encircled and hemd-in with an importunate and tedious mult [...]tude. Truely, to see our Princes all alone, sitting at their meate, beleagred-round with so many talkers, whisperers, and gazing beholders, vnknowne what they are or whence they come, I have often rather pittied then envied them. King *Alphonsus* was wont to say, *that burthen-bearing asses were in that; in farre better condition than Kings; for, their masters suffer them to feede at their ease, whereas Kings cannot obtaine that priviledge of their servants.* And it could never fall into my minde, that it might be any speciaall commoditie to the life of a man of vnderstanding, to have a score of find-faults, pickethanks, and controlers about his close-stoole, nor that the service of a man, that hath a thousand pound rent a yeere, or that hath taken *Casal*, or defended *Sienna*, is more commodious or acceptable to him, then that of a sufficient, and well-experienced groome. Princelike advantages, are in a maner but imaginarie preheminences. Every degree of fortune, hath some image of Principallitie. *Caesar* termeth all the Lords, which in his time had justice in *France*, to be Kinglets, or petie Kings. And truely, except the name of *Sire*, we goe very farre with our Kings. Looke but in the Provinces remote and farre from the [144]court:

As for example, in *Britanie*, 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 vp amongst his owne servants, tenants, and followers: And note also the high pitch of his imaginations, and humours, there is no greater roialtie can be seene: He heareth no more talke of his master, then of the *Persian* king, and happily but once a yeare: And knowes but some farre-fetcht, and old kindred or pedigree, which his Secretarie findes or keepe vpon some ancient record or evidence. Verily our lawes are very free, and the burthen of soveraigntie, doth scarsly concerne a gentleman of *France* twice in his whole life. Essentiall 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 themselues by such service: For he that can shrowd and retire himselfe in his owne home, and can manage and direct his house without sutes in law, or quarrell with his neighbours, or domesticall encombrances, is as free as the Duke of *Venice*. *Paucos servitus, plures Senec. epist. 2 2. servitute tenent. Service holds few, but many hold service.* But above all things *Hieron* seemeth to complaine, that he perceiveth himselfe deprived of all mutuall friendship, reciprocally societie, and familiar conversation, wherein consisteth the most perfect and sweetest fruite of humane life. For, what vndoubted 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 account of his humble speech, of his low-lowing curtzie, or of his curteous 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 respects are rather due to roialtie, to majestie, then to me.

—*maximum hoc regni bonum est*, S [...]n Thyest. act. 2. scen. 1.  
 Quòd facta domini cogitur populus sui  
 Quàm ferre, tam laudare.

This is chiefe good of Princes dominations,  
 Subjects are forc't their sov'raignes actes and fashions  
 To beare with patience, passe with commendations.

Doe 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 predecessor was served with the same apparances, and waited vpon with the like ceremonies, and so shall my successor be. If my subjects offend me not, it is no testimony of any good affection. Wherefore shall I take it in that sense, sithence they cannot, if they would? No man followeth me for any friendship that is between him and me: inasmuch as no firme friendship can be contracted, where is so small relation, so slender correspondencie, & such disparity. My high degree hath excluded me from the commerce of men. There is too great an inequality, and distant disproportion. They follow for countenance, and of custome, or rather my fortune then my selfe: hoping therby to encrease theirs. Whatsoever they say, all they doe vnto me, is but a glosse, and but dissimulation, their liberty being every where brideled, and checked by the great power I have over them. I see nothing about me, but inscrutable hearts, hollow mindes, fained lookes, dissembled speeches, and counterfet actions. His Courtiers one day commended *Iulian* the Emperour for ministring of right, and doing of justice; *I should easily grow proud (said he) for these praises ■ if they came from such as durst either accuse or discommend my contrary actions, should I commit any.* All the true commodities that Princes have, are common vnto them with men of meane fortune. It is for Gods to mount winged horses, and to feed on Ambrosia. They have no other sleepe, nor no other appetite then ours. Their steele is of no better temper, then that wherewith we arme our selves. Their crowne, their diademe can neither hide them from the Sun, or shelter them from the raine. *Dioclesian* that wore one so much revered, and so fortunate, did voluntarily resigne the same, to withdraw himselfe vnto the pleasure of a private life; but a

while after, the vrgent necessitie of publike affaires requiring his presence, and that he should return to re-assume his charge againe, he answered those that solicited him vnto it; you would never vndertake to perswade me to that, had you but seene the goodly rankes of trees, which myselfe have planted in mine Orchard, or the faire muske-melo [...].s, I have set in my garden. According to *Anacharsis* his opinion, *The happiest estate of a well-ordered common wealth should be, where all other things being equally common, precedencie should be measured, and preferments [145] suted according to vertue and desert, and the contrarie according to vice.* At what time King *Pirrhus* vndertooke to passe into *Italy*, *Cyneas* his wise and trustie counsellor, going about to make him perceiue the vanitie of his ambition, one day bespake him thus. *My good sir, (said he) To what end do you prepare for so great an enterprise?* He answered sodainly, *To make my selfe lord of Italic. That done, what will you doe then?* (replied *Cyneas*) *I will then passe (said Pirrhus) into Gaule, 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 vnder my subiection, I will then take my rest, and live contented at mine ease.* Now, for Gods sake Sir, (replied *Cynoas*) *Tell me, what hinders you, that you be not now, if so you please, in that estate? Wherefore doe you not now place your selfe, where you meane to aspire, and save so much danger, so many hazards, and so great troubles as you enterpose betweene both?*

Nimirum quia non bene norat quae esset habendi Lucr. lib. 5. 14. 43.  
Finis, & omnino quoad crescat vera voluptas

The cause forsooth, he knew not what should be the end  
Of having, nor how far true pleasure should extend.

I will conclude and shut vp this treatise with an ancient verse, which I singularly applaud, and deeme fit to this purpose.

Mores cuique sui fingunt fortunam. Cic. Parad. 5. cor. Nep.

Ev'ry mans maners and his mind,  
His fortune to him frame and find.

### **The three and fortieth Chapter. Of sumptuarie Lawes, or Lawes for moderating of expences.**

THE maner wherewith our Lawes assay to moderate the foolish and vaine expences of table-cheare and apparell, seemeth contrarie 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 encrease their credite 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 Tissew, and interdict the people to do-it, what is-it but to give reputation vnto those things, and to encrease their longing to vse them? Let Kings boldly quit those badges of honour; They have many other besides: Such excesse is more excusable in other men, then in Princes. We may, by the examples of divers Nations, learne sundry better fashions to distinguish our selves and our degrees (which truely I esteeme requisite in an estate,) without nourishing to that purpose, this so manifest corruption and apparant inconvenience. It is strange how custome in these indifferent things doth easilie encroch and sodainly establish the footing of hir authoritie. We had scarce worne cloth one whole yeare at the Court, what time we mourned for our King *Henry* the second, but certainly in every mans opinion, all maner of silkes were alreadie become so vile and abject, that was any man seene to weare them, he was presently judged to be some countrie fellow, or mechanicall man. They were left only for Chyrurgians and Physitians. And albeit most men were apparreled a-like, yet were there other sufficient apparant distinctions of mens qualities. How soone doe plaine chamoy-jerkins, and greasie

canvase doublets creepe into fashion and credite amongst our souldiers, if they lie in the field? And the garishnesse, neatnesse, and riches of silken garments grow in contempt and scorne? Let Kings first begin to leave these superfluous expences, we shall all follow; and within a moneth, without edicts, ordinances, proclamations, and acts of Parliament, it will be observed as a law. The statutes should speake contrarie, as thus. That no man or woman, of what qualitie soever, shall, vpon paine of great forfeitures, weare any maner of silke, of skarlet, or any gold-smiths worke, except only Enterlude-players, Harlots, and Curtizans- With such an invention did *Zaleucus* whilome correct the corrupted maners of the *Locrines*. His ordinances were such Be it enacted that [...]o woman of free condition shall [146]have any more then one maid-servant to follow her when she goeth abroad, except when she shall be drunken: And further, that she may not goe out of the Citie by night, nor weare any jewels of gold, or precious stones about hir, nor any gowne beset with gold-smiths work, or imbroiderie, except she be a publike-professed whore: and moreover, that except panders 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 Citie of *Miletum*. So did he by these reprochfull exceptions ingeniously drive his Citizens from vaine superfluities, and pernicious dainties. It was a most profitable course, by honor and ambition to allure men vnto their dutie and obedience. Our Kings have the power to addresse all these externall reformatiōs. Their inclination serveth them as a law. *Quicquid Principes faciunt, praecipere videntur. Whatsoever Princes doe, that, they seeme to commaund.* The rest of *France* takes the modell of the court, as a rule vnto it selfe to follow. Let Courtiers first begin to leave-off and loath these filthy and apish breeches, that so openly shew our secret parts; the bumbasting of long pease-cod-bellied doublets, which makes vs seeme so far from what we are, and which are so combersome to arme: These long, effeminate, and daugling locks: That fond custome to kisse what we present to others, and *Besolas manos* in saluting of our friends: (a ceremonie heretofore onely due vnto Princes;) And for a gentleman to come to any place of respect, without his rapier by his side, all vnbraced, all vntrust, as if he came from his close-stoole: And that, against our forefathers maner, and the particular libertie of our *French* nobilitie, we should stand bare-headed, aloofe-off from them, wheresoever they be, and as about them, about many others: So many petty-kings, and petty-petty-kinglets have we now adayes: And so of others like new-fangled and vicious introductions: They shall soone be seene to vanish and be left. Although but superficiall faults, yet are they of evill presages. And we are warned, that the foundation or maine summers of our houses faile and shrinke, when we see the quarters bend, or wals to breake. *Plato* in his Lawes, thinkes there is no worse plague, or more pernicious in his Citie, then to suffer youth, to have the reines of libertie in her owne hand, to change in their attires, in their gestures, dances, exercises, and songs, from one forme to an other: 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 institutions despised. In all things, except the wicked, mutation is to be feared; yea, even the alteration of seasons, of winds, of livings, 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 of-spring, nor that ever they were other then they are.

### **The foure and fortieth Chapter. Of Sleeping.**

REason doth appoint-vs ever to walke in one path, but not alwaies to keep one place: And that a wise-man should not permit humane passions to stray from the right carrier; he may (without prejudice vnto his dutie) also leave-it vnto them either to hasten or to slow his pace, and not place himselfe as an immoveable and impassible *Colossus*. Were vertue herselfe corporeall and incarnate, I think her pulse would beat and worke stronger, marching to an assault, then going to dinner: For, it is necessarie that she heat and move herselfe. I have therefore mark't-it as a rare thing; to see great personages sometimes, even in their

weightiest enterprises, and most important affaires, hold themselves so resolutely assured in their state, that they doe not so much as breake their sleepe 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, & 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 vrging him. *Otho* the Emperour having determined to kill himselfe, the very same night, after he had given order for his domesticall affaires, shared his [147] monie amongst his servans, 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 sound a sleepe, that the groomes of his chamber heard him snort in another roome. This Emperours death hath many parts semblable vnto that of great *Cato*, and namely this: For, *Cato* being prepared to defeat himselfe, whilst he expected to heare newes, whether the Senators, whom he caused to retire, were lanced out from the haven of *Vtica*, fell so fast asleep, that he was heard to snort into the next chamber: And he whom he had sent toward the port, 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 assured him, they were gone. We may also compare him vnto *Alexander*, in that great and dangerous storme, which threatned him, by the sedition of *Metellus* the Tribune, who laboured to publish the decree of *Pompeys* re-appeal into the Citie, together with his armie, at what time the commotion of *Catiline* was on foote: against which decree onely *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 *Caesar* then conspiring and complotting for the aduancement of *Pompey*, should come, accompanied with a multitude of strange and fortaine slaves and fencers, to doe their vtmost: And *Cato* strengthened with his onely constancie, and with an vnmated resolve: So that his kinsmen, his familiars, and many honest men tooke great care, and were in heaue anxietie and pensiveness for him: of which many never left him all night, but sate vp together, without rest, eating, or drinking, by reason of the danger they saw prepared for him; yea, his wife and sisters did nought but weep and waile, and for his sake torment themselves in their house, whereas contrariwise he alone comforted every bodie, and blamed them, for their demissenesse: And after he had supped, (as he was wont) he went quietly to his bed, and slept verie 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 vnmated-haughtie heart, by therest of his life; may make vs judge with all securitie, that it onely proceeded from a spirit, so far elevated above such accidents, that he dained not so much as to trouble his mind with them, no more then with ordinarie chances. In the sea-fight, which *Augustus* gained against *Sextus Pompeius* in *Sicilie*, even at the instant he should go to fight, was surprised with so heaue a sleep, that his friends were compelled to awaken-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 survay the marshalling of his armie, and that his heart would not suffice him, to present himselfe vnto his souldiers, vntill such time that *Agrippa* brought him newes of the victorie he had obtained of his enemies. But concerning yong *Marius*, who committed a greater errour (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) he lay downe in the shadow vnder a tree, a while to rest himselfe, and fell so fast asleep, that he could hardly be awaked with the rout and flight of his men, having seen no part of the fight, they say, it was because he was so exceedingly aggravated with travell, and over-tired with wearinesse, and want of sleep, that nature was overcome, and could no longer endure. And touching this point, Phisitians may consider; whether sleep be so necessarie, that our life must needs depend of-it: For we find that *Perseus* King of *Macedon*, prisoner at *Rome*, being kept from sleep, was made to die; but *Plinie* aleadgeth, that some have lived a long time

without any sleep at all. And *Herodotus* reporteth, *There are Nations, where men sleep and wake by halfe yeares.* And those that write the life of *Epimenides* the wise, affirme, *that he slept the continuall space of seaven and fiftie yeares.*

[148]

### **The five and fortieth Chapter. Of the battell of Dreux.**

There hapned divers rare accidents, and remarkable chances in our battell of *Dreux*: but those who do not greatly favour the reputation of the Duke of *Guise*, doe boldly aledge, that he cannot be excused, to have made a stand, and temporised with the forces he commaunded, whilst the Lord Constable of *France*, Generall of the Armie, was engaged and suppressed with the enemies Artillerie, and that it had been better for him, to hazard himselfe, to charge the enemy flankwise, then by expecting any aduantage, to have him come behind him, to suffer so reprochfull an overthrow, and so shamefull a losse. But omitting what the event thereof witnessed, he that shall without passion debate the matter, shall easilie (in my conceit) confesse, that the ayme and drift, not onely of a Captaine, but of every particular Souldier, ought chiefly to respect a victorie in great: And that no particular occurrences, of what consequence soever, or what interest may depend on them, should never divert-him from that point. *Philopoemen* in an encounter with *Machanidas*, having sent before, a strong troupe of Archers, and good marke men, to begin the skirmish: and the enemy, after he had put them to route and dis-ranked them, amusing himselfe in mainly pursuing them, and following the victorie alongst the maine battell, where *Philopoemen* was, although his souldiers were much moved and offended to see their fellowes put to the worst, he could not be induced to bouge from his place, nor make head against his enemy, to succour his men; but rather, having suffered them to be defeated, and cut in pieces before his face, began then to charge his enemies in the battalion of their Infanterie, when he perceived them forsaken 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 disorder themselves, he easilie overcame them; which done, he pursued *Machanidas*. This case, is cousin-german vnto that of the Duke of *Guise*. In that sharpe-bloodie battell of *Agésilauus* against the Boeotians, which *Xenophon* (who was there present) saith, *To have beene the whottest and rudest, that ever he had seene*: *Agésilauus* refused the aduantage, which fortune presented him, to let the battalion of the Boeotians passe, and to charge them behind, what certaine victorie soever he saw likely to follow the same, esteeming that it were rather skill then valour, and to shew his prowess, and matchlesse-haughtie courage, chose rather to charge them in the front of their forces: But what followed? He was well beaten, and himselfe sore-hurt, and in the end compelled to leave his enterprise, and embrace the resolution, which in the beginning he had refused, causing his men to open themselves, to give passage vnto that torrent of the Boeotians; who when they were pastthrough, perceiving them to march in disaray, as they who perswaded themselves to be out of all danger, he pursued them, and charged them flankwise. 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 shewing their face, vntill such time as they got safely into their houlds and trenches.

### **The sixe and fortieth Chapter. Of Names.**

What diversitie soever there-be in hearbs, all are shuffled-vp together vnder the name of a sallade. Even so, vpon the consideration of names, I will heer huddle vpa gallymafrie of diverse articles. Every severall nation hath some names, which, I wot not how [149]are sometimes taken in ill part, as with vs *Iacke, Hodge, Tom, Will, Bat, Benet*, and so forth. Item, it seemeth that in the genealogies of Princes, there are certaine names fatally affected;



as *Ptolomeus* with the *Aegyptians*, *Henries* in *England*, *Charles* in *France*, *Baldwins* in *Flanders*, and *Williams* in our ancient *Aqustanie*, whence some say came the name of *Gui [...]nne*; which is but a cold invention: As if in *Plato* himselfe there were not some as harsh and ill-founding. Item, it is an idle matter, yet neverthelesse, by reason of the strangenesse, worthie the memorie, and recorded by an oculare witnessse, that *Henrie Duke of Normandie* sonne to *Henrie* the second King of *England*, making a great feast in *France*, the assemblie of the Nobilitie was so great, that for pastimes sake, being, by the resemblance of their names, divided into severall companies: in the first were found a hundred and ten Kinghts 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 vnto *Geta* the Emperour, who would have all his messes or dishes served-in at his table orderly according to the first letters of their names; As for example, those that began with P. as pig, pie, pike, puddings, pouts, porke, 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 verely it is verie commodious to have a well-sounding and smooth name, and which is easie to be pronounced, and facile to be remembred: For, Kings, Princes, Lords, and Magistrates know and remember vs the better by them, and will not so soone forget-vs. Marke but of those that serve and follow-vs, whether we doe not more ordinarily commaund, and sooner employ such, whose names come readier to our tongue, or memorie. I have seene our King *Henrie* the second, who could never [...] it on the right name of a Gentleman of *Gascoigne*; and did ever call a Ladie waiting on the Queene, by the generall surname of hir house, because that of hir father was so harsh, and hard to be remembred. And *Socrates* saith, *It ought to be a fathers speciall care, to give his children good and easie-sounding names*. Item, it is reported, that the foundation of our Ladie the great at *Poitiers* had this beginning; A licentious yoong man having his dwelling house where the Church now standeth, had one night gotten a wench to lie with him, who so soone as she came to bed, he demaunded hir name, who answered, *Marie*: The yong man hearing that name, was sodainly so strucken with a motive of religion, and an awefull respect vnto that sacred name, of the virgin *Marie*, the blessed mother of our Saviour and Redeemer, that he did not only presently put hir away from him, but reformed 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 yong mans house stood, consecrated vnto that holy name, and afterward the faire great church, which yet continueth. This vocale and auricular correction, and so full of devotion, strucke right vnto his soule. This other following, of the same kind, insinuated itselfe by the corporall sences. *Pythagoras* being in companie with two yong men, whom he heard complot and consult (being somewhat heated with feasting and drinking) to go and ravish a chast-house, commaunded immediatly the minstrels to change their tune; and so by a solemne, grave, severe, and spondaicall kind of musicke, did sweetly inchaunt allay, and in-trance their rashviolent ■ and lawlesse lust. Item, shall nor succeeding posteritie say, that our moderne reformation hath been exact and delicate, to have not onely oppugned and resisted 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 baptisme, *Charles*, *Lewis*, *Francis*, to people the world with *Methusalem*, *Ezechie*, *Malachie*, much better feeling of a lively faith? A Gentleman my neighbour, esteeming the commodities of ancient times in regard of our daies, forgot not to aledge the fiercenesse and magnificence of the names of the Nobilitie of those times, as *Don Grumedan* ■ *Quedragan*, and *Agesilan*: And that, but to heare them sounded, a man might easilie perceive; they had been other manner of men; then *Peter*, *Gui [...]jo [...]*, or *Michell*. Item; I commend and am much beholding to *Iames Amiot*; in the course of a French oration of his to have still 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 vnto the Reader; but now, by reason of the credit, which his *Plutarke* hath deservedly gotten amongst-vs, custome hath removed all strangenesse 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 *Va [...]*demont, to *Vallemontanus*, and metamorphosing them, by suring them to the [150]Graecian 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 countrie of *France*, to call every man by the name of his Towne, Mannor, Hamlet, or Lordship, as the thing that doth most confound houses, and bring sur-names out of knowledge. A cadet or yonger-brother of a good house, having had for his appanage a Lordship, by whose name he hath beene knowne and honored, cannot well forsake and leave the same ten yeares after his death; His Lord-ship 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. Wee need not goe far for other examples, but looke into our Royall house, where so many partages, so many sur-names, and so many severall titles have so encumbred-vs, that the originall of the stocke is vtterly lost. There is so much libertie in these mutations, that even in my time, I have seen no man nor woman advanced by fortune vnto some extraordinarie preferment, that hath not immediatly had adjoynd vnto him or hir Genealogicall titles, new and vnknowne to their fathers, and that hath not beene engraffed into some noble stocke or familie. And as good lucke serveth, the basest vpstart, and most obscure houses are most apt vnto adulteration, and falsification. How many privat Gentlemen have [...]*e* in *France*, which according to their accompt, and blazoning of their gentry, are of the royall blood or race? I beleeeve more then others. Was it not pretilie said, and with a good grace, by one of my friends? There was a great companie bandied together about a quarell which a Gentleman had with another, who in verie truth had some prerogative of titles, honours, and alliances about the common sort of Nobilitie; vpon which word of his prerogative, every one seeking to equall himselfe vnto him, alledged, some one of spring, some another, some the resemblance of his name, some of his armes, othersome an old far-fetcht pedigree, and the meanest of them to be the great grand-child of some King beyond the Seas. When they came all to dinner, this man whom hitherto they had all followed, in lieu of taking his wonted place, making low-lowting reverences, went to the lowest end of the board, entreating the companie to hold him excused, that through rash-vnadvisednesse he had hitherto lived with them companion-like, but now being lately enformed of their right qualities, he began to know them according to their ancient degrees, and that it did not duly belong vnto him to sit above so many Princes. And after he had acted 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 been contented, and with the state whereto God hath called-vs: we have sufficient if we can maintaine it well, let-vs not disparage the fortune and condition of our predecessors; and reject-we these fond imaginations, which can not faile any man, whatsoever he be, that is so impudent as to alledge them. Crests, Armes, and Coates have no more certaintie then surnames. I beare Azure semè of trefoiles, a Lions Paw in faece, Or, armed Gules. What priviledge hath this Coate, that it should for ever continue particularly to my house? A sonne in law will transferre the same into an other familie: Some silly-vpstart purchaser of Armes will make it his chiefe coate. There is nothing wherein meet so many alterations, and so much confusion.

But this consideration draweth me perforce vnto an other field. Let vs somewhat narrowly search-into, and for Gods sake consider, on what foundation we ground this glorie and reputation, for which the world is turned topsie-turvie. On what doe we establish this transitorie renowne, which with so great mind-possessing toyle, and industrie we seeke and gape-after? In fine, it is *Peter* or *William*, that beareth the same (marke-it well Reader) and to whom it belongeth. Is not hope a couragious facultie, which in a mortall subject, and in a moment, seekes to vsurp infinite, and immensitie, and to replenish his masters indigence with the possession of al things he can imagine or desire, before it would? Nature hath given vs a pleasant joy to play withall in that. Is it *Peter* or *William*. And what is that but a word for all mouths? or three or foure dashes of a pen, first, so easie to be varied, as I would willingly

aske those, whom the honour of so many victories concerneth, or whether *Guesquin*, or *Glesquin*, or *Gueaquin*? yet were there more apparance heer, then in *Lucian* that C. did sue T. for,

—non levia aut ludicra petuntur Virg. Ae [...]. lib. 12. [...].64. Pr [...].mia:

No light prize, no reward in jest  
Is hunted after as the best.

[151]

The wager goeth deepe: 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 Constable. *Nicholas Denis* [...] hath had no care but of the letters of his name, and hath changed all the contexture of them, there-out to frame the Earle of *Alsinois*, whom he hath honored and presented with the glorie of his Poesie and Painting. And *Su* [...]tonius the Historian hath loved but the sense of his owne, and having taken away *Lènis*, which was his fathers surname, hath left *Tranquillus* successor of his compositions reputation. Who would believe, Captaine *Bayard* hath no honor, but that which he hath borrowed from the acts of *Peter Terrail*? And that *Antonio Escalin* (even before his eies) suffered Captaine *P* [...]lin, and the Baron of *La Garde* ■ to steal so many Navigations, voyages, and attempts, both by sea and land from him? Secondly, they are dashes, and trickes of the pen, 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? Historie hath knowne three *Socrates*, five *Platoes*, eight *Aristotles*, seaven *Xenophons*, twenty *Demetrius*, twenty *Theodores*: besides which, imagine how many came not to her knowledge. Who letteth my horse boy to call himselfe *Pompey* the Great? But after all, what meanes, what devises, are there that annex vnto my horse keeper deceased, or to that other who had his head cut-off in *Aegypt*, or that joyne vnto them this glorified, and far-renowned word, and these pendashes, so much honored, that they may thereby advantage themselves?

Id cinerem & manes credis curare sepult [...].s?Lib. 4. 3 [...].

Thinke you, ghost's buried, ashes dead,  
Care much how we alive are sped?

What feeling motion of revenge have the two companions in chiefe valor amongst men; *Epaminondas* of that glorious verse, which so many ages since is so common in our mouthes for him?

Consilijs nostris laus est a [...]trita Laco [...]um.C [...]. Tus [...]. q [...]. [...]. 5.

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

And *Affrican* [...] of that other:

A sole exoriente, supra Ma [...]tis paludes Ibid.  
Nemo est, qui factis me [...]q [...]iparare qu [...]at?

From Sun-rise to the Scythian-lake, of fame  
None in exploits can equalize my name.

Those that survive are tickled with the pleasure of these words, and by them solicited with jealousy and desire, doe presently without consideration transmit by fantasie this their proper motion of revenge vnto the deceased; and with a fond-deceiving hope perswade themselves, when their turne commeth to be capable of-it. God he knowes-it, neverthelesse,

—*adhaec se* Iuven sat. 10. 137.  
Romanus Graiúsque & Barbarus Induperator  
Erexit, causas discriminis atque labori [...]  
Inde habuit, tanto maior fame sitis est, quàm  
Virtutis.

Heerto himselfe the Romane Generall,  
The Graecian, the Barbarian, rous'd and rais'd▪  
He [...]re hence drew cause of perils, travailes all:  
So more, then to be good, thirst to be prais'd.

### The seven and fortieth Chapter. Of the vncertainti [...] of our iudgement.↩

IT is even as, that verse saith,

[...]

[152] Of words on either side,  
A large doale they divide.

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

Uinse Hannibal, & non seppe vsar'poi Pet. Par. 1. son. 86. 1.  
Ben la vitt [...]riosa sua ventura.  
*Hanniball* conquer'd, but he knew not after  
To vse well his victorious good fortune.

He that shall take this part, and with our men go about, to make that over-sight prevaile, that we did not lately pursue our fortune at *Montcontour*: Or he that shall accuse the King of *Spaine*, who could not vse the advantage he had against-vs at Saint *Quintin*, may say this fault to have proceeded from a mind drunken with his good fortune, and from a courage fulgorged with the beginning of good lucke; looseth the taste how to encrease-it, being already hindred from digesting what he hath conceived of-it: He hath his hands full, and can not take hold any more: Vnworthie that ever fortune should cast so great a good into his lap: For, what profit hath he of- [...]t, if notwithstanding, he give his enemie leasure and meanes to recover himselfe? What hope may one have, that he will once more adventure to charge these re-enforced and re-united forces, and new armed with despite and vengeance, that durst-not, or knew-not how to pursue them being dismaied and put to rout?

Dum fortuna calet, dum conficit omnia terror.Lu [...]an. l. 7. 734.

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

But to conclude, what can he expect better, then what he hath lately lost? It is not, as at Fence, where the number of venies given, gets the victorie: So long as the enemie is on foote, a man is newly to begin. It is no victorie, except it end the warre. In that conflict where *Caesar* had the worse, neer [...]he Citie of *Oricum*, he reprochfully said vnto *Pompeis* Souldiers, *That he had vtterly been overthrowne, had their Captaine knowne how to conquer: and paide him home after another fashion when it came to his turne.* But why may not a man

also hold the contrarie? That [...] It is the effect of an insatiate and rash-headlong minde, not to know how to limit or periode his covetousnesse: That it is an abusing of Gods favours, to go about to make them loose the measure he hath prescribed them, and that a-new to cast himselfe into danger after the victory, is once [...]ore to remit the same vnto the mercie of fortune: That one of the chieftest policies in militarie profession, is, not to drive his enemy vnto dispaire. *Sill [...]* and *Marius* in the sociall warre, having discomfited the Marsians, seeing one squadron of them yet on foote, which through dispaire, like furious beasts were desperately comming vpon them, could not be induced to stay or make head against them. If the fervor of Monsieur de *Foix* had not drewne-him over rashly and moodily to pursue the straglers of the victorie at *Rave [...]*na, he had not blemished the same with his vntimely death; yet did the fresh-bleeding memory of his example serve to preserve the Lord of A [...]gusen from the like inconvenience, at *Serisoles*. It is dangerous to assaile a man, whom you have bereaved of all other meanes to escape or shift for himselfe, but by his weapons: for, necessitie is a violent school-mistris, and which teacheth strange lessons: *Gravissimi sunt m [...]*rsu [...] irritatae necessitatis. *No biting so grievous, as that of necessitie provoked and enraged.*

Uincuur haud gratis ingula qui prov [...]at host [...]m.Lu [...]n. l. 4. 278.

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

And that is the reason, why [...] empeached the King of *Lacedemo [...]* who came from gaining of a victory against the Mantinaeans, from going to charge a thousand Argians, that were escaped whole from the discom [...]ture; but rather to let them passe with al libertie, lest he should come to make triall of provoked & despited vertue, through and by ill fortune. *Clodomire* king of *Aquitaine*, after his victorie, pursuing *Gondemar* king of *B [...]*rgundie, vanquished and running away, forced him to make a stand, and make head againe, but his vnadvised wilfulnesse deprived him of the fruit of the victorie, for he dyed in the action. Likewise he that should chuse, whether it were best to keep his souldiers richly and sumptuously armed, or only for necessitie, should seeme to yeeld in favour of the first, whereof was *Sertorius*, *Philopoemen*. *Brutus*, *Caesar*, and others, vrging that it is ever a spur to [...] and glorie, for a souldier to see himselfe gorgeously attired, and richly armed, & an occasion to yeeld himselfe more [153]obstinate to sight, having the care to save his armes, as his goods and inheritance. A reason (saith *Xenophon*) why the Asiatikes carried with them, when they went to warres their wives and Concubines, with all their jewels and chieftest wealth. And might also encline to the other side, which is, that a man should rather remoove from his souldier, all care to preserve himselfe, than to encrease-it vnto him ■ for, by that meanes he shall doubly feare to hazard or engage himselfe, seeing these rich spoiles do rather encrease an earnest desire of victorie in the enemy: and it hath been observed, that the said respect hath sometimes wonderfully encouraged the Romans against the Samnites. *Antiochus* shewing the Armie, he prepared against them, gorgeously accountred with all pompe and statelinesse, vnto *Hanniball*, and demanding of him, whether the Romanes would be contented with-it: yea verily, answered the other, they will be verie well pleased with-it: They must needs be so, were they never so covetous. *Licurgus* forbad his Souldiers, not only all maner of sumptuousnesse, in their equipage, but also to vncase or strip their enemies, when they overcame them, willing, as he said, that frugalitie & povertie should shine with the rest of the battell. Both at sieges, and else-where, where occasion brings vs neere the enemy, we freely give our souldiers libertie, to brave, to disdain, and injurie him with all maner of reproaches: And not without apparance 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 so egregiously outraged, and that there is no remedy left but from victorie. Yet had *Ditelluis* but bad successe in that; for, having to deale with

*Otho*, weaker in his Souldiers valour, and oflong disaccustomed from warre, and effeminated through the delights and pleasures of the Citie, himselfe in the end set them so on fire with his reproachfull and injurious words, vpbroyding them with their puslanimitie and faint-hartednesse, and with the regret of their Ladies, banquettings and sensualities, which they had left at *Rome*, that he put them into hart againe, which no perswasions or other means could do before; and thereby drew them, whom nought could have driven, to fight, and fall vpon him. And verilie, when they are injuries that touch a man to the quicke, they shall easilie vrge him, who was verie backward to fight for his Kings quarrell, to be verie forward in his owne cause or interest. If a man but consider of what consequence the preservation, and importance, the safetie of a generall is in an Armie, 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 can not be doubted of, which by sundrie great Chieftaines we have seene put in practise, which is, in the beginning of the fight, or in the furie of the battell, to disguise themselves. Notwithstanding the inconvenience a man may by this meanes incurre, is no lesse then that mischiefe, which a man seeketh to avoid: For the Captaine being vnseene and vnknowne of his Souldiers, the courage they take by his example, and the hart they keep by his presence, is therewithall empaired and diminished; and loosing the knowne ensignes, and accustomed markes of their Leader, they either deeme him dead, or despairing of any good successe, to be fled. And touching experience, we sometimes see-it to favour the one, and sometimes the other partie. The accident of *Pirrhus* in the battell he had against the Consull *Levinus* in *Italie*, serveth vs for both vses: For, by concealing himselfe vnder the armes of *Demogacles*, and arming him with his owne, indeed he saved his life, but was in great danger to fall into the other mischiefe, and loose the day. *Alexander, Caesar, Lueullus*, loved (at what time they were to enter fight) to arme and attire themselves with the richest armes, and garish clothes they had, and of particular bright-shining colours. *Agis, Agesilaus*, and that great *G [...]**lippus*, contrarie, would ever goe to warres meanly accou [...]red, and without any imperiall ornament. Among other reproaches, that *Pompey* is charged withall in the battell of *Pharsalia*, this is one speciall, that he idly lingred with his Armie, expecting what his enemie would attempt; forasmuch as that (I will heare borrow the verie words of *Plutarke*, which are of more consequence then mine) weakneth the violence, that running giveth the first blowes, and therewithall remooveth the charging of the Combattants one against another, which more, then any other thing is wont to fill them with furie and impetuositie, when with vehemence they come to enter-shocke one another, augmenting their courage by the crie and running; and in a maner alayeth and quaieth the heat of the Souldiers: Loe-here what he saith concerning this. But had *Caesar* lost, who might not also have said, that contrariwise the strongest and firmest situation, is that, wherein a man keeps his stand without budging, and that who is settled in his [154]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 alreadie consumed part of his breath? Moreover, that an armie being a bodie composed of so many severall parts, it is impossible it should in such furie advance it selfe with so just a march, and proportioned a motion, and not breake and dis-ranke, or at least alter hir ordinance, and that the nimblest be not grappling before his fellowes may help-him. In that drearie battell of the two Persian brethren, *Clearchus* the Lacedemonian, who commanded the Graecians that followed *Cycus* his faction, led them faire and gently without any hast-making to their charges; but when he came within fistie paces of his enemies, he bad them with all speed to run vnto it; hoping by the shortnesse of the distance to manage their order and direct their breath; in the meane time giving them the advantage of the impetuositie, both for their bodies, and for their shooting-armes. Others have ordered this doubt in their armie after this maner: If your enemies headlong run vpon you, stay for them and bouge not: If they without stirring stay for you, run with furie vpon them.

In the passage which the Emperour *Charles* the fift made into *Provence*, our king *Francis* the first, stood a good while vpon this choice; whether it were best, by way of prevention, to go and meet 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 mischiefes that warre brings with it, to the end that possessing hir whole strength, it may continually in all times of need, store him with money, and supplie him with all other helps; and considering how the necessitie of direfull warre, doth dailie enforce a Generall to make spoile of goods, and waste the Countrie, which cannot well be done in our own goods & countrie: and if the countriman doth not as patiently indure this ravage at his friends hands, as at his enemies, so as seditions may ensue amongst our owne factions, and troubles among our friends: That licence to rob and spoile, which in his Countrie may not be tolerated, is a great furtheraunce 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 keep the Souldier in office and hart, who hath no other hope of profit, but his bare pay, and is so neere his wife, his children, his friends, and his home: *That he who layeth the cloth, is ever put to the greatest charges: That there is more pleasure in assailing than in defending:* And that the apprehension of a battell-lost in our owne home and entrailes, is so violent, that it may easily snake the whole frame, and distemper the whole bodie. Seeing there is no passion so contagious, as that of feare, nor so easie apprehended and taken a-trust, or doth more furiously possesse all parts of man: And that the Cities or Townes, which have either heard the bustling noise of the Tempest, or seene the sparkles of this all consuming fire at their gates, or have perhaps received their captaines wounded, their Citizens pursued, and their Souldiers spoiled, and all out of breath, if they be not more then obstinately-constant, it is a thousand to one, if in that brunt of furie, they do not headlong cast 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 Mountaines in *Italie*, and to stay his enemies approches. For, he might on the contrarie part imagine, that being in his owne Countrie, and amidst good friends, he had the better leasure to re-enforce his decayed forces, and more oportunitie, to strengthen Townes, to munite Castles, to store Rivers with all necessaries they wanted, and to keep all passages at his devotion, which done, all the waies should be open for him, and might by them have all maner of victuals, money, and other hab [...]lements of warre brought-him, in safety, and without convoy: that he should have his subjects so much the more affectionate vnto him, by how much nearer they should see the danger: That having so many Cities, Townes, Houlds, Castles, and Barres for his securitie, he might at all times, according to apportunitie and advantage, appoint and give law vnto the fight: And if he were pleased to temporize, whilest he tooke his ease, kept his forces whole, and maintained himselfe in safety, he might see his enemie consume & waste himselfe, by the difficulties which daily must necessarily assault, environ and combate-him, as he who should be engaged in an enemie-countrie and foe-land; Where he should have nothing, nor meet with any thing, either before, or behind him, or of any side; that did not offer him continuall warre: no way nor meanes to refresh, to ease or give his armie elbow-roome, if any sicknesse or contagion should come amongst his men; nor shelter to lodge his hurt and maymed Souldiers: where neither monie, munition, nor victuals might come vnto him, but [155]at the swords point; where he should never have leasure to take any rest, or breath; where he should have no knowledge of places, passages, woods, foords, rivers, or countrie, that might defend him from ambuscados, or surprises: And if he should vnfortunately chance to loose a battell, no hope to save, or meanes to re-unite the reliques of his forces. And there want not examples to strengthen both sides. *Scipio* found-it better for him to invade his enemies countrie of *Affrica*, then to defend his owne, and fight with him in *Italie*, where he was, wherein he had good successe. But contrariwise, *Hanniball*, in the same warre wrought his owne overthrow, by leaving the conquest of a forraine countrie, for to go and defend his owne. The Athenians having left the enemie in their owne land, for to passe into *Sicilie*, had verie ill successe, and were much contraried by fortune: whereas *Agathocles*

King of *Siracusa* prospered and was favoured by her, what time he passed into *Affrica*, and left the warre on soote in his owne countrie. And we are accustomed to say with some shew of reason, that especially in matters of warre, the events depend (for the greatest part) on fortune; which seldome will yeeld, or never subject her-selfe vnto our discourse or wisdom, as say these ensuing verses.

Et malè consultis pretium est, prudentia fallax, Manil. astr. lib. 4. 95.  
Nec fortuna probat causas sequiturque merentes:  
Sed vaga per cunctos nullo discrimine fertur:  
Scilicet est aliud quod nos cogátque regátque  
Maius, & in proprias ducat mortalia leges.

Tis best for ill-advis'd, wisdom may faile,  
Fortune proves not the cause that should prevaile,  
But here and there without respect doth saile,  
A higher power forsooth vs over-drawes,  
And mortall states guides with immortall lawes.

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

### **The eight and fortieth Chapter. Of Steedes, called in French Destriers.**

BEhold, I am now become a Gramarian, I, who never learn't tongue but by way of roat, and that yet know knot what either Adjective, Conjunctive, or Ablative meaneth. As far as I remember, I have sometimes heard-say, that the Romanes had certaine horses, which they called *Funales*, or *Dextrarios*, which on the right hand were led-by as spare horses, to take them fresh at any time of need: And thence it commeth, that we call horses of service *Destriers*. And our ancient Romanes doe ordinarily say, to *Adexter*, in steed of, to accompanie. They also called *Desultorios equos*, certaine horses that were so taught, that mainly-running with all the speede they had, joyning sides to one another, without either bridle or saddle, the Roman gentlemen armed at all assayes, in the middest of their running-race, would cast and recast themselves from one to an other horse. The Numidian men at armes, were wont to have a second spare-horse led by hand, that in the greatest furie of the battell, they might shift and change horse: *Quibus, desultorum in modum, binos Liv bel pun. dec. 3. 1. 3. trahentibus equos, inter acerrimam soepe pugnam in recentem equum ex fesso armatis transultare, mos erat. Tanta velocitas ipsis, támque docile equorum genus. Whose maner was, as if they had been vaulters, leading two horses with them in armour to leap from their tired horse to the freshone, even in the hottest of the fight. So great agilitie was in themselves, and so apt to be taught was the race of their horses.* There are many horses found, that are taught to helpe their master, to run vpon any man shall offer to draw a naked sword vpon them; furiously to leap vpon any man, both with feete to strike, and with teeth to bite, that shall affront them; but that for the most part they rather hurt their friends then their enemies. Considering [156]also, that if they once be grapled, you can not easilie take them-off, and you must needs stand to the mercie of their combat. *Artibius*, Generall of the Persian armie had verie ill lucke to be mounted vpon a horse fashioned in this schoole, at what time he sought man to man against *Onesilus* King of *Salamis*; for, he was the cause of his death, by reason the shield-bearer or squire of *Onesilus* cut him with a faulchon betweene the two shoulders, even as he was leaping vpon his master. And if that, which the Italians report be true, that in the battell of *Fornovo*. King *Charles* his horse with kicking, winching, and flying, rid both his master and himselfe from the enemies that encompast-him, to dismount or kill him, and without that, he had beene lost: He committed himselfe to a great hazard, and



scap't a narrow scowring. The Mammalukes boast, that they have the nimblest and readiest horses of any men at armes in the world. That both by nature they are instructed to discerne, and by custome taught to distinguish their enemie, on whom they must leap and wince with feet, and bite with teeth, according to the voice their master 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 *Casar*, and of *Pompey* the Great, that amongst their many other excellent qualities, they were also most cunning and perfect horsemen; and namely of *Caesar*, that in his youth being mounted vpon a horse, and without any bridle, he made him run a full cariere, make a sodaine stop, and with his hands behind his backe performe what ever can be expected of an excellent readie horse. And even as nature was pleased to make both him and *Alexander* two matchlesse miracles in militarie profession, so would you say, she hath also endeoured, yea, enforced herselfe to arme them extraordinarily; For, all men know, that *Alexanders* horse called *Bucephalus*, had a head shaped like vnto that of a bull; that he suffered no man to get-on and sit-him, but his master; that none could wealde and manage him but he; what honours were done him after his death, all know, for he had a Citie erected in his name. *Caesar* likewise had another, who had his fore-feet like vnto a mans, with hoofes cloven in forme of fingers, who could never be handled, drest, or mounted but by *Caesar*, who when he died, dedicated his image to the Goddess *Venus*. If I be once on horse-backe, I alight verie vnwillingly; for, it is the seat I like best, whether I be sound or sicke. Plato commendeth-it to be availefu [...] for health: And Plinie affirmeth the same to be healthfull for the stomacke, and for the ioyns And sithence we be falne into this subject, let vs a little sollow-it I pray you. We read of a law in *Xenophon*, by which all men that either had or were able to keep a horse, were expresly forbidden to travell and goe a foote. *Trogus* and *Iust [...]* report, that the Parthians were not onely accustomed to warre on horse-backe, but also to dispatch all their businesse, and negotiate their affaires both publike and private; as to batgaine, to buy, to sell, to parlie, to meet ■ to entertaine one another, and to converse and walke together; and that the chiefe difference betweene free men and servants amongst them, is, that the first ever ride, and the other goe alwaies on-foote. An institution first devised by King *Cyrus*. There are many examples in the Romane histories (and *Suetonius* doth more particularly note it in *Caesar*) of Captaines that commanded their horsemen to alight, whensoever, by occasion, they should be vrged vnto it, thereby to remove all maner of hope from their Souldiers to save themselves by flight, and for the advantage they hoped-for in this maner of fight: *Quo haud dubiè superat Romanus* Wherein vndantedly the Romanes Liv. dee. 1. li. 3. & 7. is superiour to all saith *Titus Livius*: yet shall we see, that the first provision, and chiefe meanes they vsed to bridle rebellion amongst their new conquered nations, was to deprive them of all armes and horses. Therefore find we so often in *Caesar*; *Arma proferri, i [...]* *menta* Cas. comment. lib. 7. *produci, obsides dari iubet: 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 Iew, to have or keepe any horse for himselfe, throughout all his large Empire. Our ancestors, and especially at what time we had warres with the English, in all solemne combats, or set battels, 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 vndanted courage, and confidence of their limbes. Let *Chrisanthes* in *Xenophon* say what he pleaseth: whosoever fighteth on horse-backe, engageth his valour, and hazardeth his fortune on that of his horse; his hurts, his stumbling, his death, drawes your life and fortune [157]into consequence, if he chance to startle or be afraide, then are you induced to doubt or feare: if to leape forward, then to become rash and fond-hardie: if he want a good mouth or a timely spurre, your honour is bound to answer for-it. And therefore do not I finde-it strange, that those combats were more firme and furious, then those which now we see foughten on horse-  
backe.

—cedebant pariter, paritèrque ruebant Virg. Aen. 1. [...]. 756. Victores, victique,  
neque his fuga nota, neque illis.

The victors and the vanquish'd both together  
Gave backe, came on: the flight was knowne in neither.

Their battels are seene much better compact and contrived: They are now but bickerings and routs: *primus clamor atque impetus rem decernit. The first shoute and shocke makes an end of the matter.* And the thing we call to helpe vs, and keepe vs company in so great and hazardous an adventure, ought as much as possible may be, lie still in our disposition and absolute power. A I would counsell a gentleman to chuse the shortest weapons, and such as he may best assure himselfe-of. It is most apparant, that a man may better assure himselfe of a sworde he holdeth in his hand, then of a bullet shot out of a pistoll, to which belong so many severall parts, as powder, stone, locke, snap-hanse, barrell, stoke, scowring-piece, and many others, whereof if the least faile, or chance to breake, and be distemper'd, it is able to overthrow, to hazard, or miscarry your fortune. Seldome doth that blow come or light on the marke it is aym'd-at, which the ayre doth carry.

Et quò ferre velint permittere vulnera a ventis, Lucan. l 8. 384.  
Ensis habet vires, & gens quaecunque virorum est,  
Bellae gerit gladij.

Giving windes leave to give wounds as they list,  
But swords have strength, and right men never mist  
With sword t'assalt, and with sword to resist.

But concerning that weapon, I shall more amplie speake of-it, where I will make a comparison betweene ancient and moderne armes: And except the astonishment and frightening of the eare, which nowadaies is growne so familiar amongst men, that none doth greatly feare-it; I thinke it to be a weapon of small effect, and hope to see the vse of-it abolished. That wherewith the Italians were wont to throw, with sire in-it, was more frightfull and terrour-moving. They were accustomed to name a kinde of [...]avelin, *Phalarica*, armed at one end with an yron pike of three foote long, that it might pierce an armed man-through, which lying in the field they vsed to lanch or hurle with the hand, and sometimes to shoote out of certaine eng [...]nes, for to defend besieged places: the staffe whereof being wreath'd about with hempor flax, all pitched and oiled over, flying in theayre, would soone be set-afre, and lighting vpon any body or target, deprived the partie [...]t therewith, of all vse of weapons or limbes: Me thinkes neverthelesse, that comming to grapple, it might aswell hind [...] the assailant, as trouble the assailed, and that the ground strewed with such burning truncheons, might in a pell-mell-consusion produce a common incommoditie

—mag [...]um stridens contorta phalarica venit Virg. Aen. 1. 9. 705. Fulminis  
acta modo.

With monstrous buzzing came a fire-dart thirled.  
As if a thunder-bolt had there beene whirled.

They had also other meanes, to the vse of which, custome enured them, and that be reason of inexperience seeme incredible to-vs; wherewith they supplied the defect of our powder and bullets. They with such fury darted their *Piles*, and with such force hurled their iavelins, 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 slings, as with any other shot: *Saxis globosis funda*, Liu. dec. 4. l. 8. *mare apertum incessentes: coronas modici circuli magno ex intervallo loci assueti trajcere: non capita modò hostium vulnerabant, sed quem locum destinassent.*

While they were boyes, with round stones in a sling, making ducks and drakes vpon the sea, they accustomed to cast through round marks of small compasse a great distance off: whereby they, not onely hit and hurt the heads of their enemies, but would strike any place they aymed-at. Their battering or murthering pieces represented, as well the effect, as the clattering and thundering noise of ours: *ad ictus moenium cum terribili sonitu editos, pavor & trepidatio coepit.* At the batterie of the walles made wilk a terrible noise, [158] feare and trembling beganne to attach them within. The Gaules our ancient forefathers in Asia, hated mortally such treacherous and flying weapons, as they that were taught to fight hand to hand, and with more courage. *Non tam patentibus plagis moventur, vbila [...]gior quam Liv. dec. 4. l. 8. altior plaga est, etiam gloriosius se pugnare putant; i [...]demquum acul [...]Jus sagittiae aut glandis abdit [...] introrsus tenui vulnere in speciem vri [...]tum in rabiem & p [...]dorem tam paruae periment is pestis versi, prosternunt corpora humi.* They are not so much moued with wide gashes, where the wound is more broad then it is deepe, there they thinke, that they fight with more ravery; but when the s [...]jing of an arrow or a bullet, with a small wound to shew gals them inwardly, then falling into rage and shame that so slight a hurt should kill them, they cast their bodies on the ground.

A modell or picture very neere vnto an *harquebusada*. The ten thousand Graecians in their long-lingring, and farre-famous retreat, encountered with a certaine nation, that exceedingly much endomaged them with stiffe strong and great blowes, and so long arrowes, that taking them-vp, they might throw them after the maner of a dart, & with them pierce a target and an armed man through and through. The engines which *Dionysius* invented in *Siracusa*, to shoote and cast mightie big arrowes, or rather timber-pieces, & huge-great stones, so farre and with such force, did greatly represent, and come very neere our moderne inventions. We may not also forget, the pleasant seate, which one named master *Peter Pol*, doctor in divinitie vsed to sit vpon his mule, who as *Monstrelet* reporteth, was wont to ride vp and downe the streetes of *Paris*, ever sitting sideling, as women vse. He also saith in another place, that the Gascoines had certaine horses so ficce and terrible, taught to turne and stop sodainely in running, whereat the French, the Piccards, the Flemmings, and Brabantins (as they who were never accustomed to see the like) were greatly amazed, and thought it a wonder: I vse his very words. *Caelar* speaking of those of *Swethen*, saith, In any skirmish or fight on horse-backe, they often alight to combate on foote, having so trayned and taught their horses, that so long as the fight lasteth, they never bouge from their masters side, that if neede require, they may sodainely mount-vp againe: and according to their naturall custome, there is nothing accounted more base or vile, then to vse saddles or bardels, and they greatly contemne and scorne such as vse them: So that a few of them feare not to encounter with a troupe farre exceeding them in number. That which I have other times wondered-at, to see a horse [...]a [...]ioned and taught, that a man having but a wand in his hand, and his bridle loose hanging over his eares, might at his pleasure manage, and make him turne, stop, runne, carriere, trot gallop, and what ever else may be expected of an excellent ready horse, was common amongst the Massilians, who never vsed either bridle or saddle.

Et gens quae nudo residens Massilia dor [...]o, L [...]ca [...]. li. 4. 681  
Or a leu [...]flectit fraenorum n [...]cia. virga.

*Massilian* horsemen on bare horse-backe-sit  
Manage with light rod, without reynes or bit.  
Et Numid [...] infr [...]nt cingunt. Vir. Aen. l. 4. 41  
*Numidians* who their horses ride  
Without bit, round about vs bide.

*Equisine fraenis, deformis ipse cursus, rigida ceruice & extent [...] capite currentium:*  
The horses being without bridles, their course is ill fauoured, they running with a stiffe necke, and out-stretch't head (like a roasted Pigg:) *Alphonsus* King of Spaine, that first

established the order of Knights, called the order of the Bend or skarfe, amongst other rules devised this one that none of them, vpon paine to forfait a marke of silver, for every time offending, should ever ride either mule or mulet; as I lately read in *Guevaras* epistles, of which whosoever called them his golden epistles, gave a iudgement farre different from mine. The *Courtier* saith, *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 a contrary opinion, who accordingly as they are advanced, to places of honor, or dignitie, about their Prince, called *Prester-Iohn*, so doe they more and more affect in signe of pompe and state, to ride vpon large-great mules. *Xenophon* reporteth, that the *Assirians* were ever wont to keepe their horses fast-tied in fetters or gyves and ever in the stable, they were so wilde and furious. And for that they required so much time to vnshackle, and to harnish them, (least protracting of so long time, might, if they should chance at vnawares, and being vnreadie, to be surprised by their enemies, endamage them) they never tooke vp their quarter in any place, except it were wel dyked & intrenched: [159]His *Cirus*, whom he maketh so cunning in horsemanship, did alwaies keepe his horses at a certaine stint, and would never suffer them to haue any meate before they had deserved the same by the sweate of some exercise. If the Scithians in time of warre chanced to be brought to any necessitie of victuals, the readiest remedie they had, was to let their horses blood, and there with all quenched their thirst, and nourished themselves.

Venit & epoto Sarmata pastus equo Mart spectat. 3 4.

The Scithian also came, who strangely feedes  
On drinking-out his horse (or that hee bleedes)

Those of *Crotta* being hardly besieged by *Metellus*, were reduced to so hard a pinch, and strait necessitie of all maner of other beverage, that they were forced to drinke the stale or vrine of their horses. To verifie how much better cheape the Turkes doe both levie, conduct, and maintaine their armies, then we Christians doe; They report, that besides their souldiers never drinke any thing but water, and feede on nothing but rice, and drie-salt flesh, which they reduce into a kinde of powder (whereof every private man doth commonly cary so much about him, as will serve for a moneths provision) and for a shift, will live a long time with the blood of their horses; wherein they vse to put a certain quantitie of salt, as the Tartares and Moskovites doe. These new discovered people of the Indies, when the Spaniardes came first amongst them, esteemed that aswell men as horses, were eyther gods, or creatures far beyond, and excelling their nature in nobilitie. Some of which, after they were vanquished by them, comming to sue for peace and beg pardon at their handes, to whom they brought presents of gold, and such viands as their country yeilded; omitted not to bring the same, and as much vnto their horses, and with as solemne Oration as they had made vnto men, taking their neighings, as a language of truce and composition. In the hether Indies, the chiefe and royallest honour was anciently wont to be, to ride vpon an Elephant; the second to goe in Coaches drawne with foure horses; the third, to ride vpon a Camell; the last and basest, was to be carried or drawne by one horse alone. Some of our moderne Writers report, to have seene some Countries in that climate, where the people ride oxen, with packe-saddles, stirrups, and bridles, by which they were carried very easily *Quintus Fabius Maximus Rutilianus*, warring against the Samnites, and seeing that his horsemen, in three or foure charges they gave, had missed to breake and runne through his enemies battalion, at last resolved thus, that they should all vnbridle their horses, and with maine force of sharpe spurres pricke and broach them; which done, the horses as enraged, tooke such a running, thorow, and athwart the enemies campe, armes and men, that nought was able to resist them; and with such a fury, that by opening, shouldring, and overthrowing, the battallion, they made way for his Infanterie, which there committed a most bloody slaughter, and obtained a notable victorie. The like was commaunded and effected by *Quintus Fulvius Flaccus* against the Celtiberians: *Id cum maiore vi equorum faciet is, si eff: oenatos Liv. d [...]. 4. 1. 1 [...]. in*

*hoctes equos immittitis; quod saepe Romanos equites cumlaude fecisse memoriae prod [...]um est. Detractisque fraenis bis vltro curo (que) cum magna strage hostium, infractis omnibus hastis, transcurrerunt. That shall you doe with more violence of horse, if you force your horse vnbridled on the enemy; which it is recorded, the Roman horsemen have often performed with great proofe and praise. So pulling of the bridles, they twice ranne through forward, and backe againe with great slaughter of the enemy, all their launces broken.*

The duke of *Moscovie* did anciently owe this reverence vnto the Tartares, at what time soever they sent any Ambassadors to him, that he must goe meete them on foote, and present them with a goblet full of mares-milke (a drinke counted very delicious amongst them which whilst they were drinking, if any drop chaunced to be spilt vpon their horses haire, he was, by duty, bound to lick the same vp with his toung. The army which the Emperor *Baiazeth* had sent into *Russia*, was overwhelmed by so horrible a tempest of snow, that to find some shelter & to save themselves from the extremitie of the cold, many advised to kil and vnpanch their horses, and enter into their panches, to enioy and finde some ease by that vitall heate. *Baiazeth* after that bloody and tragicall conflict wherein he was overthrowne by the Scithian *Tamburlane*, in seeking to escape, had no doubt saved himselfe, by the swiftnesse of an Arabian mare, on which he was mounted that day, if vnluckily 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 easily overtaken and apprehended by those that pursued him. The common saying [160] is, that to let a horse stale after a full carriere, doth take downe his speede, but I would never have thought that drinking had done it, but rather strengthened and heartned him.

*Croesus* passing alongst the city of *Sardis*, found certaine thickets, wherein were great store of snakes and serpents, on which his horses fed very hungerly, which thing as *Herodotus* saith was an ill-boding-prodigie vnto his affaires. We call him an entiere horse, that hath his full mane, and whole eares, and which in shew, or at a muster, doth not exceed others. The Lacedemonians having defeated the Athenians in *Sicilte*, returning in great pompe and glory from the victorie, into the City of *Siracusa*, among other Bravadoes of theirs, caused such horses as they had taken from their enemies to be shorne all over, and so led them in triumph. *Alexander* fought with a nation called *Da [...]*, where they went to warre two and two, all armed vpon one horse, but when they came to combate, one must alight, and so successively one fought on foote, and the other on horse backe, each in his turne one after another. I am perswaded that in respect of sufficiencie, of comlinesse, & of grace on horseback, no Nation goeth beyond vs. A good horse-man, (speaking according to our phrase) seemeth rather to respect an vndismayed courage, then an affected cleane seate. The man most skillfull, best and surest-sitting comeliest-graced, and nimblest-handed, to sit, to ride, and mannage a horse conningly, that ever I knew, & that best pleased my humor, was Monsieur de *Carnaulet*, who was Master of the horse vnto our King *Henry* the second. I have seene a man take his full carriere, standing boult-vp-right on both his feet in the saddle, leap downe to the ground from-it, and turning backe take-off the saddle, and presently set-it on againe as fast as ever it was, and then leap into it againe, and all this did he whilst his horse was running as fast as might be with his bridle on his necke. I have also seene him ride over a bonet or cap, and being gone a good distance from it, with his bowshooting backward, to stick many arrows in the same; then sitting still in the saddle to take vp any thing from the ground: To set one foote to the ground, and keepe the other in the stirrop, and continually running doe a thousand such tumbling and apish tricks, wherewith he got his living. There have in my time two men beene seene in *Constantinople*, both at once vpon one horse, and who in his speediest running, would by turns, first one, and then another, leap downe to the ground, and then into the saddle againe, the one still taking the others place. And another, who only with teeth, and without the helpe of any hand, would bridle, curry, rubbe, dresse, saddle, guirt, and harnish his horse. Another that betweene two horses, and both sadled, 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 shoote and hitte any marke with his arrows. Divers have bin seene, who standing on their heads, and with their legs out-stretched-aloft, having many sharp-pointed cimitaries fastned round about the saddle, to gallop a full speed. While I was a yoong lad, I saw the Prince of *Sul* [...] on [...] at *Naples*, manage a yoong, a rough, and fierce horse, and shew all maner of hors-man-ship; To holde testons or realles vnder his knees, and toes, so fast, as if they had beene nayled there, and all to shew his sure, steady, and vnmovable sitting.

### **The nine and fortieth Chapter.** **Of ancient customes,** ↩

I Would willingly excuse our people for having no other patterne or rule of perfection, but his owne customes, his owne fashions: For, it is a common vice, not onely in the vulgar sorte, but as it were in all men, to bend their ayme, and frame their thoughts vnto the fashons, wherein they were borne. I am pleased when he shall see *Fabricius* or *Laelius*, who because they are neither attired nor fashioned according to our manner, that he condemne their countenance to be strange, and their cariage barbarous. But I bewaile his particular indiscretion, in that he suffereth him selfe to be so blinded, and deceived by the authoritie of present custome, and that if custome pleaseth, he is readie to change opinion, and varie advise, [161]every moneth, nay every day, and judgeth so diversly of himselfe. When he wore shortwasted doublets, and but little lower then his breast, he would maintaine by militant reasons, that the waste was in his right place: but when not long after he came to weare them so longwasted, yea almost so low as his privities, then began he to condemne the former fashion, as fond, intollerable and deformed; and to commend the latter, as comely, handsome, and commendable. A new fashion of apparell creepeth no sooner into vse, but presently he blameth and dispraiseth the old, and that with so earnest a resolution, and vniversall a consent, that you would say, it is some kind of madnesse, or selfe-fond humor, that giddieth his vnderstanding.

And for asmuch as our changing or altering of fashions, is so sudden and new-fangled, that the inventions, and new devises of all the tailors in the world, cannot so fast invent novelties, it must necessarily follow that neglected, and stale reiected fashions doe often come into credite and vse againe: And the latest and newest, within a while-after come to be outcast and despised, and that one selfe same judgement within the space of fifteene or twenty yeares admitteth, not onely two or three different, but also cleane contrary opinions, with so light and incredible inconstancie, that any man would wonder at it. There is no man so suttle-crafty amongst vs, that suffreth not himselfe to be enveigled and over-reached by this contradiction, and that is not insensibly dazeled, both with his inward and externall eies. I will heere huddle-vp some few ancient fashions that I remember: Some of them like vnto 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 confirme our transported judgement. That maner of fight which we vse now adaies with rapier and cloke, *Caes. Bel. ci* [...]. l. l. was also vsed among the Romans, as saith *Caesar. Sinistris sagos involvunt, gladiosque distringunt: They wrap their left armes in their clokes, and draw their swordes.* We may to this day observe this vice to be amongst vs, and which we haue taken from them, that is, to stay such passengers as we meete by the way, and force them to tell vs, who they are, whence they come, whither they goe, and to count it as an injurie, and cause of quarrell, if they refuse to answer our demand. In Baths, which our forefathers vsed daily before meales, as ordinarily as we vse water to wash our hands, when first they came into them, they washed but their armes and legges, but afterward (which custome lasted 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 sort as they held it as a great testimonie of simplicitie, to wash themselves in pure and vncompounded water: Such as were most

delicate, and effeminate, were wont to perfume their whole bodies over and over, three or four times every day ■ And often (as our French women have lately taken vp) to picke and snip out the haire of their forehead, so they of all their body.

Quod pectus, quod crurati, quod brachia vellis. Mart. lib. 2. epi. 62. 1.

That you from breast, legges, armes, the haire  
Neately pull off (to make them faire.)

Although they had choice of ointments fit for that purpose.

Psilotro nitet, aut arida latet abdita creta. Lib. 6. epi. 93. 9.

She shines with ointments that make haire to fall,  
Or with dry chalke she over-covers all.

They loved to lie soft, and on fine downe-beds, alleaging lying on hard mattresses as a signe of patience. They fed lying on their beds, neere after the maner of the Turkes nowadaies.

Inde thoro pater Aeneas sic orsus ab alto. Virg. Aen. 1. 2. 2

Father *Aeneas* thus gan say,  
From stately couch where then he lay.

And it is reported of *Cato Junior*, that after the battell of *Pharsalia*, and that he began to mourne and bewaile the miserable state of the common-wealth, and ill condition of publike affaires, he ever eate sitting on the ground, folowing an austere, and observing a strict kinde of life. The *Besolas manos* was vsed as a signe of honor and humilitie, onely toward great persons. If friends met, after friendly salutations, they vsed to kisse one another, as the Venetians doe at this day.

‘Gratátisque darem cum dulcibus osculaverbis. O [...]id. Pont. 1. 4. [...]’

[162] Give hir I would with greetings graced,  
Kisses with sweete words enterlaced.

And in saluting or suing to any great man, they touched his knees. *Pasicles* the Philosopher, brother vnto *Crates*, comming to salute one, whereas he should have caried his hand to his knee, caried the same vnto his genitories. The partie saluted, having rudely push't him away; *What?* quoth he, *is not that part yours as well as the other?* Their manner of seeding 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 Latine is counted an obscene word: which sponge was ever tied to the end of a staffe, as witnesseth the storie of him, that was carried to be deuoured of the wild beasts before the people, who desiring leave to goe to a privie before his death, and having no other meanes to kil himselfe, 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 wooll.

At [...]i nil faciam, sed lot â mentula land. Mart. li. 11. [...]. pig. 52. 11.

To thee no such thing will I bring,  
But with wash't wooll another thing.

In every streete of *Rome* were placed tubs, and such vessels for passengers to make water-in.

Pusi saepe lacum propter, se ac dolia curta Lu [...]r. l. 4. 1018.  
Somno deiuncti credunt extollere veslem.

Children asleepe oft thinke they take vp all  
Neere to some pissing tub, some lake (some wall.)

They vsed to breake their fast, and nonchion betweene meales, and all summer time, had men that solde snowe vp and downe the streetes, wherewith they refreshed their wines; of whom some were so daintie, that all winter long they vsed to put snow into their wine, not deeming it colde enough. Principall, 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 vpon arches, as we vse chafing disnes; and had portable kitchins (of which I have seene some) wherein might be drawne, wheresoever one list, a whole service and messe of meate.

Has vobis epulas habete lauti,  
Nos offendimur ambulante caena. Mart. l. 7. [...] pig. 47. 5.

Take you daintie-mouth'd such stirring feasts;  
With walking meales we are offended guests.

And in summer they often caused cold water (being carried through pipes) to drill vpon them as they sate in their dining-chambers, or lowe parlors, wherein cesterns, they kept store of fish alive, which the by-standers might at their pleasure, chuse and take with their hands, and have-it drest every man according to his fantasie. Fish hath ever had this priviledge, as at this day it hath; that chiefe Gentlemen, are pleased, and have skill to dress-it best: And to say truth, the taste of fish is much more delicate and exquisit, then that of flesh at least in mine. But in all manner of magnificence, delitiousnes, riotous gluttonie, inventions of voluptuousnes, wantonnes, and sumptuositie, we truly endeavor, as much as may be, to equall and come neere 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 vitious and blame-worthie parts, then in vertuous and commendable actions: For, both proceede from a vigor of spirit, and farre-reaching witte; which, without comparison, was much greater in them, then now in vs. And mindes, by how much more strong and excellent they are, so much lesse facultie and meanes have they, to doe, either excellently well, or notoriously ill. The chieffest aime amongst them was a meane or mediocrity. The *Foremost* or *Last*, in writing or speaking, had no signification of preheminece or greatnes, as may evidently appeare by their writings. They would as familiarly and as soone say. *Oppius* and *Caesar*, as *Caesar* and *Oppius*; and as indifferently, I and thou, as thou and I. And that's the reason why I have heretofore noted in the life of *Flaminius*, in our French *Plutarke*, a place, where it seemeth that the Author, speaking of the iealousie of glorie, that was betweene the Aetolians and the Romanes, for the gaine of a battell, which they had obtained in common, maketh for the purpose, that in Greeke songs the Aetolians [163] were named before the Romans, except there bee some Amphibologie in the French words: for, in that toong I reade-it. When Ladies came vnto slooves or hot-houses, they made-it not daintie to admit men into their companie, and to be washed, rubbed, chafed and annointed by the hands of their groomes and pages.

Inguina succinctus nigrà tibi servus alut à  
—*Stat, quoties calidis nuda foveris aquis. Epig* ■ [...] ■ [...]



Your man, whose loynes blacke lether gird's, stand's-by,  
Whilst in warme water you starke-naked lie.

They also vsed to sprinkle themselves all ouer with certaine powders, thereby to alay and repress all maner of filth or sweate. The ancient *Gaules* (saith *Sidonius Apollinaris*) wore their haire long before, and all the hinder part of their head shauen, 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 wearing of long-dangling locks before. The ancient Romans, paid the water-men their fare or due so soone as they came into the boate, whereas we pay-it when they set vs on shore.

—dum as exigitur, dum mula ligatur, Hor. l. 1. sat. 5. 13. Tota abit hora.

While they call for their fare, tie drawe-mule to,  
There runn's away, a full houre, if not two.

Women were wont to lie on the vtmost side of the bed, and therefore was *Caesar* called *Suet Iul. Ca [...]* *Sponda Regis Nicomedis: King Nicomedes his beds side*: They tooke breath while they were *c. 49*. drinking and vsed to baptise, or put water in their wines.

—quis puer ocius Hor. l. 2. [...].d. 1 [...] ■ 18. Restinguet ardentis falerni pocula  
praetereunte limphâ?

What boy of mine or thine  
Shall coole our cup of wine  
With running water fine?

Those cousening and minde-deceiving countenances of lake is were also amongst them

O Iane, à tergo quem nulla ciconia pinsit Pers. sat. 1. 58.  
Nec manus auriculas imitata est mobilis albas,  
Nec linguae quantum sitiet canis Apula tantum.  
*O Ianus*, whom behinde no Storks-bill doth deride,  
Nor nimble hand resembling mak's eares white and wide,  
Nor so much tongue lil'd out as dogges with thirst ore-dride

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

### **The fiftieth Chapter. Of Democritus and Heraclitus.** ↩

Ivdgement is an instrument for all subiects, and medleth every where. And therefore in the Essayes I make of it, there is no maner of occasion, I seeke not to employ therein. If it be a subiect I vnderstand not my selfe, therein I make triall of it, sounding afarre off the depth of the ford, and finding the same over deepe for my reach, I keepe my selfe on the shoare. And to acknowledge not to be able to wade through, is a part of it's effect, yea of such whereof he vanteth most. If I light vpon a vaine and idle subiect, I assay to trie, and endeavor to see, whether I may find a good ground to worke vpon, and matter to frame a body, and wherewith to builde and vnder-lay-it. Sometimes I addresse my iudgement and contrive-it to a noble and out-worne subject, wherein is nothing found subsisting of it selfe, the high way to [164]it, being so bare-trodden, that it cannot march, but in other steps. There he pleaseth himself in chusing the course he thinkes best, and a thousand paths sometimes he saith, this or that was best chosen. I take my first Argument of fortune: All are alike vnto me: And I never purpose

to handle them throughly: For, there is nothing wherein I can perceive the full perfection: Which they doe not that promise to shew it-vs. Of a hundred partes and visages that everie thing hath, I take one, which sometimes I slightly runne-over, and other times but cursorily glance-at. And yet other whilst I pinch it to the quicke. And give it a *Stockado*, not the widest, but the deepest I can. And for the most part I love to seize vpon them by some vnwonted lustre. I would adventure to treat and discourse of some matter to the depth; knew I my selfe lesse, or where I deceived in mine owne impuissance; Scattering here one and there another worde: Scantlings taken from their maine ground-work, disorderly dispersed, without any well-grounded designe and promise. I am not bound to make it good, nor without varying to keepe my selfe close tied vnto-it; whensoever it shall please me to yeeld my selfe to doubt, to vncertaintie, and to my Mistris forme, which is ignorance. Ech motion sheweth and discovereth what we are. The very same minde of *Caesar*, we see in directing, marshalling, and setting the battel of *Pharsalia*, is likewise seene to order, dispose, and contrive, idle, trifling and amorous devises. We iudge of a horse, not onely by seeing him ridden, and cunningly managed, but also by seeing him trot, or pace; yea, if we but looke vpon him as he stands in the stable. Amongst the functions of the soule, some are but meane and base. He that seeth hir no further, can never know hir thorowly. And he that seeth hir march hir naturall and simple pace, doth peradventure observe hir best. The winds of passions take hir most in her highest pitch, seeing she entirely coucheth hirselfe vpon every matter, and wholly therein exerciseth hirselfe: and handleth but one at once; not according to-it, but according to hirselfe. Things severall in themselves have peradventure, weight, measure, and condition: But inwardly, in vs, she cuttes-it out for them, as she vnderstandeth the same hirselfe. Death is fearefull and vgly vnto *Cicero*; wished-for and desired of *Cato*: and indifferent vnto *Socrates*. Health, well-fare, conscience, authoritie, riches, glory, beauty, and their contraries are dispoyled at the entrance, and receive a new vesture at the soules hand. Yea, and what colour she pleaseth; browne, bright greene, sadde, or any hew else: sharpe or sweete, deepe or superficiall, and what each of them pleaseth. For, none of them did ever verifie their stiles, their rules, or formes in common; each on severally is a Queene in hir owne estate. Therefore let vs take no more excuses from externall qualites of things. To vs it belongeth to give our selves accoumpt of it. Our good, and our evill hath no dependancy, but from our selves. Let vs offer our vowes and offerings vnto it; and not to fortune. She hath no power over our maners. Why shall I not iudge of *Alexander*, as I am sitting and drinking at Table, and talking in good company? Or if hee were playing at Chesse, what string of his witte doth not touch or harpe on this fond-childish, and time-consuming play? I lothe and shunne-it, only because there is not sport inough in it, and that in his recreation, he is over serious with vs, being ashamed I must apply that attention thervnto, as might be employed on some good subiect. He was no more busied in levying his forces and preparing for his glorious passage into *India*; nor this other in disintangling and discovering of a passage, whence dependeth the wel-fare and safety of mankind. See how much our mind troubleth this ridiculous ammuzing, if all hir sinnewes bandy not. How amply she giveth every one Law in that, to know and directly to iudge of himselfe. I doe not more vniversally view and feele my selfe in any other posture. What passion doth not exercise vs thervnto? Choller, spight, hatred, impatience, and vehement ambition to overcome, in a matter wherein it were haply more excusable to be ambitious for to be vanquished. For, a rare pre-excellency, and beyond the common reach, in so frivolous a thing, is much mis-seeming a man of honor. What I say of this example, may be spoken of all others. Every parcell, every occupation of a man, accus th, and sheweth him equal vnto another. *Democritus* and *Heraclitus* were two Philosophers, the first of which, finding and deeming humane condition to be vaine and ridiculous, did never walke abroad, but with a laughing, scornfull and mocking countenance: Whereas *Heraclitus* taking pitie and compassion of the very same condition of ours, was continuallie seene with a sadde, mournfull, and heavy cheere, and with teares trickling downe his blubbered eyes. Iuuen. Sa [...]. 10. 28.

—Alter

Ridebat quoties à limine moverat vnum  
[165] Protuleratque pedem, fl bat contrarius alter.

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

I like the first humor best, not because it is more pleasing to laugh, then to weepe; but for it is more disdainfull, and doth more condemne vs then the other. And me thinkes we can never bee sufficiently despised, according to our merite. Bewailing and commiseration, are commixed with some estimation of the thing moaned and wailed. Things scorned and contemned, are thought to be of no worth. I cannot be perswaded, there can be so much ill lucke in vs, as there is apparant vanitie, nor so much malice, as sottishnesse. We are not so full of evill, as of voydnesse and inanitie. We are not so miserable, as base and abject. Even so *Diogenes*, who did nothing but trifle, toy, and dally with himselfe, in rumberling and rowling of his tub, and flurting at *Alexander*, accoumpting vs but flies, and bladders puft with winde, was a more sharp, a more bitter, and a more stinging judge, and by consequence, more jus [...] and fitting my humor, then *Timon*, surnamed the hater of all mankinde. For looke what a man hateth, the same thing he takes to hart. *Timon* wisht all evill might light on-vs; He was passionate in desiring our ruine. He shunned and loathed our conversation as dangerous and wicked; and of a depraved nature: Whereas the other so little regarded vs, that wee could neither trouble nor alter him by our contagion; forsooke our company, not for feare, but for disdaine of our commerce: He never thought vs capable or sufficient to doe either good or evill. Of the same stampe was the answere of *Statilius* to whom *Bru [...]* Jus spake to winne him to take parte, and adhere to the conspiracy against *Caesar*: He allowed the enterprize to be very just, but disallowed of the men that should perform the same, as vnworthy that any man should put him selfe in any adventure for them: Conformable to discipline of *Hegesias*, who saide, *That a wise man ought never to doe any thing but for himselfe*; forasmuch as he alone is worthy to have any action performed for him: and to that of *Theodorus*, who thought *it an iniustice, that a wise man should in any case hazard himselfe for the good and benefit of his country, or to indanger his wisdom for fooles*. Our owne condition is as ridiculous as risible as much to be laught at as able to laugh.

### The one and fiftieth Chapter. Of the vanitie of Wordes.↩

ARethorician of ancient times, said, that his trade was, to make small things appeare and seeme great. It is a shoemaker, that can make great shooes for a little foote. Had hee lived in *Sparta*, he had doubtlesse beene well whipped, for professing a false, a couzening and deceitfull arte. And I thinke, *Archidamus* King of that Citie did not without astonishment listen vnto the answer of *Thucydides*, of whom he demaunded, whether he, or *Pericles*, was the strongest and nimblest wrestler; whose answer was this, *Your quection Sir, is very hard to be decided; for if in wrestling with him, I giue him a fall, with his faire words he perswadeth those that saw him on the ground, that he never fell, and so gets the victorie*. Those that maske & paint women, commit not so foule a fault, for it is no great losse, though a man see them not, as they were naturally borne and vnpainted: Whereas these professe to deceiue and beguile, not our eies, but our iudgement; and to bastardize and corrupt the essence of things. Those common-wealths, that haue maintained themselves in a regular, formall, and well governd estate, as that of *Creete* and *Lacedemon*, did never make any great esteeme of Orators. *Ariston* did wisely define Rhetorike to be a Science, to perswade the vulgare people: *Socrates* and *Plato*, to be an Art to deceiue and flatter. And those which deny it in the generall description, doe every where in their precepts verifie the same. The Mahometanes, by reason of it's invilitie, forbid the teaching of it to their children. And the Athenians, perceiving how pernicious the profession and vse thereof was, and of what credite in their

Citie, ordained, that their principall part, which is to moove affections, should be dismissed and taken away, together with all *exordiums* and *perorations*. It is an instrument devised, to busie, to manage, [166]and to agitate a vulgar and disordered multitude; and is an implement employed, but about distempered and sicke mindes, 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 continuall disturbance and vproare, thither haue Orators and the professors of that Arte flocked. And verily, if it be well looked into, you shall finde very few men in those common-wealths, that without helpe of eloquence have attamed to any woorthy estimation and credite: `Pompey, Caesar, Crassus, Lucullus, Lentulus Metellus, have thence taken their greatest stay and furtherance, whereby they have ascended vnto that height and greatnesse of authoritie, wherevnto they at last attained, and against the opinion of better times have more prevailed with words than with armes. For, *L. Uolumnius* speaking publikely in favour of the election, which some had made of *Quintus Fabius*, and *Publius Decius*, to be Consuls; saith thus; *They are men borne vnto warre, of high spirits, of great performance, and able to effect any thing, but rude, simple, and vnarted in the combate of talking; mindes truly Consulare. They only are good Pretors, to do [...] iustice in the Citie* (saith he) *that are subtile, cauteleus, well-spoken, wily and lippe-wise.* Eloquence hath chiefly flourished in *Rome* when the common-wealths affaires have beene in worst estate, and that the devouring Tempest of civill broyles, and intestine warres did most agitate and turmoyle them. Even as a rancke, free and vntamed soyle, beareth the ranck est and strongest weeds, whereby it seemeth that those common-weales, which depend of an absolute Monarch, have lesse neede of-it then others: For, that foolishnesse and facilitie, which is found in the common multitude, & which doth subject the same, to be managed, perswaded, and led by the eares, by the sweet alluring and sense-entrancing sound of this harmony, without duely weighing, knowing, or considering the trueth of things by the force of reason: This facility and easy yeelding, I say, is not so easily found in one only ruler, and it is more easie to warrant him from the impression of this poyson, by good institution and sound counsell, There was never seene any notable or farre-renowned Orator to come out of *Macedon* or *Persia*. What I have spoken of-it, hath beene vpon the subiect of an Italian, whom I have lately entertained into my service. Who during the life of the whilom cardinal *Caraffa* served him in the place of steward of his house. Enquiring of his charge, and particular quality, he tolde me, a long, formall, and eloquent discourse of the science or skill of epicurisme and gluttony, with such an Oratory-gravitie, and Magistrale countenaunc, as if he had discoursed of some high mysterious point of divinitie, wherein he hath very methodically decifred and distinguished 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 same; the policy and rare invention of his sawces: First, in generall terms, then part cularizing the qualities and severall operations of the ingredients, and their effects: The differences of salades according to their distinct seasons, which must be served in warme, and which cold: The maner how to dresse, how to adorne, and embellish them, to make them more pleasing to the sight. After that, he entred into a large and farre-fetcht narration, touching the true order, and due methode of service, full of goodly and important considerations.

—Nec minimo sanè discrimine refert, Sat. 5. 127. Quo geslu lepores, & quo gallina secetur.

What grace we vse, it makes small difference, when  
We carue a Hare, or else breake vp a Hen.

And all that filled vp and stuffed with rich magnificent words, well couched phrases, oratorie figures, and patheticall metaphors; yea such as learned men vse and imploy in speaking of the Government of an Empire, which made me remember my man.

Hoc salsum est, hoc adustum est, hoc lautum est parum, Ter. Adel. act. 3. sat. 4.  
62.  
Illudrectè, iterum sic memento, sedulò,  
Moneo quae possum pro mea sapientia.  
Postremò tanquam in speculum, in patinas, Demea,  
Inspicere iubeo, & moneo quid facto vsus sit.

This dish is salt, this burnt, this not so fine,  
That is well done, doe so againe; Thus I  
As my best wisdome serves, all things assigne.  
[167] Lastly Sir, I commaund, they neatly prie,  
On dishes, as a glasse,  
And shew what needfull was.

Yet did those strict Graecians commend the order and disposition, which *Paulus Ae [...]* observed in the banquet he made them at his returne from *Macedon*: But heere I speake not of the effects, but of the words. I know not whether they worke that in others, which they doe in mee. But when I heare our Architects mouth-out those bigge and ratling words of *Pilasters, Architraves, Cornixes, Frogtispices, Corinthian,* and *Dorike* workes and such-like fustian-termes of theirs, I cannot let my wandering imagination from a sodaine apprehension of *Apollidonius* his pallace, and I finde by effect, that they are the seelie, and decayed peeces of my Kitchin-doore. Doe but heare one pronounce *Metonymia Metaphore, Allegory, Etimologie,* and other such trash-names of Grammer, would you not thinke, they meant some forme of a rare and strange language; They are titles and words that concerne your chamber-maides tittle-tattle. It is a foppery and cheating tricke, cousin-Germane vnto this, to call the offices of our estate by the proud titles of the ancient Romans, though they have no resemblance at al of charge, and lesse of authoritie and power. And this likewise, which in mine opinion will one day remaine as a reproch vnto our age, vnworthily and vnderdeservedly to bestow on whom we list the most glorious Surnames and loftiest titles, wherewith antiquitie in many long-continued ages honoured but one or two persons. *Plato* hath by such an vniuersall consent borne-away the surname of Divine, that no man did ever attempt to envie him for it. And the Italians, which vaunt (and indeed with some reason) to have generally more lively, and farre reaching wits, and their discourse more sound and sinnowy, then other nations of their times, have lately therewith embellished *Peter Aretine*; in whom except it be an high-raised, proudly-pufft, mind-moving, and heart-danting maner of speech, yet in good sooth more than ordinarie, wittie and ingenious; But so new fangled, so extravagant, so fantasticall, so deep-labored; & to conclude, besides the eloquence, which be it as it may be, I cannot perceive any thing in it, beyond or exceeding that of many other writers of his age, much lesse that it in any sort approacheth that ancient divinitie. And the surname Great, we attribute and fasten the same on Princes, that have nothing in them exceeding popular greatnesse.

### **The two and fiftieth Chapter. Of the parcimony of our Forefathers. ↩**

*Attilius Regulus*, Generall of the Romanes armie in *Affrike*, in the middest of his glory and victorie against the Carthaginians, writ vnto the common-wealth, that a hyne or plough-boy whom he had left alone to oversee and husband his land (which in all was but seuen acres of ground) was run away from his charge, & had stolne from him all his implements & tools, belonging to his husbandry, craving leave to be discharged, & that he might come home to looke to his businesse, for feare his wife and children should thereby be endamaged:

the Senate tooke order for him, and appointed another man to looke to his land and businesse, and made that good vnto him, which the other had stolne from him, & appointed his wife & children to be maintained at the common-wealths charge. *Cato* the elder returning Consul from *Spaine*, sold his horse of service, to save the monie he should haue spent for his transport by sea into *Italy*: And being chiefe governor in *Sardinia*, went al his visitations a foot, having no other traine, but one officer of the common-welth, who caried his gown, and a vessell to do sacrifice in, and for the most part carried his male himselfe. He boasted that he neuer woare gowne, that cost him more then tenne crowns, nor sent morethen one smiling sterling to the market for one whole daies provision, & had no Countrie house rough-cast or painted over. *Scipio Aemilianus* after he had triumphed twice, and twice been Consull, went on a solemne Legation, accompanied and attended-on onely with seven servants. It is reported that *Homer* had neuer any more then one servant. *Plato* three, and [168] *Zeno* chiefe of the Stoikes sect, none at al. *Tiberius Gracchus*, being then one of the principal men amongst the Romanes and sent in commission about weightie matters of the common-wealth was allotted but six-pence halfe-penie a day for his charges.

### The three and fiftieth Chapter. Of a saying of Caesar. ↪

IF we shall sometimes ammuse our selves and consider our estate, and the time we spend in controlling others, and to know the things that are without vs; would we but emploie the same in sounding our selves throughly, we should easily perceive how all this our contexture is built of weake and decaying pieces. It is not an especiall testimonie of imperfection, that we cannot settle our contentment on any one thing, and that even of our owne desire and imagination, it is beyond our power to chuse what we stande in neede of? Whereof the disputation that hath ever beene amongst Philosophers beareth sufficient witnes, to finde out the chiefe felicitie or *summum bonum* of man, and which yet doth, and shall eternally last without resolution or agreement.

—àum abest quod avemus, id exuperare videtur Iuer. li. 3. 25. Caet era, post aliud cùm contigit illud avemus, Et sitis aequatenet.

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

Whatsoever it be that falleth into our knowledge and jovissance, we finde, it doth not satisfie vs, and we still follow and gape after future, vncertaine, and vnknowne things, because the present and vnknowne please vs not, and doe not satisfie vs. Nor (as I thinke) because they have not sufficiently wherewith to satiate and please vs, but the reason is, that we apprehend and seize on them with an vnruly, disordered, and diseased taste and hold-fast.

Nam cùm vidit hic ad vsum quae flagitat vsus, Luer. lib. 9.  
Omnia iam fermè mortalibus esse parata,  
Diuitijs homines & honore & laude potentes  
Affluere, atque bonâ natorum excellere famâ,  
Nec minus esse domi, cuiquam tamen anxia corda,  
Atque animum infestis cogi seruire querelis:  
Intellexit ibi vitium va [...] facere ipsum,  
Omniâque illius vitio corrumpier in [...]us  
Quae collata foris & commoda quaeque venirent.

For when the wiseman saw, that all almost,  
That vse requires, for men prepared was,  
That men enriches, honors, praises boast,  
In good report of children others passe,

Yet none at home did beare lesse pensive heart,  
But that the minde was forst to serve complaint,  
He knew, that fault the vessell did empart,  
That all was marr'd within by vessels taint,  
What ever good was wrought by any art.

Our appetite is irresolute, and vncertaine; it can neither holde nor enjoy any thing handsomly and after a good fashion. Man supposing it is the vice & fault of things he possesseth, feedeth and filleth himselfe with other things, which he neither knoweth, nor hath vnderstanding of, whereto he applyeth both his desires and hopes, and taketh them as an honor and reverence to himself; as saith *Cesar, Communs fit vitio naturae, vt invisis, latit antibus atque in Cas. b [...]. civ. li. 2. cognitis rebus magis confidamus, vehementiusque exterreamur. It hapneth by the common fault of nature, that both wee are more confident, and more terrified by things vnseene, things hidden, and vnknowne.*

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### **The foure and fiftieth Chapter. Of vaine Subtilties, or subtile Devises.**

There are certaine frivolous and vaine inventions, or as some call them, subtilties of wit, by meanes 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, Columnes, & divers other such-like figures anciently fashioned by the Graecians, 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 severall waies the letters of the Alphabet might be ranged, and found-out that incredible number mentioned by *Plutarke*. I allow of his opinion, who having one brought before him, that was taught with such industrie, 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 needles-eye; and being entreated to bestow some thing vpon him, (as a reward for so rare a skill,) verie pleasantly and worthily, commaunded, that this cunning workman should have two or thee peckes of Millet delivered him, to the end his rare arte and wittie labour might not remaine without da lie exercise. It is a wonderfull testimonie of our judgements imbecilitie, that it should commend and allow of things, either for their rarenesse, or noveltie, or for their difficultie, though neither goodnesse or profit be joynd vnto them. We come but now from my house, where we have a while recreated our selves, with devising who could find out most things, that held by both extreame endes; As for example, *Sire*, is in our tongue a title onely given to the most imminent person of our state, which is the King, and yet is commonly given to some of the vulgar sort, as vnto Marchants and Pedlers, and nothing concerneth those of the middle sort, and that are betweene both. Women of chiefest calling and qualitie are called *Dames*, the meane sort *Damoisels*, and those of the basest ranke, are also entituled *Dames*. The clothes of estate, which we see set over tables and chaires, are onely allowed in Princes houses, yet we see them vsed in Tavernes. *Democritus* was wont to say, *That Gods and beasts, had quicker senses and sharper wi [...]s then men, who are of the middle ranke*. The Romanes vsed to weare one selfe same garment on mourning and on festivall daies. It is most certaine, that both an extreame feare, and an exceeding heat of courage, do equally trouble and distemper the belly. The nick-name of *Iremblam*, wherewith *Zanchi [...]* the twelst King of *Navarre* was surnamed, teacheth, that boldnesse, aswell as feare, engender a startling and shaking of the limbs. Those which armed, either him, or any other of like nature, whose skin would quiver, assa ed to re-assure him, by diminishing the danger wherein he was like to fall; you have no perfect knowledge of me (said he,) for if my flesh knew how far my courage will ere-long carrie-it, it would presently fall into a flat swoune. That chilnesse, or as I may

terme it, faintnesse, which we feel after the exercises of *Venus*, the same doth also proceede of an over vehement appetite and disordred heat. Excessive heat and extreame cold doe both hoile and rost. *Aristotle* saith, *That leaden vessels doe as well melt and consume away by an excessive cold and rigor of winter, as by a vehement heat*. Both desire and sati [...]tie fill the seats with sorow, both aboue and vnder voluptuousnesse. Follie and wisdomme meet in one point of feeling and resolution, about the suffering of humane accidents. The wiser sort doth gourmandise and command evill, and others know it not. The latter, (as a man would say) short of accidents, the other, beyond. Who after they have well weighed and considered their qualities, and dulie measured, and rightly judged what they are, over-leap them by the power of a vigorous courage. They disdain and tread them vnder foote, as having a strong and solide mind, against which, if fortunes darts chance to light, they must of necessitie be blunted and abated, meeting with so resisting a bodie, as they cannot pierce, or make [170]any impression therein. The ordinarie and meane condition of men abideth betweene these two extremities; which are those that perceive and have a feeling of michiefes, but can not endure them. Both infancie and decrepitude meet with weaknesse of the braine. Covetise and profusion in a like desire to acquire and hoard-vp. It may with likelyhoode be spoken, that there is a kind of *Abecedarie* ignorance, preceding science: an other doctorall, following science: an ignorance, which science doth beget: even as it spoileth the first. Of simple, lesse-curious, and least-instructed spirits are made good christians, who simplie beleeve 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 apparance of the first sense; and have some title to interpret-it foolishnesse and sottishnesse, that we are confirmed in ancient waies, respecting vs, that are nothing therein instructed by studie. The best, most-settled, and clearest-seeing spirits, make another sort of well-beleevvers, who by long and religious investigation, penetrate a more profound, and find-out a more abstruse light in scriptures, and discover the misterious and divine secrets of our ecclesiasticall pollicie. And therefore see we some of them, that have reached vnto this last ranke, by the second, with wonderfull fruit and confirmation; as vnto the furthest bounds of christian intelligence: and enjoy their victorie with comfort, thans-giving, reformation of manners, and great modestie. In which ranke, my purpose is not to place these others, who to purge themselves from the suspicion of their forepassed errors, and the better to assure vs of them, become extreame, indiscreet, and vnjust in the conduct of our cause, and taxe and taint the same with infinit reproches of violence. The simple peasants are honest men; so are Philosophers, (or as our time nameth them, strong and cleare natures) enriched with a large instruction of profitable sciences. The mongrell sort of husband-men, who have disdained the first forme of ignorance of letters, and could never reach vnto the other (as they that sit betweene two stooles, of which besides so many others I am one) are dangerous, peevish, foolish, and importunate, and they which trouble the world most. Therefore do I (as much as lieth in me) with-draw my selfe into the first and naturall seat, whence I never assaied to depart. Popular and meere naturall Poesie, hath certaine graces, and in-bred livenessse, whereby it concurreth and compareth it selfe vnto the principall beautie of perfect and artificiall Poesie, as may plainly be seene in the *Villanelles*, homely gigs, and countrie 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 Poesie, and that consisteth betweene both, is skorned, and contemned, and passeth without honour or esteeme. But forasmuch as since the passage hath been opened vnto the spirit, I have found (as it commonly hapneth) 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 been set on fire, it discovereth an infinit number of like examples; I will onely adde this one: That if these Essayes 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 singular and excellent. The first will vnderstand 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 Smels and Odors.↵

IT is reported of some, namely of *Alexander*, that their sweat, through some rare and extraordinarie complexion, yeelded a sweet-smelling savour; whereof *Plutarke* and others seeke to find out the cause. But the common sort of bodies are cleane contrarie, and the best qualitie they have, is to be cleare of any smel at all. The sweetnesse of the purest breaths hath nothing more perfect in them, then to be without savour, that may offend-vs: as are those of healthy-sound children. And therefore saith *Plautus*;

[171]

‘Mulier tum benè, olet, vbi nihil olet. Pla [...]. Mostel. act. 1. sc. 3.’

Then smel's a woman purely well,  
When she of nothing else doth smell.

The most exquisit and sweetest savour of a woman, it is to smell of nothing; and sweet, well-smelling, strange savours, may rightly be held suspicious in such as vse them; and a man may lawfully thinke, that who vseth them, doth-it to cover some naturall defect: whence proceede these ancient Poeticall sayings.

To smell sweet, is to stinke,  
Rides nos Coracine nil olentes, Mart. li. 6. epig. 55. 4  
Malo quàm benè olere, nil olere,

You laugh at vs that we of nothing savour,  
Rather smell so, then sweeter (by your savour.) And else where.

Post hume non benè olet, qui benè semper olet. Li. 2. epig. 12. 4.

Good fir, he smels not ever sweet,  
Who smels still sweeter then is meet.

Yet love I greatly to be entertained with sweet smels, and hate exceedingly all maner of sowre and ill savours, which I shall sooner smell, then any other.

—*Namque sagacius vnus odoror*, Hor. epod. 12. 4.  
Polypus, an gravis hirsutis cubet hircus in alis,  
Quàm canis acer vbi lateat sut.

Sooner smell I, whether a cancred nose,  
Or ranke gote-smell in hairie arme-pits lie,  
Then sharpest hounds, where rowting bores repose.

The simplest and meerely-naturall smels, are most pleasing vnto me; which care ought chiefly to concerne women. In the verie heart of *Barbarie*, the Scithian women, after they had washed themselves, did sprinkle, dawbe, and powder all their bodies and faces over, with a certaine odoriferous drug, that groweth in their Countrie: which dust and dawbing being taken away, when they come neere men, or their husbands, they remaine verie cleane, and with a verie sweet-savouring perfume. What odor soever it be, it is strange to see, what hold it will take on-me, and how apt my skin is to receive it. He that complaineth against nature, that she hath not created man with a fit instument, to carrie sweet smels fast-tied to his nose, is much to blame: for, they carrie themselves. As for me in particular, my mostachoes, which are verie thicke, serve me for that purpose. Let me but approach my gloves or my handkercher to them, their smell will sticke vpon them a whole day. They manifest the place I

come from. The close-smacking, sweetnesse-moving, love-alluring, and greedismirking kisses of youth, were heretofore 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 contagion of the ayre: And I have escaped those of my time, of which there hath been many and severall kinds, both in the Townes about me, and in our Armie. We read of *Socrates*, that during the time of many plagues and relapses of the pestilence, which so often infested the Citie of *Athens*, he never forsooke or went out of the Towne: yet was he the onely man, that was never infected, or that felt any sicknesse. Phisitians might (in mine opinion) draw more vse and good from odours, then they doe. For, my selfe have often perceived, that according 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 saying, that the invention of incense and perfumes in Churches, so ancient and so far-dispersed throughout all nations and religions, had an especiall regard to rejoyce, to comfort, to quicken, to rowze, and to purifie our senses, that so we might be the apter and readier vnto contemplation. And the better to judge of it, I would I had my part of the skill, which some Cookes have, who can so curiously season and temper strange odors with the savour and relish of their meats. 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 Emperour *Charles* the fifth. His viands were so exquisitely farced, and so sumptuously seasoned with sweet odoriferous drugs, and aromaticall spices, that it was found vpon his booke of accompt, the dressing of one peacocke, and two fesants amounted to one hundred duckets; which was their ordinarie maner of cooking his meates. And when they were carved-vp, not onely the dining chambers, but all the roomes of his pallace, and the streets round about-it were replenished with an exceeding [172]odoriferous and aromaticall vapour, which continued a long time after. The principall care I take, wheresoever I am lodged, is to avoid, and be far from all maner of filthy, foggy, ill-savouring, and vnwholsome aires. These goodly Cities of strangely-seated *Denice*, and huge-built *Paris*, by reason of the muddie, sharp, and offending savors, which they yeeld; the one by her fennie and marish scituation, the other by her du [...]tie vncleanesse, and continuall mire, doe greatly alter and diminish the favour which I beare them.

### **The sixe and fiftieth Chapter. Of Praiers and Orisons.**

I Propose certaine formelesse and irresolute fantasies, as do those schollers, who in schooles publish doubtfull and sophisticall questions to be disputed and canvased: not to establish the truth, but to find-it out: which I submit to their judgements, to whom the ordering and directing, not onely 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, deeming-it absurde and impious, if any thing be, either ignorantly, or vnadvisedly set downe in this rapsodie, contrarie vnto the sacred resolutions, and repugnant to the holie prescriptions of the Catholike, Apostolike, and Romane Church, wherein I was borne, and out of which I purpose not to die. And therefore alwaies referring my selfe 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 sithence, by an especiall and singular favour of Gods divine bountie, a certaine forme of Praier, hath, by the verie mouth of God, word by word been prescribed & directed vnto vs, I have ever thought the vse of-it, should be more ordinarie 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 businesse, I would have all good Christians, to say the *Pater noster*, and if no other praier, at least not to omit that. The Church may extend, amplifie, and diversifie praiers according to the need of our instruction: For, I know it is alwaies 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 effectually in all events. It is the onely praier I vse in every place, at all times, and vpon every accident; and in stead of changing, I vse 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 error commeth, that in all our desseignes and enterprises, of what nature soever, we immediatly have recourse vnto God, and in every necessitie, we call vpon his holie name: And at what time soever we stand in need of any help, and that our weaknesse wanteth assistance, we onely invoke him, without considering whether the occasion be just or vnjust; 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. Indeed, he is our onely protector, and of power to afford vs all maner 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 just, as he is mightie: But oftner vseth his justice than his might, and favoureth vs according to the reason of the same, and not according to our requests. *Plato* in his lawes maketh three sorts of injurious beliefe in the Gods: First, that there is none at all; Secondly, that they meddle not with our affaires; Thirdly, that they never refuse any thing vnto our vowes, offrings, and sacrifices. The first error, according to his opinion, did never continue immutable in man, even from his first infancie vnto his latter age. The two succeeding may admit some constancie. His justice and power are inseparable. It is but in vaine to implore his power in a bad cause. Man must have an vnpolluted [173]soule when he praieth (at least in that moment he addresseth himselfe to pray) and absolutely free from all vicious passions; otherwise we our selves present him the rods to scourge vs withall. In lieu of redressing our fault, we redouble the same, by presenting him with an affection fraught with irreverence, sinne, and hatred, to whom onely we should sue for grace and forgiveness. Loe-heere, why I doe not willingly commend those Pharisaeicall humours, whom I so often behold, and more then ordinarie, to pray vnto God, except their actions immediatly preceding or succeeding their praiers witness some shew of reformation or hope of amendment.

—Si nocturnus adulter *Iuven. sat. 8. 144. Tempora sanctonico velas adoperta cucullo.*

If in a cape-cloake-hood befrenchifide  
Thou a night-whore-munger thy head doost hide.

And the state of a man that commixeth devotion vnto an execrable life, seemeth in some sort to be more condemnable, then that of one, that is conformable vnto himselfe, and every way dissolute. Therefore doth our Church continually refuse, the favour of hir enterance and societie, vnto customes and manners, wilfully-obstinate on some egregious villanie. We onely pray by custome and vse, and for fashion-sake, or to say better, we but reade and pronounce our prayers: To conclude, it is nothing but a shew of formalitie, and a formall shew. And it greeveth me to see many men, who at grace before and after meat, will with great shew of devotion, crosse themselves three or foure times, (and it vexeth me so much the more, when I call to mind, that it is a signe I greatly reverence, and have in continuall vse, yea, if I be but gaping) and there-whilst, shall you see them bestow all other houres of the day in all maner of hatred, malice, covetousnesse, and injustice. Many houres spend they about vice, but one to God, and that as it were by way of recompence and composition. It is wonderous 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 passage from one vnto another. What prodigious conscience can be at any harts-case, fostring, and feeding with so mutuall, quiet, and agreeing society in one selfe same mansion, both crime and judge? A man whose *Paillardize* and *Iuxurie*, doth vncessantly sway and rule the head, and who judgeth the same abominable and most hatefull in the sight of God; what saith he vnto his all-seeing Majestie, when he openeth his lips, either of mouth or hart, to speake to him of-

it? He reclaimeth himselfe, but falleth sodainly againe. *If the obiect of his divine iustice, and his presence should strike, (as he saith) and chastice his soule, how short-soever the penitence were; feare it selfe would so often cast his thought on-it, that he would presently perceive himselfe master of those vices, which are habituated in-bred, settled, and enflashed in him.* But what of those, which ground a whole life vpon the fruit and benefite of that sinne, they know to be mortall? How many trades, professions, occupations, and vacations, have we dailie and continually vsed, frequented, and allowed amongst vs, whose essence is vicious and most pernicious? And he that would needs confesse himselfe vnto me, and of his owne accord told me, that for feare of loosing his credite, and to keep the honour of his offices; he had for a whole age, made shew and profession, and acted the effects of a religion, which in his owne selfe-accusing conscience, he judged damnable, and cleane contrarie vnto that he had in his hart: How could he admit and foster so contradictorie and impious a discourse in his hart? With what language entertaine they divine justice concerning this subject? Their repentance, consisting in visible amends, and manageable reparation; they loose 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 sans repentance? I think it goeth with the first, as with these last: But obstinacie is not herein so easie to be vanquished. This so suddaine contrarietie, and violent volubilitie of opinion, which they faine-vnto-vs, seemeth to me a miracle. They present-vs with the state of an indigestible agonie. How santasticall seemed their imagination vnto me, who these latter yeares had taken vp a fashion, to checke and reprove all men, that professed the Catholike Religion, in whom shined any extraordinarie brightnesse of spirit, saying, that it was but fained: and to doe him honour, held, that whatsoever he said in apparance, he could not inwardly chuse but have his beliefe reformed according to their byase. It is a peevish infirmitie, for a man to thinke himselfe so firmly grounded, as to perswade himselfe, that the contrarie may not be believed: And more peevish also, to be perswaded by such a spirit, that [174]preferreth I wot not what disparitie of fortune, before the hopes and threats of eternall life, They may beleeve me: If any thing could have attempted my youth, the ambition of the hazard, and difficultie, which followed this late-moderne 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 indiscreet vse of the sacred and divine songs, which the holie spirit hath indited vnto *David*. God ought not to be commixed in our actions, but with awfull reverence, and an attention full of honour and respect. The word or voice is too divine, having no other vse but to exercise our lungs, and to please our eares. It is from the conscience and not from the tongue that it must proceed. It is not consonant vnto reason, that a prentise or shop-keeping boy, amidst his idle, vaine, and frivolous conceits, should be suffered to entertaine himselfe, and play therewith. Nor is it seemely, or toollerable, to see the sacred booke of our beliefes-Mysteries, tossed vp and downe and plaid withall, in a shop, or a hall, or a kitchin. They have heretofore been accompted mysteries, but through the abuse of times, they are now held as sports and recreations. So serious, and venerable a studie should not, by way of pastime, and tumultuarie be handled. It ought to be a fixed, a purposed, and settled action, to which this preface of our office *sursum corda* should ever be adioyned; and the verie exterior parts of the bodie, should with such a countenance, be referred vnto it, that to all mens eyes it may witness a particular attention and duteous respect. It is not a a studie fitting all men, but onely such as have vowed themselves vnto-it, and whom God hath, of his infinit mercie, called thereto. The wicked, the vngodly, and the ignorant are thereby empaired. It is no historie to be fabulously reported, but a historie to be dutifully revered, awfully feared, and religiously adored. Are they not pleasantly conceited, who because they have reduced the same into the vulgar tongues, and that all men may vnderstand-it, perswade themselves, that the people shall the better conceive and digest the same? Consisteth-it but in the words, that they vnderstand not all they find written? Shall I say more? By approaching thus little vnto it, they goe backe from it. Meere ignorance, and wholly relying on others, was verily more

profitable and wiser, then is this verball, and vaine knowledge, the nurse of presumption, and source of temeritie. Moreover, I am of opinion, that the vncontrouled libertie, that all men have to wrest, dissipate, and wyre-draw a word so religious, and important, to so many 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 been conceived; and any change or translation hath not without apparance of reason been directly forbidden. Know we whether there be Iudges enow in *Basque* and in *Brittanie* to establish this translation made in their tongue? The vniversall Church hath no more difficult and solemne judgement to make. Both in speaking and preaching the interpretation is wandring, free, and mutable, and of one parcell; so is it not alike. One of our Graecian Historians, doth justly accuse his age, for as much as the secrets of Christian religion were dispersed in all publike places, and even amongst the basest artificers; and that every man might, at his pleasure, dispute of it, and at randon speake his mind of the same. And it should be a great shame for vs, who by the vnspeakable grace of God enjoy the pure and sacred mysteries of pietie, to suffer the same to be profaned in the mouthes of ignorant and popular people, seeing the verie Gentiles interdicted *Socraetes* and *Plato*, and the wisest, to meddle, enquire or speake of things committed vnto the Priestes of *Delphos*. Saying moreover, *That the factions of Princes, touching the subiect of Divinitie, are armed, not with Zeale, but with anger. That zeale dependeth of divine reason and iustice, holding an orderly and moderate course, but that it changeth into hatred and envie, and in steed of corne and grape, it produceth nettles and darnell, if it be directed by humane passion.* And justly saith this other, who counselling the Emperour *Theodosius*, affirmed *that disputations, did not so much appease and [...]*ull asleep the schismes of the Church, as stir vp and cause horesies. And therefore it behooved, to avoide all contentions, controversies, and logicall arguings, and wholly and sincerely refer himselve vnto the prescriptions and orders of faith, established by our forfathers. And *Andronicus* the Emperour, finding by chance in his pallace, certaine principall men verie earnestly disputing against *Lapodius*, about one of our points of great importance, taunted & rated them verie bitterly, and threatned if they gave not over, he would cause them to be cast into the river. Children and women doe now-adaies governe and sway the oldest and most experienced men concerning [175]Ecclesiasticall Lawes: whereas the first that *Plato* made, forbiddeth them to enquire after the reason of civill Lawes, and which ought to stand in place of divine ordinances. Allowing aged men to communicate the same amongst themselves, and with the Magistrate, adding more-over, alwaies provided it be not in the presence of yoong men, and before prosane persons. A notable Bishop hath left written, that in the other end of the world, there is an Iland called of our predecessours *Dioscorida*, verie commodious, and fertile of all sorts of fruits and trees, and of a pure and wholesome ayre; whose people are Christians, and have Churches and Altars; adorned with nothing else but crosses, without other images; great observers of fastings and holy daies; exact payers of their priests tithes; and so chaste, that none of them may lawfully all his life long know any more then one wife. And in all other matters so well pleased with their fortune, that being seated in the middest of the sea, they have and know no vse of ships: and so simple, that of their religion, which they so diligently and awfully observe, they know not, nor vnderstand so much as one onely word. A thing incredible, to him that know not how the Pagans, who are so devout and zealous idolaters, know nothing of their Gods, but onely their bare names and statues. The ancient beginning of *Menalippe*, a tragedie of *Euripides*, importeth thus.Eurip.

O Iupiter, car de toy rien sinon,  
 Je ne cogn [...]is seulement que le nom.

O *Iupiter*, for vnto me,  
 Onely the name is knowne of thee.

I have also in my time heard certaine writings complained-of, forsomuch as they are meerly humane and Philosophicall, without meddling with divinitie. He that should say to the contrarie (which a man might doe with reason) that heavenly doctrine, as a Queene and governesse doth better keep hir ranke apart; that she ought to be chiefe ruler and principall head every where, and not suffragant and subsidiarie. And that peradventure examples in Grammer, Rethorike, and Logike, might more fitly and sortably be taken from elsewhere, then from so sacred and holie a subject, as also the arguments of theatres, plots of plaies, and grounds of publike spectacles. That mysteriously-divine reasons are more venerably and reverently considered alone, and in their native stile, then joyned and compared to humane discourse. That this fault is oftner seene, which is, that Divines write too humanely, then this other, that humanists write not Theologically enough. *Philosophie*, saith S. *Chrysostome*, is long since baenished from sacred schooles, as an vnprofitable servant, and deemed vnworthie to behold, but in passing by the entrie, or the vestrie of the sacred treasures of heavenly doctrine. That the formes of humane speech, are more base, and ought by no meanes to make any vse of the dignitie, majestie, and preheminece of divine speech. As for my part, I give it leave to say, *Verbis indisciplinatis, with vndisciplined words*, Fortune, destinie, chance, accident, fate, good lucke, ill lucke, the Gods, and other phrases, as best it pleaseth. I propose humane fantasies and mine owne, simply as humane conceits, and severally considered; not as settled, concluded, and directed by celestiall ordinance, incapable of any doubt or alteration. A matter of opinion, and not of faith. What I discourse according to my selfe, not what I beleeve according vnto God, with a laicall fashion, and not a clericall manner; yet ever most religious. As children propose their essayes, instructable, not instructing. And might not a man also say without apparance, that the institution, which willeth, no man shall dare to write of Religion, but sparingly, and reservedly, except such as make expresse profession of it, would not want some shew of profit and justice; and happily to me to be silent. It hath bin told me, that even those which are not of our consent, do flatly inhibite amongst themselves the vse of the sacred name of God in all their vulgar and familiar discourses. They would have no man vse it as an interjection, or exclamation, nor to be alleaged as a witness, or compariton; wherein I find they have reason. And howsoever it be, that we call God to our commerce and societie, it should be zealously, seriously, and religiously. There is (as far as I remember) such a like discourse in *Xenophon*, wherein he declareth, *That we should more rarely pray vnto God: for asmuch as it is not easie, we should so often settle our minds in so regular, so reformed, and so devout a seat, where indeed it ought to be, to pray aright and effectually: otherwise* our praiers are, not onely vaine and vnprofitable, but vicious. *Forgive vs (say we) our offences, as we forgive them that trespasse against vs*. What else inferre we by that petition, but that we offer him our soule void of all revenge and free from all rancour? We neverthesse [176]invoke God and call on his aide, even in the complot of our grievousest faults, and desire his assistance in all maner of injustice and iniquitie.

Quae nisi seductis nequeas committere divis.Pers. sat. 2. 4.

Which you to Saints not drawne aside,  
Would thinke vnfit to be applide.

The couetous man sueth and praieth vnto him for the vaine increase and superfluous 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 desseignes. The theefe, the pirate, the murtherer, yea and the traitor, all call vpon him, all implore his aide, & all sollicite him, to give them courage in their attempts, constancie in their resolutions, to remove all lets and difficulties, that in any sort may withstand their wicked executions, and impious actions; or give him thanks, if they have had good successe; the one if he have met with a good bootie, the other if he returne home rich, the third if no man have seen him kill his enimie, and the last, though he have caused any execrable mischiefe. The Souldier, if he but go to

besiege a cottage, to scale a Castle, to rob a Church, to pettard a gate, to force a religious house, or any villanous act, before he attempt-it, praieth to God for his assistance, though his intents and hopes be full-fraught with crueltie, murther, covetise, luxurie, sacri-ledge, and all iniquitie.

Hoc ipsum quo in Iovis aurem impellere tentas,  
Dic aegedum, Staio, proh Iuppiter, ô bone, clamet, 21.  
Iuppiter, at sese non clamet Iuppiter ipse.

Go-to then, say the same to some bad fellow,  
Which thou prepar'st for Gods eares: let him bellow,  
O God, good God; so God,  
On himselfe would not plod.

*Margaret Queene of Navarre*, maketh mention of a yong Prince (whom although she name not expresly, yet his greatnesse hath made him sufficiently knowne) who going about an amorous assignation, and to lie with an Advocates wife of *Paris*, his way lying alongst a Church, he did never passe by so holie a place, whether it were in going or comming from his lecherie, and cukolding-labour, but would make his praier vnto God, to be his help and furtherance. I would faine have any impartiall man tell me, to what purpose this Prince invoked and called on God for his divine favour, having his mind onely bent to sinne, and his thoughts set on luxurie: Yet doth she alleage him for a speciall testimonie of singular devotion. But it is not onely by this example, a man might verifie, that women are not verie fit to manage or treat matters of Religion and Divinitie. A true and hartie praier, and an vnfaigned religious reconciliation from vs vnto God, cannot likely fall into a wicked and impure soule, especially when Sathan swaieth the same. He that calleth vpon God for his assistance, whilst he is engulphed and wallowing in filthie sinne, doth as the cut-purse, that should call for justice vnto his ayde, or those that produce God in witness of a lie.

— tacito mala vota susurro Lucan. li. 5. 94. Concipimu [...].

With silent whispering we,  
For ill things suppliants be.

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

Haud cuivis promptum est, murmurque humilésque susurros Pers. sat. 2. 6.  
Tollere de Templis, & aperto vivere voto.

From Church low-whispering murmurs to expell,  
T'is not for all, or with knowne vowes live well.

And that's the reason, why the Pithagorians would have them publike, 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;

— *clarè cùm dixit, Apollo*, Hor. lib. 1. epist. 16. 59.  
Labra movet metuens audiri: pulchra Laverna  
Da mihi fallere, da iustum sanctúmque videri.  
Noctem peccatis, & fraudibus [...]bijce nubem.

When he alowd hath said, *Apollo* heare,  
Loth to be heard, Goddesses of theeves, said he,  
[177] Grant me to cousen, and yet just appeare,  
My faults in night, my fraud's in clouds let be.

The Gods did grievously punish the impious vowes of *Oedipus*, by granting them vnto him. His praier was, that his children might betwene themselves decide in armes the succession of his estate; he was so miserable, as to be taken at his word. A man should not request that all things follow our will, but that it may follow wisdom. Verily, it seemeth, that we make no other vse of our praiers, then of a companie of gibbrish phrases: And as those who employ holie and sacred words about witchcraft and magicall effects; and that we imagine their effect dependeth of the contexture, or sound, or succession of words, or from our countenance. For, our soule, being full-fraught with concupiscence, and all manner of vngodly thoughts, nothing touched with repentance, nor moved with new reconciliation towards God, we headlong present vnto him those heedlesse words, which memorie affoordeth our tongue, by which we hope to obtaine an expiation and remission of our offences. There is nothing so easie, so sweet, so comfortable and favourable, as the law of God; she (of his infinit mercie) calleth vs vnto him, how faultie and detestable soever we be; she gently stretcheth forth hir armes vnto vs, and mildely receiveth vs into hir lap, how guiltie, polluted, and sinfull soever we are, and may be in after-times. But in recompence of so boundlesse and vnspeakable a favour, she must be thankfully accepted, and cheerfully regarded: and so gracious a pardon must be received with a gratitude of the soule, and at least, in that instant, that we addresse our selves vnto hir presence; to have our soule grieved for hir faults, penitent of hir sinnes, hating those passions and affections, that have caused or provoked vs to transgresse his lawes, to offend his Majestie, and to breake his commaundments. *Plato* saith, *That neither the Gods, nor honest men will ever accept the offering of a wicked man.*

Immunis aram si tetigit manus, Li. 3. od. 23. 17.  
 Non sumptuosa blandior hostia  
 Mollivit aversos Penates,  
 Farre pio & saliente mica.

If guiltlesse hand the Altar tuch,  
 No offering, cost it ne're so much,  
 Shall better please our God offended,  
 Then corne with crackling-corne-salt blended.

### **The seven and fiftieth Chapter. Of Age.**

I Cannot receive that manner, whereby we establish the continuance of our life. I see that some of the wiser sort doe greatly shorten the same, in respect of the common opinion. What said *Cato Iunior*, to those who sought to hinder him from killing him-selfe? *Doe I now live the age, wherein I may iustly be reprov'd to leave my life too soone?* Yet was he but eight and fortie yeares old. He thought that age verie ripe, yea, and well advanced, considering how few men come vnto-it. And such as entertaine themselves with, I wot not what kind of course, which they call naturall, promiseth some few yeares beyond, might do-it, had they a priviledge that could exempt them from so great a number of accidents, vnto which each one of vs stands subject by a naturall subjection, and which may interrupt the said course, they propose vnto themselves. What fondnesse is-it, for a man to thinke he shall die, for, and through, a failing and defect of strength, which extreame age draweth with-it, and to propose that terme vnto our life, seeing it is the rarest kind of all deaths, and least in vse? We onely call it naturall, as if it were against nature to see a man breake his necke with a fall; to be drowned by shipwracke; to be surprised with a pestilence, or pleurisie, and as if our ordinarie [178]condition did not present these inconveniences vnto vs all. Let vs not flatter ourselves with these fond-goodly woords; a man may peradventure rather call that naturall, which is generall, common and vniversall. To die of age, is a rare, singular, and extraordinarie death, and so much lesse naturall then others: It is the last and extreamest kind of dying: The further



it is from vs, so much the lesse is it to be hoped for: Indeed it is the limit, beyond which we shall not passe, and which the law of nature hath prescribed vnto vs, as that which should not be outgon by any; but it is a rare priviledge peculiar vnto hir selfe, to make vs continue vnto-it. It is an exemption, which through some particular favour she bestoweth on some one man, in the space of two or three ages, discharging him from the crosses, troubles, and difficulties, she hath enterposed betweene both, in this long cariere and pilgrimage. Therefore my opinion is, to consider, that the age vnto which we are come, is an age whereto few arive: since men come not vnto it by any ordinarie course, it is a signe we are verie forward. And since we have past the accustomed bounds, 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 we see the world to fall, we must acknowledge that such an extraordinarie fortune, as that is, which maintaineth vs, and is beyond the common vse, is not likely to continue long. It is a fault of the verie lawes, to have this false imagination: They allow not a man to be capable and of discretion, to manage and dispose of his owne goods, vntill he be five and twentie yeares old, yet shall he hardly preserve the state of his life so long. *Augustus* abridged five yeares of the ancient Romane Lawes, and declared, that for any man that should take vpon him the charge of judgement, it sufficed to be thirtie yeares old. *Servius Tullius* dispensed with the Knights, who were seaven and fortie yeares of age, from all voluntarie services of warre. *Augustus* brought them to fortie and five. To send men to their place of sojourning before they be five and fiftie or three score yeares of age, me seemeth, carrieth no great apparance with-it. My advice would be, that our vacation, and employment should be extended as far as might be for the publike commoditie; but I blame some, and condemne most, that we begin not soone enough to employ our selves. The same *Augustus* had been vniversall and supream judge of the world, when he was but nineteene yeares old, and would have another to be thirtie, before he shall bee made a competent judge of a cottage or farme. As for my part, I thinke our minds are as full growne and perfectly joynted at twentie yeares, as they should be, and promise as much as they can. A mind which at that age hath not given some evident token or earnest of hir sufficiencie, shall hardly give-it afterward; put hir to what triall you list. Naturall qualities and vertues, if they have any vigorous or beauteous thing in them, will produce and show the same within that time, or never. They say in Daulphiné,

Si l'espine nou picque quand nai, French. prov.  
A peine que picque iamai.

A thorne, vnlesse at first it pricke,  
Will hardly ever pearce to th' quicke.

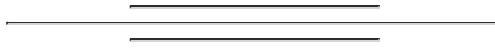
Of all humane honorable and glorious actions, that ever came vnto my knowledge, of what nature soever they be, I am perswaded, I should have a harder taske, to number those, which both in ancient times, and in ours, have been produced and atchieved before the age of thirtie yeares, then such as were performed after: yea, often in the life of the same men. May not I boldly speak it of those of *Hanniball*, and *Scipio* his great adversarie? They lived the better part 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 meane in regard of themselves. As for my particular, I am verily perswaded, that since that age, both my spirit and my bodie, have more decreased then increased, more recoyled then advanced. It may be, that knowledge and experience shall encrease in them, together with life, that bestow their time well: but vivacitie, promptitude, constancie, and other parts much more our owne, more important and more essentiall, they droope, they languish, and they faint.

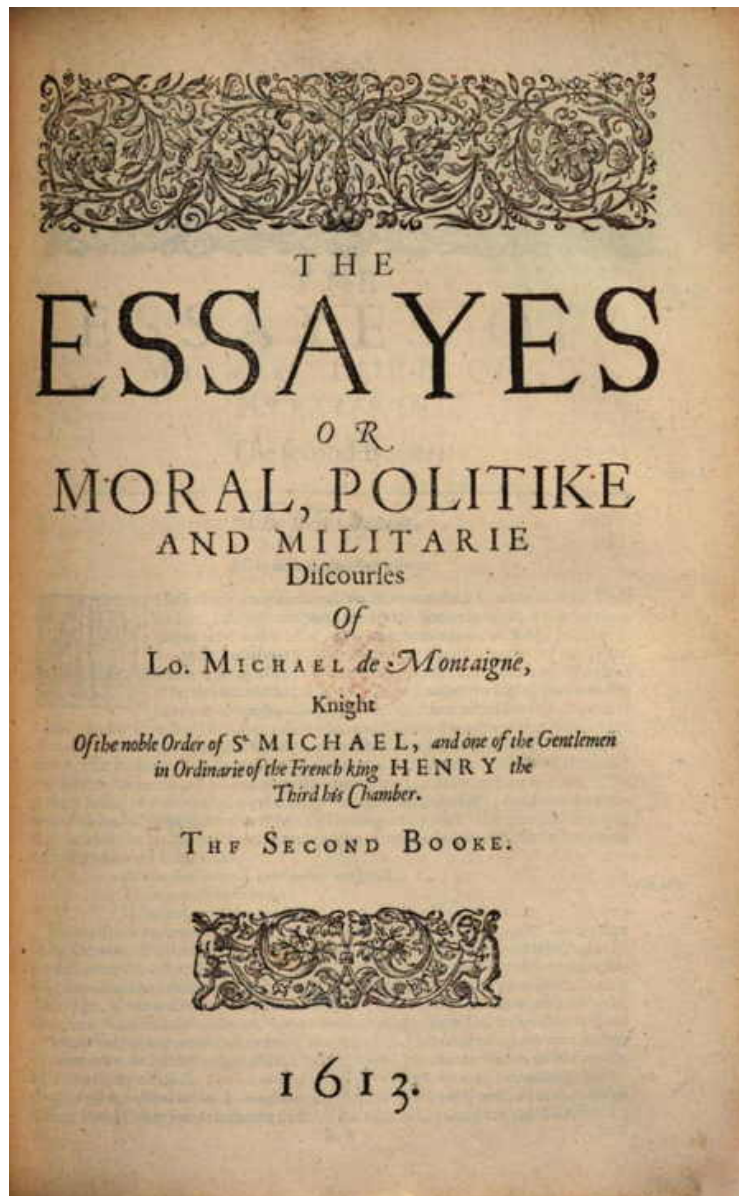
—*vbi iam validis quassatum est viribus aevi* Lucr. li. 3. 457.  
Corpus, & obtusis ceciderunt viribus artus,  
Claudicat ingenium, delirat linguáquè ménsque.

Whence once the bodie by shrewd strength of yeares  
Is shak't, and limmes drawne-downe from strength that weares,  
Wit halts, both tongue and mind  
Doe dailie doat, we find.

It is the bodie, which sometimes yeeldeth first vnto age; and other times the mind: and I have seene many, that have had their braines weakned before their stomake or legges. And forasmuch, as it is a disease, little or nothing sensible vnto him that endureth-it, and maketh no great shew, it is so much the more dangerous. Here I exclaime against our Lawes, not because they leave 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 weaknesse of our life, and seeing the infinite number of ordinarie rockes, and naturall dangers it is subject vnto, we should not so soone as we come into the world, alot so great a share thereof vnto vnprofitable wantonnesse in youth, il-breeding idlenesse, and slow-learning prentissage.

**The end of the first Booke.**





[183]



## THE ESSAYES OF MICHAEL LORD OF MONTAIGNE.

The second Booke.

The first Chapter.

Of the inconstancie of our actions. [↪](#)

Those which exercise themselves in controuling humane actions, finde no such let in any one part, as to peece them together, and bring them to one same lustre: For, they commonly contradict one an other so strangely, as it seemeth impossible they should be parcels of one Warehouse. Young *Marius* is sometimes found to be the sonne of *Mars*, and other times the

childe of *Denus*. Pope *Bonifae* [...] the Eight, is reported to have entred into his charge, as a Fox; 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 cruelty, who being required to signe (as the custome was) the sentence of a criminall offender, that had beene condemned to die, that ever he should answer? Oh would to God I could never have written! So neare was his heart grieved to doome a man to death. The world is so full of such examples, that every man may store himselfe; and I wonder to see men of vnderstanding trouble themselves with sorting these parcels: Sithence (me seemeth) irresolution is the most apparant and common vice of our nature; as witnesseth that famous verse of *Publius* the Comoedian:

Malum consilium est, quod mutari non potest.

The counsell is but bad, Pub. Mi [...].  
Whose change may not be had.

There is some apparence to judge a man by the most common conditions of his life; but seeing the naturall instability 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 chuse an vniversall ayre, and following that image, range and interpret all a mans actions; which if they cannot wrest sufficiently, they remit them vnto dissimulation. *Augustus* hath escaped their hands; for there is so apparant, so sudden and continuall a variety of actions found in him, through the course of his life, that even the boldest judges and strictest censurers, have beene faine to give him over, and leave him vndecided. *There is nothing I so hardly beleeeve 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 truth. View all antiquity over, and you shall finde it a [184]hard matter, to chuse out a dozen of men, that have directed their life vnto one certaine, settled, and assured course; which is the surest drift of wisdom. For, to comprehend all in one word, saith 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 would not vouchsafe, (saith he) to adde anything; alwaies provided the will be just: for, if it be vnjust, it is impossible it should ever continue one. Verily, I have heeretofore learned, that vice is nothing but a disorder, and want of measure, and by consequence, it is impossible to fasten constancy vnto it. It is a saying of *Demosthenes*, (as some report,) *That consultation and deliberation, is the beginning of all vertue; and constancy, the end and perfection.* If by reason or discourse we should take a certaine way, we should then take the fairest: but no man hath thought on it.

Quod petijt, sper [...], repetit quod nuper omisit, Hor. l. 1. epist. 1. 98.  
Astuat, & vitae disconvenit or dine toto.

He scorn's that which he sought, seek's that he scorn'd of late,  
He flowes, ebbes, disagrees in his lifes whole estate.

Our ordinary manner is to follow the inclination of our appetite, this way and that way; on the left, and on the right hand; vpward and downe-ward, according as the winde of occasions doth transport vs: we never thinke on what we would have, but at the instant we would have it: and change as that beast that takes the colour of the place wherein it is laid. What we even now purposed, we alter by and by, and presently returne to our former biase: all is but changing, motion, and inconstancy:

Ducimur vt nervis alienis mobile lignum. [...]. sat. 7. 82.

So are we drawne, as wood is shooved,  
By others sinnewes each way mooved.

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

—*nónne videmus*

Quid sibi quisque velit nescire & quaerere semper, Luer. l. 3 ■ 1100

Commutare locum quasi onus deponere possit?

See we not, every man in his thoughts height  
Knowes not what he would have, yet seekes he straight  
To change place, as he could lay downe his weight?

Every day new toies, each houre new fantasies, and our humours moove and fleete with the fleetings and movings of time.

Tales sunt hominum mentes, quali Pater ipse Cic. Fr [...].g [...].

Iuppiter auctifero lustravit lumine terras.

Such are mens mindes, as that great God of might  
Survaies the earth with encrease bearing light.

We floate and waver betweene divers opinions: we will nothing freely, nothing absolutely, nothing constantly. Had any man prescribed certaine Lawes, or established assured policies in his owne head; in his life should we daily see, to shine an equality of customes, an assured order, and an infallible relation from one thing to another (*Empedocles* noted this deformity to be amongst the Agrigentines, that they gave themselves so over vnto delights, as if they should die tomorrow next, and built as if they should never die) the discourse thereof were easie to be made. As is seene in yoong *Cato*: He that toucht but one step of it, hath touched all. It is an harmony of well according tunes and which cannot contradict it self. With vs it is cleane contrary, so many actions, so many particular judgements are there requir'd. The surest way (in mine opinion) were to refer them vnto the next circumstances, without entering into further search, and without concluding any other consequence of them. During the late tumultuous broiles of our mangled estate, it was told me, that a yoong woman, not farre from mee, had head-long cast hir selfe out of a high window, with intent to kill hirselfe, onely to avoide the ravishment of a rascaly-base souldier, that lay in hir house, who offred to force hir: and perceiving that with the fall she had not killed hirselfe, to make an end of hir enterprize, she would have cutte hir owne throate with a knife, but that she was hindered by some that came-into her: Neverthelesse having sore wounded hirselfe, she voluntarily confessed, that the Souldier had yet but vrged hir with importunate requests, suing-solicitations, and golden bribes ■ but she feared he would in the end have obtained his purpose by compulsion: [185]by whose earnest speaches, resolute countenance, and gored bloud (a true testimony of hir chaste vertue) she might appeare to be the lively paterne of an other *Lucrece*, yet know I certainly, that both before that time, and afterward, she had beene enjoyed of others vpon easier composition. And as the common saying is; Faire and soft, as squemish-honest as she seemes, although you misse of your intent, conclude not rashly an inviolable chastitie to be in your Mistresse; For, a groome or a horse-keeper may find an houre to thrive in; and a dog hath a day. *Antigonus* having taken vpon him to favour a Souldier of his, by reason of his vertue and valour, commaunded his Phisicians to have great care of him, and see whether they could recover him of a lingring and inward disease, which had long tormented him, who being perfectly cured, he afterward perceived him to be nothing so earnest and diligent in his affaires, demaunded of him, how he was so changed from himselfe, and become so ocwardish: your selfe good sir (answered he) have made me so, by ridding me of those in firmities, which so did grive me, that I made no accompt of my life. A Souldier of *Lucullus*, having by his enemies been robbed of all he had, to revenge himself vndertooke a notable and desperat atempt vpon them; and having

recovered his losses, *Lucullus* conceived a very good opinion of him, and with the greatest shewes of assured trust and loving kindnesse he could bethinke himselfe, made especiall accompt of him, and in any daungerous enterprize seemed to trust and employ him onely:

Uerbis quae timido quoque possent addere mentem: Hor. 1. 2. epist. 2. 34.

With words, which to a coward might  
Adde courage, had he any spright.

Imploy (said he vnto him) some wretch-strippd and robbed souldier

—(quantumvis rusticus ibit, 39. Ibit eò, quo vis, qui zonam perdidit, inquit.)

(None is, saith he, so clownish, but will-on,  
Where you will have him, if his purse be gone)

and absolutely refused to obey him. When we reade that *Mahomet*, having outragiously rated *Chasan*, chiefe leader of his Ianizers, because he saw his troupe wel-nigh defeated by the Hungarians, and hee to behave himselfe but faintly in the fight, *Chasan* without making other reply, alone as he was, and without more adoe, with his weapon in his hand rushed furiously in the thickest throng of his enemies that the first mette withall, of whom hee was instantly slaine: This may haply be deemed, rather a rash conceit, than a justification; and a new spight, then a naturall p [...]owes. He whom you saw yesterday so boldly-venturous, wonder not if you see him a dastardly meacoke 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 stir vp his courage. It is no hart nor courage so framed by discourse or deliberation: These circumstances haue settled the same in him: Therefore is it no marvell if by other contrary circumstance he become a craven and change copy. This supple variation, and easie yeelding contradiction, which is seene in vs, hath made some to imagine, that wee had two soules and others, two faculties; whereof every one as best she pleaseth, accompanieth and doth agitate-vs; the one towards good, the other towards evil. For somuch as such a rough diversitie cannot wel sort and agree in one simple subject. The blast of accidents, doth not only remove me according to his inclination; for besides, I remove and trouble my selfe by the instability of my posture, and whosoever looketh narrowly about himselfe, shall hardly see himselfe twice in one same state. Somtimes I give my soule one visage, and sometimes another, according vnto the posture or side I lay hir in. If I speake diversly of my selfe, it is because I looke diversly vpon my selfe. All contrarieties are found in hir, according to some turne or remooving, and in some fashion or other. Shamefast, bashfull, insolent, chaste, luxurious, peevish, prattling, silent, fond, doting, labourious, nice, delicate, ingenious, slowe, dull, froward, humorous, debonaire, wise, ignorant, false in wordes, true speaking, both liberall, co, vetous, and prodigall. All these I perceive in some measure or other to bee in mee, accorning as I stirre or turne my selfe; And whosoever shall heedefully survay and consider him selfe, shall finde this volubilitie and discordance to be in himselfe, yea and in his very judgement. I have nothing to say entirely, simply, and with soliditie of my selfe, without confusion, disorder, blending, mingling; and in one word, *Distinguo* is the most vniversall part of my logike. Although I ever purpose to speake good of good, and rather to enterprete those [186]things, that will beare it, vnto a good sense; yet is it that, the strangenes of our condition admitteth that we are often vrged to doe wel by vice it selfe, if wel doing were not judged by the intention only. Therefore may not a couragious acte conclude a man to be valiant. He that is so, when just occasion serveth, shall ever be so, and vpon all occasions. If it were an habitude of vertue, and not a sodaine humour, it would make a man equally resolute at all assayes, in all accidents: Such alone, as in company; such in a single combate, as in a set battell; For, whatsoever some say, valour is all alike, and not one in the

street or towne, and another in the campe or field. As courageously should a man beare a sickenes in his bed, as a hurt in the field and feare death no more at home in his house, then abroad in an assault. We should not then see one same man enter the breach, or charge his enemy with an assured and vndoubted fiercenesse, and afterward having escaped that, to vexe, to grive and torment himselfe like vnto a seely woman, or faint-hearted milke-soppe for the losse of a sute, or death of a childe. If one chance to be carelesly base-minded in his infancie, and constantly-resolute in povertie; if he be timorously-fearefull at sight of a Barbers razor, and afterward stowtlyvndismayed against his enemies swordes: The action is commendable, but not the man. Divers Graecians (saith *Cicero*) can not endure to looke their enemy in the face, yet are they most constant in their sickenesses; whereas the *Cimbrians*, and *Celtiberians*, are meere contrary. *Nihil enim potest esse aequabile, quod non à certa ratione profiscatur: For nothing can beare Cic. Tusc. qu. 1. 2. f. it selfe even, which proceedeth not from resolved reason.* There is no valor more extreame in his kinde, than that of *Alexander*; yet is it but in *species*, nor every where sufficiently full and vniversall. As incomparable as it is, it hath his blemishes, which is the reason that in the idleest suspitions, he apprehendeth at the conspiracies of his followers against his life, we see him so earnestly to vex, and so desperately to trouble himselfe: In search and pursuite whereof he demeaneth himselfe with so vehement and indiscreet an injustice, and with such a demisse feare, that even his naturall reason is thereby subverted. Also the superstition, wherewith he is so throughly tainted, beareth some shew of pusilanimitie. And the vnlimited excesse of the repentance he shewed for the murther of *Clitus*, is also a witnesse of the inequality of his courage. Our matters are but parcels hudled-vp, and peeces patched together, and we endeavour to acquire honour by false meanes, and vntrue tokens. *Vertue will not bee followed, but by her-selfe:* And if at any time wee borrow her maske, vpon some other occasion, she will as soone pull-it from our face. It is a lively hew, and strong die, if the soule be once dyed with the same perfectly, and which will never fade or be gone, except it carry the skinne away with-it. Therefore to judge a man, we must a long time follow, and very curiously marke his steppes; whether constancie doe wholly subsist and continue vpon hir owne foundation in him, *Cui vivendi via considerat a atque provisus est, who hath forecast and considered the way of life;* whether the variety of occurrences make him change his pace (I meane his *Cic. parad. 5.* way, for his pace may either be hastened or slowed) let him runne on: such a one (as sayeth the impresse of our good *Talbot*) goeth before the winde. It is no marvell (saith an olde writer) that hazard hath such power over-vs, since wee live by hazard. It is impossible for him to dispose of his particular actions, that hath not in grose directed his life vnto one certaine end. It is impossible for him to range all pieces in order, that hath not a plot or forme of the totall frame in his head. What avayleth the provision of all sorts 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 parcels. A skilfull archer ought first to know the marke he aimeth at, and then apply his hand, his bow, his string, his arrow and his motion accordingly. Our counsels goe a stray, 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 iudgement, which some made of *Sophocles*, and to have concluded him sufficient in the managing of domesticall matters, against the accusation of his owne Sonne, only by the sight of one of his tragedies. Nor do I commend the conjecture of the *Parians*, sent to reforme the *Milesians*, as sufficient to the consequence they drew thence. In visiting and surveying the Ile, they marked the Landes that were best husbanded, and observed the country houses that were best governed. And having registred the names of their owners; and afterward made an assemblie of the Townes-men of the Citie, they named and instituted those owners as new governours and magistrates, judging and concluding, that beeing good husbands and carefull of their household affaires, they must consequently be so of publike matters. We are [187]all framed of flaps and patches and of so shapelesse and diverse a contexture, that every piece and every moment plaieth his part. And there is as much difference found betweene vs and our selves,

as there is betweene our selves and other. *Magnam rem puta, vnum hominem agere. Esteeme it a great matter, to play but one man.*

Since ambition may teach men both valour, temperance, liberality, yea and justice: Sith covetousnesse may settle in the minde of a Shop-prentise-boy, broughtvp in ease and idlenesse, a dreadlesse assurance to leave his home-bred ease, and forgoe his place of education, and in a small barke to yeeld himselfe vnto the mercy of blustering waves, mercilesse windes and wrathfull *Neptune*; and that it also teacheth discretion and wisdom: And that *Venus* herself ministreth resolution and hardinesse vnto tender youth as yet subject to the discipline of the rod, and teacheth the ruthlesse Souldier, the soft and tenderly effeminate heart of women in their mothers lappes.

Hac duce custodes furtim transgressa iacentes, Tib. 1. 2. el. 1. 75.  
—*Ad invenem tenebris sola puella venit.*

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

*It is no part of a well-grounded iudgement, simply to iudge our selves by our exteriour actions: A man must throughl sound himselfe, and dive into his heart, and there see by what wards or springs the motions stirre. But forasmuch as it is a hazardous and high enrerprise, I would not have so many to meddle with it as doe.*

## **The second Chapter. Of Drunkenesse.**

*The world is nothing but variety, and dissemblance. Vices are all alike, in asmuch as they are all vices: And so doe happily the Stoikes meane it. But though they are equally vices, they are not equall vices; And that hee who hath started a hundred steps beyond the limites*

Quos vltra citráque nequit consistere rectum, Hor. 1. 1. sat. 1. 107.

On this side, or beyond the which  
No man can hold a right true pitch.

is not of worse condition, then he that is ten steps short of it, is no whit credible: and that sacriledge is not worse then the stealing of a Colewort out of a Garden.

Nec vincet ratio, tantandem vt peccet, inémque, Sat. 3. 115.  
Quiteneros caules alieni fregerit horti,  
Et qui nocturnus divûm sacra legerit.—

No reason can evict, as great or same sinnetaints  
Him that breakes in an others Garden tender plants,  
And him that steales by night things consecrate to Saints.

There is as much diversity in that as in any other thing. The confusion of order and measure of crimes, is dangerous: Murtherers, 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 lascivious, or lesse assiduous vnto devotion. Every man poiseth vpon his fellowes sinne, and elevates his owne. Even teachers doe often range it ill in my conceit. As *Socrates* said, that the chiefest office of wisdom, was to distinguish goods and evils. We others, to whom the best is ever in vice, should say the like of knowledge, to distinguish vices. Without which, and that very exact, both vertuous and wicked men remaine confounded and vnknown. Now



drunkenness amongst others, appeareth to mee a grosse and brutish vice. The minde hath more part else where; and some vices there are, which (if it may lawfully be spoken) have a kinde of I wot not what generosity in them. Some there are, that have learning, diligence, valour, prudence, wit, cunning, dexterity, and subtlety joynd with them; whereas this is meere corporall, and terrestriall. And the grossest and rudest nation, [188]that liveth amongst vs at this day, is onely that which keepeth it in credite. Other vices but alter and distract the vnderstanding, whereas this vtterly subverteth the same, and astonieth the body.

—*cùm vini vis penetravit*, Luer. l. 3. 479.  
Consequitur gravitas membrorum, praepediuntur  
Crur a vacillanti, tardescit lingua, madet mens,  
Nant oculi, clamor, singultus, inrgia gliscunt

When once the force of wine hath inly pierst,  
Limbes-heaviness is next, legs faine would goe,  
But reeling can not, tongue drawles, mindes disperst,  
Eyes swimme, cries, hickups, brables grow.

The worst estate of man, is where he looseth the knowledge and governemen of himselfe. And amongst other things, it is said, that as must wine boyling and working in a vessell, workes and sends vpward what ever it containeth in the bottome, so doth wine cause those that drinke excessively of it, worke vp, and breake out their most concealed secrets.

—*tu sapientium* Hor. l. 3. [...]d. 21. 14.  
Curas, & arcanum iocoso  
Consilium retegis Lyaeo.

Thou (wine-cup) doest by wine reveale  
The cares, which wise men would conceale,  
And close drifts, at a merry meale.

*Iosephus* reporteth, that by making an Ambassador to tipple-square, whome his enemies had sent vnto him, he wrested all his secrets out of him. Neverthelesse *Augustus* having trusted *Lucius Piso*, that conquered *Thrace*, with the secretest affaires he had in hand, had never cause to be discontented with him; Nor *Tiberius* with *Cossus*, to whom he imparted all his seriousest counsels, although we know them both to have so given themselves to drinking of wine, that they were often faine to be carried from the Senat, and both were reputed notable drunkards.

—*Hesterno inflatum venas de more Lyaeo*. Vir. luc. [...]c. 6. 15. [...]

Veines pufft vp, as is vsed alway,  
By wine which was drunke yesterday.

And as faithfully as the complot and purpose to kill *Caesar* committed vnto *Cimber*, who would daily be drunke with quaffing of wine, as vnto *Cassius*, that drunke nothing but water wherevpon he answered very pleasantly. What? shall I beare a Tyrant, that am not able to beare wine? We see our carowsing tospot German souldiers, when they are most plunged in their cups, and as drunke as Rats, to have perfect remembrance of their quarter, of the watch word, and of their files.

—*nec facilis victoria de madidis*, & Ivue. sat. 15. 47 *Blaesis, atque mero titubantibus*.—

Nor is the conquest easie of men sow'st,  
Lisping and reeling with wine they carow'st.

I would never have believed so sound, so deepe and so excessive drunkennesse, had I not read in Histories, that *Attalus* having envited to sup with him (with intent to doe him some notable indignity) the same *Pausanias*, who for the same cause killed afterward *Philip* King of *Macedon*, (a King who by the eminent faire qualities that were in him, bore a testimony of the education he had learned in the house and company of *Epaminondas*) made him so dead-drunke, that insensibly and without feeling, he might prostitute his beauty as the body of a common hedge-harlot, to Mulettiers, Groomes and many of the abject servants of his house. And what a Lady (whom I much honour and highly esteeme) told mee, protesting, that neere *Burdeaux*, towards *Castres*, where hir house is, a widdow Country-woman, reputed very chaste and honest, suspecting hirselfe to be with childe, told hir neighbours, tha had she a husband, she should verily thinke she were with childe. But the occasion of this suspition encreasing more and more, and perceiving hirselfe so big-bellied, that shee could no longer conceale it, she resolved to make the Parrish-priest acquainted with it, whom she entreated to publish in the Church, that whosoever hee were, that was guilty of the fact, and would avow it, shee would freely forgive him, and if hee were so pleased, take [189]him to her husband. A certaine swaine or hyne-boy of hers, emboldned by this proclamation, declared, how that having one holliday found her well-tipped with wine, and so sound asleepe by the chimnie side, lying so fit and ready for him, that without a waking her he had the full vse of her body. Whom she accepted for her husband, and both live together at this day. It is assured that antiquitie hath not greatly described this vice. The compositions of diverse Philosophers speake but sparingly of it. Yea, and some of the Stoikes deeme-it not amisse for man sometimes to take his liquor roundly, and drinke drunke thereby to recreate his spirites.

Hoc quoque virtutum quondam certamine magnum Cor. Gal. el. 1.  
Socratem palmam promeruisse ferunt.

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

*Cato* that strict censurer, aud severe corrector of others, hath beene reprov'd for much drinking,

Narratur & prisici Catonis Hor. l. 3. od. 21. 11.  
Saepe mero caluisse virtus.

T'is saide, by vse of wine repeated,  
Old *Catoes* vertue oft was heated.

*Cyrus* that so far-renowned King, amongst his other commendations, meaning to preferre himselfe before his brother *Artaxerxes*, and get the start of him, alegeth, that he could drinke better, and tittle more then he. And amongst the best policed and formalest nations, the custome of drinking, and pleadging of healths was much in vse. I have heard *Silvius*, that excellent Phisitian of *Paris* affirme that to preserve the vigor of our stomake from empairing, it is not amisse once a moneth to rowze vp the same by this excesse of drinking; and lest it should grow dull and stupide thereby to stirre it vp. And it is written, that the *Persians*, after they had well tipp'd, were wont to consult of their chieftest affaires. My taste, my rellish and my complexion, are sharper enemies vnto this vice, then my discourse: For, besides that I captivate more easily my conceits vnder the auctoritie of ancient opinions, indeede I finde-it to be a fond, a stupide and a base kinde of vice, but lesse malicious and hurtfull then others; all which shocke, and with a sharper edge wound publike societie. And if we cannot give our selves any pleasure, except (as they say) it cost-vs something; I finde this vice to be lesse chargeable vnto our conscience then others; besides, it is not hard to be prepared, difficult to be found; a consideration not to be despised. A man well advanced in yeares and dignitie,

amongst three principall commodities he told me to have remaining in life, counted this: and where shall a man more rightly finde-it, then amongst the naturall? But he tooke-it ill, delicatenesse, and the choise of wines is therein to be avoided. If you prepare your voluptuousnes to drinke it with pleasure and daintily neate, you tie your selfe vnto an inconvenience to drinke-it other then is allways to be had. A man must have a milder, a loose and a freer taste. To be a true drinker, a man should not have so tender and squeamish a palat. The Germans doe in a maner drinke aqually of all sorts of wine with like pleasure. Their end is rather to gulpe it downe freely, then to taste it kindely. And to say truth they have it better cheape. Their voluptuousnesse is more plenteous and fuller. Secondly, to drinke after the French maner, as two draughts and moderatly, is over-much to restraine the favours of that God. There is more time and constancie required therevnto. Our forefathers were wont to spend whole nights in that exercise, yea often times they joynd whole long dayes vnto them. And a man must proportion his ordinarie more large and firme. I have in my dayes seene a principall Lord; a man of great employment and enterprises, and famous for good successe, who without straining himselfe, and eating but an ordinary meales-meat, was wont to drinke litle lesse 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, over-wise and considerate. 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-boyes or labouring people, that we should refuse no occasion to drinke ■ and continually to have this desire in our minde. It seemeth that wee dayly shorten the vse of this: and that in our houses, (as I have seene in mine infancie) breakefasts, nunchions, and beavers should be more frequent and often vsed, then now adayes they are. And should wee thereby in any sorte proceede towards amendment? Noverily. But it may be, that we have [190]much more given our selves over vnto paillardise and all maner 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 weakned our stomake, and on the other, sobrietie serveth to make vs more jolly-quaint, lusty, and wanton for the exercise of love matters. It is a wonder to thinke on the strange tales I have heard my father report, of the chastitie of his times. He might well speake of it, as he that was both by art and nature proper for the vse and solace of Ladies. He spake litle and well, few words, but to the purpose, and was ever wont to entermixe some ornament taken from vulgar bookes, and above all, Spanish, amongst his common speeches: And of all Spanish authors, none was more familiar vnto him then *Marcous Aurelius*. His demeanour and carriage was ever milde, meeke, gentle, and very modest, and above all, grave and stately. There is nothing he seemed to be more carefull■ of, then of his honesty, and observe a kinde of decencie of his person, and orderly decorum in his habites, were it on foote or on hosebacke. He was exceeding nice in performing his word or promise; And so strictly conscientious and obsequous in religion, that generally he seemed rather to encline toward superstition, then the contrary. Though he were but a little man, his courage and vigor was great: he was of an vpright, and well proportioned stature, of a pleasing, cheerefull-looking countenance, of a swarthy hue, nimbly addicted, and exquisitely nimble vnto all noble and gentleman■ like exercises. I have seene some hollow staves of his filled with lead, which hee wont to vse and exercise his armes withall, the better to enable him-selfe to pitch to barre, to throw the sledge, the cast the pole and to play at fence: and shooes with leaden soles, which he wore to enure himselfe, to leape, to vault and to run. I may without blushing say, that in memory of himselfe, he hath left certain pety miracles amongst vs. I have seene him when hee was past three-score yeeres of age mocke at all our sports, and out-countenance our youthfull pastimes, with a heavy furr'd Gowne about him to leap into his saddle; to make the pommada round about a Table vpon his thumb; and seldom to ascend any staires without skipping three or foure steppes at once. And concerning my discourse, hee 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 protested verie religiouslie, that when he was married, he was yet a pure Virgine; yet had he long time followed the warres beyond the Mountaines, and therein served long, whereof hee hath left a Journall-Booke of his owne collecting, wherein hee hath particularly noted, whatsoever happened day by day worthy the observation, so long as he served, both for the publike and his particular vse. And he was well stricken in yeeres, when he tooke a wife. For returning out of *Italie*, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand five hundred eight and twenty, and being ful three and thirty yeeres olde, by the way hee chose himselfe a wife. But come we to our drinking againe. The incommodities of age, which neede some helpe and refreshing, might with some reason beget in me a desire or longing of this faculty: for, it is in a man the last pleasure, which the course of our yeeres stealeth vpon vs. Good fellowes say, that naturall heate is first taken in our feete: That properly belongeth to infancie. From thence it ascendeth vnto the middle region, where it is settled and continueth a long time: and in mine opinion, there produceth the onely true, and mooving pleasures of this corporall life. Other delight and sensualities in respect of that, doe but sleepe▪ in the end, like vnto a vapour, which by little and little exhaleth, and mounteth aloft, it comes vnto the throate, and there makes hir last bode. Yet could I never conceive, how any man may either encrease or prolong the pleasure of drinking beyond thirst, and in his imagination frame an artificiall appetite, and against nature. My stomacke could not well reach so farre: it is very much troubled to come to an end of that which it takes for his neede. My constitution is, to make an accompt of drinking, but to succeed meate, and therefore doe I ever make my last draught the greatest. And forasmuch as in age, we have the roofe of our mouthes commonly furred with rhume, or distempered, distasted and altered through some other evill constitution, wine seemeth better vnto vs and of a quicker relish, according as our pores be either more or lesse open and washed. At least I seldome relish the same very well, except it be the first draught I take. *Anacharsis* wondered to see the Graecians drinke in greater glasses at the end of their meales, then in the beginning. It was (as I imagine) for the very same reason, that the Germans doe-it, who never begin to carouse, but when they have well fed. *Plato* forbiddeth children to drinke any [191]wine, before they be eightene yeeres of age, and to be druncke before they come to forty. But to such as have once attained the age of fortie▪ he is content to pardon them, if they chaunce to delight themselves with it, and alloweth them somewhat largely to blend the influence of *Dionisius* in their banquets, that good God, who bestoweth cheerefulnesse vpon men, and youth vnto aged men, who layeth and aswageth 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 and commendable (alwaies provided there be a chiefe leader amongst them to containe and order them) drunkenesse being a good and certaine tryall of everie mans nature; and therewithall proper to give aged men the courage to make merry in dancing and in musicke; things allowable and profitable, and such as they dare not vndertake being sober and settled. That wine is capable to supply the mind with temperance, and the bodie with health. Notwithstanding, these restrictions, partely barrowed of the Carthaginians, please him well. Let those forebears it that are going about any expedition of warre. Let every magistrate, and all judges abstain from▪ it at what time they are to execute their charge, and to consult of publike affaires▪ Let none bestow the day in drinking, as the time that is due vnto more serious negotiations, nor the nights wherein a man intendeth to get children. It is reported, that *Stilpo* the Philosopher, finding himselfe surcharged with age, did purposely hasten his end, by drinking of pure wine. The like cause (though not wittingly) did also suffocat the vital forces, crazed through old age of the Philosopher *Arcesilaus*. But it is an old and pleasant question, whether a wisemans mind were like to yeelde vnto the force of wine.

Si munitae adhibet vim sapientiae. Od. 28. 4.

If vnresisted force it bends,  
Gainst wisdom which it selfe defends.

Vnto what vanity doth the good opinion we have of our selves provoke-vs? The most temperate and perfectest minde of the world, findes it too great a taske to keep hirselfe vpriht, lest she fall by hir owne weakenesse. Of a thousand there is not one perfectly righteous and settled but one instant of her life, and question might be made, whether according to her naturall condition she might at any time be so. But to joyne constancie vnto it, in her last perfection: I meane if nothing should shocke her: which a thousand accidents may do. *Lucretius* that famous Poet, may philosophie and bandie at his pleasure: Loe where he lieth senslesse of an amorous potion. Thinkes any man, that an Apoplexie cannot as soone astonish *Socrates*, as a poore labouring man? Some of them have by the force of a sicknesse, forgot their owne names, and a slight hurt hath overthrowne the judgement of others. Let him be as wise as he can, in the end he is but a man; what is more fraile, more miserable, or more vaine? Wisedome forceth not our naturall conditions.

Sudores itaque & pallorem existere toto Lucr. l. 3. 155.  
 Corpore, & infringi linguam vocémque aboriri  
 Caligare oculos, sonare aures, succidere artus,  
 Denique concidere ex animi terrore videmus.

We see therefore, palenesse and sweats ore▪ grow,  
 Our bodies, tongues doe falter, voyce doth breake,  
 Eyes dazle, eares buzze, joints doe shrinke below,  
 Lastly we swone by hart-fright, terrours weake.

He must feele his eyes against the blow that threatneth him, being neere the brimme of a precipise, he must cry out like a child. Nature having purposed to reserve these light markes of her auctoritie vnto herselfe, in expugnable vnto our reason, and to the Stoicke vertue: to teach him his mortalitie, and our insipiditie. He waxeth pale for feare, he blusheth for shame he groaneth feeling the cholike, if not with a desperate and lowd-roaring voyce, yet with a lowe, smothered and hoarse-sounding noyse.

Humani à se nihil alienum putat, Ter. Heau [...]. act. 1. sce. 1. 25

He thinkes, that nothing strange be can,  
 To him, that longs to any man.

Giddie-headed Poets, that faine what they list, dare not so much as discharge their *Heroes* Virg. Aeu. l. 6. [...] from teares.

Sic fatur lachrymans, classi (que) immittit habenas.

So said he weeping, and so saide,  
 Himselfe hand to the steerage laide.

## [192]

Let it suffice him to bridle his affections, and moderate his inclinations; for, it is not in him to beare them away. *Plutarke* himselfe, who is so perfect and excellent a judge of humane actions, seeing *Brutus* and *Torquatus* to kill their owne children, remaineth doubtfull, whither vertue could reach so farre, and whether such men were not rather moved by some other passion. *All actions beyond the ordinarie limits, are subiect to some sinister interpretation:* Forasmuch as our taste doth no more come vnto that which is above it, then to that which is vnder it. Let vs omit that other sect, which maketh open profession of fiercenes. But when in the very same sect, which is esteemed the most demisse, we heare the bragges of *Metrodorus: Occupavite, Fortuna, at (que) cepi: omnésque aditus tuos interclusi vt ad me aspirare non* Metr. Cic. Tusc. qu [...]st. l. 5. *posses. Fortune, I have prevented, caught, and*

*overtaken thee: I have mured and ramd vppe all thy passages, whereby thou mightest attaine vnto me.* When *Anaxarcus*, by the appointment of *Nicocreon*, the tyrant of *Cipres*, being laid along in a trough of stone, and smoten with yron sledges, ceaseth not to crie out, streeke, smite, and breake; it is not *Anaxarchus*, it is but his vaile you martyr so. When we heare our martyrs, in the middest of a flame crie a loude vnto the Tyrant, this side is rosted enough, chop-it, eat it, it is full rosted, now begin on the other. When in *Iosephus* we heare a childe all to rent with biting snippers, and pierced with the breath of *Antiochus*, to defie him to death, crie with a lowde-assured and vndismaid voyce; Tyrant thou loolest time, loe I am still at mine ease; where is that smarting paine, where are those torments, wherewith whilom thou didst so threaten me? My constancie doth more trouble thee, then I have feeling of thy crueltie: Oh faint-hearted varlet, doest thou yeelde when I gather strength? Make me to fainte or shrinke, cause me to moane or lament, force me to yeeld and sue for grace if thou canst; encourage thy satellities, harden thy executioners; loe how they droope, and have no more power; arme them, strengthen them, flesh them. Verely we must needes confesse there is some alteration, and some furie (how holy soever) in those mindes. When we come vnto these Stoick evasions; I had rather be furious then voluptuous: the saying of *Antisthenes*. [...], *Rather would I be mad, then Antist.* Diogen. L [...].rs. 1. 6. c. 1. *merry.* When *Sextu [...]*s telleth vs, he had rather be surprised with paine, then sensuality; when *Epicurus* vndertakes to have the goute, to wantonize and faune vpon him, and refusing ease and health, with a hearty cheerefulnesse defie all evils, and scornefully despising lesse sharpe griefes, disdayning to grapple with them, he blithely desireth and calleth for sharper, more forcible, and worthy of him:

Spumantémque dari pecora inter inerei [...] votis  
Optat aprum, aut fulvum descendere monte leonem: Virg. Ae [...]. 14. 158.

He wisht, mongst hartlesse beasts some foming Bore,  
Or mountaine-Lyon would come downe and rore.

Who would not judge them to be pranks of a courage remooved from his wonted seate? Our minde cannot out of hir place attaine so high. She must quit it and raise hir selfe a loft, and taking the bridle in hir teeth, carry and transport hir man so farre, that afterward hee wonder at himselfe, and rest amazed at his actions. As in exploites of warre, the heat and earnestnesse of the fight doth often provoke the noble-minded-souldiers, to adventure on so dangerous passages, that afterward being better advised, they are the first to wonder at it. As also Poets, are often surprised and rapt with admiration at their owne labours, and forget the trace, by which they past so happy a career. It is that, which some terme a fury or madnesse in them. And as *Plato* saith, that a settled and reposed man, doth in vaine knocke at Poesies gate. *Aristotle* likewise saith, that no excellent minde is freely exempted from some or other entermixture of folly. And he hath reason, to call any starting or extraordinarie conceit (how commendable soever) and which exceedeth our judgement and discourse, folly. Forsomuch as *wisdomme, is an orderly and regular managing of the minde, and which she addresseth with measure, and conducteth with proportion;* And take hir owne word for-it. *Plato* disputeth thus; that the facultie of prophesiying and divination is far above-vs, and that when wee treate it, we must be besides our selves: our wisdomme must be darkened and ouer shadowed by sleepe, by sicknesse, or by drowzinesse; or by some celestially fury, ravished from hir owne seat.

[193]

### The third Chapter. A custome of the Ile of Cea. ↩

IF, as some say, to philosophate be to doubt; with much more reason, to rave and fantastiquize, as I doe, must necessarily be to doubt: For, to enquire and debate, belongeth to a scholler, and to resolve appertaines to a cathedrall master. But know, my cathedrall, it is the authoritie of Gods divine will, that without any contradiction doth sway-vs, and hath hir ranke beyond these humane and vaine contestations. *Philip* being with an armed hand entred the Countrie of *Peloponnesus*, some one told *Damidas*, the Lacedemonians were like to endure much, if they sought not to reobtaine his lost favour. Oh varlet as thou art (answered he.) And what can they suffer, who have no feare at all of death? *Agis* being demanded, how a man might do to live free, answered; *Despising and contemning to die*. These and a thousand like propositions, which concurre in this purpose, do evidently inferre some thing beyond the patient expecting of death it selfe, to be suffered in this life: wnesse the Lacedemonian child, taken by *Antigonus*, and sold for a slave, who vrged by his master, to performe some abject service; Thou shalt see (said he) whom thou hast bought; for, it were a shame for me to serve, having libertie so neere at hand, and therewithall threw himselfe headlong downe from the top of the house. *Antipater*, sharply threatning the Lacedemonians, to make them yeeld to a certaine request of his; they answered, shouldest thou menace vs worse 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 favourablest gift, nature hath bequeathed-vs, and which removeth all meanes from-vs to complaine of our condition, is, that she hath left-vs the key of the fieldes. She hath appointed but one entrance vnto life, but many a thousand wayes out of it: *Well may we want ground to live vpon, but never ground to die in*. As *Boiocatus* answered the Romanes. Why doost thou complaine 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: optimè hoc cavit Deus, Sen. Theb. Act. 1. sce. 1.  
 Eripere vitam nemo non homini potest:  
 At nemo mortem: mille ad hanc aditus patent.

Each where death is: God did this well purvay,  
 No man but can from man life take away,  
 But none barr's death, to it lies many'a way.

And it is not a receipt to one maladie alone; *Death is a remedie against all evils*: It is a most assured haven, never to be feared, and often to be sought: All comes to one period, whether man make an end of himselfe, or whether he endure ■ it; whether he run before his day, or whether he expect ■ it: whence soever it come, it is ever his owne, where ever the threed be broken, it is all there, it's the end of the web. The voluntariest death, is the fairest. *Life dependeth on the will of others, death on ours*. In nothing should we so much accommodate our selves to our humors, as in that. Reputation doth nothing concerne such an enterprise, it is follie to have any respect vnto it. *To live is to serve, if the libertie to die be wanting*. The common course of curing any infirmitie, is ever directed at the charge of life: we have incisions made into vs, we are cauterized, we have limbes cut and mangled, we are let blood, we are di [...]ted. Go we but one step further, we need no more phisicke, we are perfectly whole. Why is not our jugular or throat veine as much at our commaund as the mediane? To extreame sicknesses, extreame remedies. *Servius* the Gramarian being troubled with the gowt, found no better meanes to be rid of it, then to applie poison to mortifie his legs. He cared not whether they were *Podagrees* or no, so they were insensible. God giveth vs sufficient priviledge, when he placeth vs in such an estate, as life is worse then death vnto vs. *It is weaknesse to yeeld to evils, but follie to foster them*. The Stoikes say, it is a convenient naturall life, for a [194]wiseman, to forgoe life, although he abound in all happinesse; if he do it opportunely: And for a foole to prolong his life, albeit he be most

miserable, provided he be in most part of things, which they say to be according vnto nature. As I offend not the lawes made against theeves, when I cut mine owne purse, and carrie away mine owne goods; nor of destroyers when I burne mine owne wood: so am I nothing tied vnto lawes made against murtherers, if I deprive my selfe of mine owne life. *Hegesias* was wont to say, that even as the condition of life, so should the qualitie of death depend on our election. And *Diogenes* meeting with the Philosopher *Speusippus*, long time afflicted with the dropsie, and therefore carried in a litter, who 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, *Speusippus* as overtired 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 meanes forsake the garrison of it, and that it is in the hands of God onely, who therein hath placed-vs, not for our selves alone, but for his glorie, and others service, when ever it shall please him to discharge vs hence, and not for vs to take leave: *That we are not borne for our selves, but for our Countrie*: The Lawes for their owne interest require an accompt at our hands for our selves, and have a just action of murther against-vs. Else as forsakers of our owne charge, we are punished in the other world.

Proxima deinde tenent moestiloca, qui sibi let hum Virg. Aen. li. 6. 434.  
 Insontes p [...]perere manu, lucémque perosi  
 Proi [...]cere animas.—

Next place they lamentable hold in hell,  
 Whose hand their death caus'd causelesse, (but not well)  
 And hating life did thence their soules expell.

There is more constancie in vsing the chaine that holds-vs, then in breaking the same; and more triall of stedfastnesse in *Regulus*, then in *Cato*. It is indiscretion and impatience that hastneth our way. *No accidents can force a man to turne his backe from lively vertue*: She seeketh-out evils and sorrowes as her nourishment. The threats of fell tyrants, tortures and torments; executioners and torturers, doe animate and quicken her.

Duris vt ilex t [...]nsa bipennibus [...]. l. 4. o [...]. 4. 57.  
 Nigrae feraci frondis in Algid [...]  
 Per damna, per caedes, ab ipso  
 Ducit opes animúmque ferro.

As holme-tree doth with hard axe lopt  
 On hils with many holme-trees topt,  
 From losse, from cuttings it doth feel,  
 Courage and store rise ev'n from steel.

And as the other saith.

Non est vt put as virtus, pater, Sen. Theb. Act. 1. sc [...]. 1.  
 Timere vitam, sed magis ingentibus  
 Obstare, nec se vertere ac retro dare.

Sir, ti's not vertue, as you vnderstand,  
 To feare life, but grosse mischiefe to withstand,  
 Not to retire, turne backe, at any hand.

Rebus in adversis facile est contemnere mortem. M [...]t. li. 11. [...]pi. 57. 15.  
 Fortius ille facit, qui miser esse potest.



T'is easie in crosse chance death to despise:  
He that can wretched be, doth stronger rise.

It is the part of cowardlinesse, and not of vertue, to seek to squat it selfe in some hollowlurking hole, or to hide her selfe vnder some massie tombe, thereby to shun the strokes of fortune. She never forsakes her course, nor leaves her way, what stormie weather soever crosse-her.

Si fractus illabatur orbis,  
Impavidam ferient ruina. [...].r. [...]. 3. [...].d. [...]. 7.

If the world broken should vpon her fall,  
[195] The ruines may her strike, but not appall,

The avoyding of other inconveniences doth most commonly drive vs into this, yea, sometimes the shunning of death, makes vs to run into it. Mart. li. 2. [...]pig. 80. 2.

Hic, rogo, non furor est, [...] moriare, mori?

Madnesse is't not, say I,  
To die, lest you should die?

As those who for feare of a break-neck down-fall, doe headlong cast themselves into-it.

— multos in summa pericula misit Lucan. l. 7. 104.  
U [...]turi timor ipse mali: fortissimus ille est,  
Qui promptus metuenda pati, si cominus instent,  
Et differre potest.

The verie feare of ils to come, hath sent  
Many to mightie dangers: strongest they,  
Who fearfull things t'endure are readie bent,  
If they confront them, yet can them delay.

— vsque adeo mortis formidine, vitae L [...]cr. l. 3. 79.  
Percipit humanos odium, luc [...]sque videndae,  
Vt sibi consciscant moerenti pectore let hum,  
Ob [...]i [...]i fontem curarum hunc esse timorem.

So far by feare of death, the hate of life,  
And seeing-light, doth men as men possesse,  
They grieving kill themselves to end the strife,  
Forgetting, feare is spring of their distresse.

*Plato* in his lawes, alots him that hath deprived his neerest and deerest friend of life (that is to say, himselfe) and abridged him of the destinies course, not constrained by any publike judgement, nor by any lewde and inevitable accident of fortune, nor by any intolerable shame or infamie, but through basenesse of minde, and weaknesse of a faint-fearfull courage, to have a most ignominious, and ever-reproachfull buriall. And the opinion which disdaineth 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 accuse ours: But it is against nature, we should despise, and carelesly set our selves at naught: It is a particular infirmitie, and which is not seen in any other creature, to hate and disdaine himselfe. It is of like vanitie, that we desire to be other, then we are. The fruit of such a desire doth not concerne-vs, forasmuch as it contradicteth and hindereth it selfe in it selfe. He that desireth to be made of a man an Angell, doth nothing for himselfe: He should be nothing the better by it: And being no more, who shall rejoice or

conceive any gladnesse of this change or amendment for him?

Debet enim mis [...]rè fortè aegrèque futurum est, [...]b. 905.  
Ipse quoque esse in eo tum tempore, cùm male possit  
Accidere,

For he, who shall perchance proove miserable,  
And speed but ill, should then himselfe be able  
To be himselfe, when ills may chance vnstable.

The securitie, indolencie, impassibilitie, and privation of this lives-evils, which we purchase at the price of death, bring vs no commoditie at all. *In vaine doth be avoide warre, that can not inioy peace; and boot [...]lesse doth [...] shun paine, that hath no meanes to feel rest.* Amongst those of the first opinion, great questioning hath been, to know what occasions are sufficiently just and lawfull to make a man vndertake the killing of himselfe, they call that [...] *a reasonable orderly out-let.* For, although they say, a man must often die Alex. Aphr [...]d. for slight causes, since these that keep vs alive, are not verie strong; yet is some measure required in them. There are certaine fantastical and braine-sicke humors, which have not only provoked particular men, but whole Nations to defeat themselves. I have heretofore alleaged some examples of them: And moreover we read of certaine Mi [...]sian virgins, who vpon a surious conspiracie hanged themselves one after an other, vntill such time as the Magistrate provided for it, appointing that such as should be found so hanged, should with their owne halters be dragged naked through the streets of the Citie. When *Threicion* perswadeth *Cleom [...]nes* to kill himselfe, by reason of the bad and desperate estate his affaires stood [196]in, and having escaped a more honourable death in the battell which he had lately lost, moveth him to accept of this other, which is second to him in honour, and give the conqueror no leisure to make him endure, either another death, or else a shamefull life. *Cleomenes* with a Lacedemonian and Stoike courage, refuseth this counsell as base and effeminate: It is a receipt, (saith he) which can never faile me, and whereof a man should make no vse, so long as there remaineth but one inch of hope: That to live, is sometimes constancie and valour; That he will have his verie death serve his Countrie, and by it, shew an act of honour and of vertue. *Threicion* then believed, and killed himselfe. *Cleomenes* did afterwards as much, but not before he had tried and assayed the vtmost power of fortune. All inconveniences are not so much worth, that a man should die to eschue them. Moreover, there being so many suddaine 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:

Sperat & in s [...]va victus gladiator arena,  
—Sit licet infesto 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, saith 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, then this; that fortune hath no power at all over him, who knoweth how to die? *Ioseph* is seen engaged in so an apparant-approaching danger, with a whole nation against him, that according to humane reason, there was no way for him to escape; notwithstanding being (as he saith) counselled by a friend of his, at that instant, to kill himselfe, it fell out well for him to opinionate himselfe yet in hope: for fortune, beyond all mans discourse, did so turne and change that accident, that without any inconvenience at all, he saw himselfe delivered: whereas on the contrarie *Brutus* and *Cassius*, by reason of the down-fall and rashnesse, wherewith before due time and occasion, they killed themselves; did vtterly loose the reliques of the Roman libertie, whereof they were protectors. The Lord

of *Ang* [...] in the battell of *Serisolles*, as one desperate of the combates successe, which on his side went to wracke, attempted twice to run himselfe through the throat with his rapier, and thought by precipitation to bereave himselfe of the enjoying of so notable a victorie. I have seen a hundred Hares save themselves even in the Gray-hounds jawes: *Aliquis carni [...]*ics suo superstes S [...]. epist. 13. suit. *Some man hath out-lived his Hang-man.*

Multa dies variúsque labor mutabilis evi Virg. *Ae* [...]. li. 11. 416.  
Rettulit in melius, multos alterna revisens  
Lusit, & in solido rursus fortuna locavit.

Time, and of turning age the divers straine,  
Hath much to better brought, fortunes turn'd traine,  
Hath many mock't, and set them fast againe.

*Plinie* saith, there are but three sorts of sicknesses, which to avoide, a man may have some colour of reason to kill himselfe. The sharpest of all is the stone in the bladder, when the vrine is there stopped. *Seneca*, those onely, which for long time disturbe and distract the offices of the minde. To avoide a worse death, some are of opinion, a man should take it at his owne pleasure. *Democritus* chiefe of the Aetolians, being led captive to *Rome*, found meanes to escape by night: but being pursued by his keepers, rather then he would be taken againe, ran himselfe through with his Sword. *Antinoiüs* and *Theodotus*, their Citie of *Epirus* being by the Romans reduced vnto great extremitie, concluded, and perswaded all the people to kill themselves. But the counsell, rather to yeeld, having prevailed: they went to seeke their owne death, and rushed amidst the thickest of their enemies, with an intention, rather to strike, than to warde themselves. The Iland of *Gosa*, being some yeares since surprised and over run by the Turkes, a certaine Sicilian therein dwelling, having two faire daughters readie to be married, killed them both with his owne hands, together with their mother, that came in to help them. That done, running out into the streets, with a crossebow in one hand, and a caliver in the other, at two shoots, slew the two first Turkes that came next to his gates, then resolutely drawing his Sword, ran furiously among them; by whom he was suddainly hewen in peeces: Thus did he save himselfe from slavish bondage, having first delivered his owne from-it. The Iewish women, after they had caused their children to [197]be circumcized, to avoide the crueltie of *Antiochus*, did headlong precipitate themselves and them vnto death. I have heard-it crediblie reported, that a gentleman of good qualitie, being prisoner in one of our Gaoles, and his parents advertized that he should assuredly be condemned, to avoide the infamie of so reproachfull a death, appointed a Priest to tell him, that the best remedie for his deliverie, was to recommend himselfe to such a Saint, with such and such a vow, and to continue eight daies without taking any sustenance, what faintnesse or weaknesse soever he should feel in himselfe. He believed them, and so without thinking on it, was delivered both of life and danger. *Scribonia* perswading *L [...]*bo his nephew to kill himselfe, rather then to expect the stroke of justice, told him, that for a man to preserve his owne life, to put it into the hands of such as three or foure dayes 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 preserve his blood, therewith to make food. We read in the Bible, that *Nicanor* the persecutor of Gods Law, having sent his Satellites to apprehend the good old man *Rasi [...]*s, for the honour of his vertue, surnamed the father of the *Iewes*; when that good man saw no other meanes left him, his gate being burned, and his enemies readie to lay hold on him, chose, rather then to fall into the hands of such villaines, and be so basely abused, against the honour of his place to die noblie, and so smote himselfe with his owne sword; but by reason of his haste, having not throughly slaine himselfe, he ran to throw himselfe downe from an high wall, amongst the throng of people, which making him roome, he fell right vpon his head. All which notwithstanding, perceiving life to remaine in him, he tooke heart againe; and getting vp on his feet, all goared with bloud, and loaden with strokes,

making way through the prease, came to a craggie and downe-steepie rocke, where vnable to goe any further, by one of his wounds, with both his hands he pulled out his guts, and tearing and breaking them, cast them amongst such as pursued him, calling and attesting the vengeance of God to light vpon them. Of all violences committed against conscience, the most in mine opinion to be avoyded, is that which is offred against the chastitie of women, forasmuch as there is naturally some corporall pleasure commixt with it: And therefore the dissent cannot fully enough be joynd thereunto: And it seemeth, that force is in some sort, intermixed with some will. The ecclesiasticall Storie hath in especiall reverence, sundrie such examples of devout persons, who called for death to warrant them from the out-rages which some tyrants prepared against their religion and consciences. *Pe [...]**Jagia* and *Sophron [...]**Ja*, both canonized; the first, together with her mother and sisters, to escape the outrageous rapes of some souldiers, threw her selfe into a river; the other, to shun the force of *Maxentius* the Emperour, slew her selfe. It shall peradventure redound to our honour in future ages, that a wise Author of these daies, and namely a Parisian, doth labour to perswade the Ladies of our times, rather to hazard vpon any resolution, than to embrace so horrible a counsell of such desperation. I am sorie, that to put amongst his discourses, he knew not the good saying I learnt of a woman at *Tholouse*, who had passed through the hands of some soldiers: God be praised (said she) that once in my life, I have had my belly-full without sinne. Verily 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 verie full of such, who a thousand waies have changed a lingering-toylsome life with death. *Lucius Aruntius* killed himselfe (as he said) to avoide what was past, and eschew what was to come. *Granius Sylvanus*, and *Statius Proximus*, after they had been pardoned by *Nero*, killed themselves, either because they scorned to live by the favour of so wicked a man, or because they would not another time be in danger of a second pardon, seeing his so easie-yeelding vnto suspicious and accusations against honest men. *Spargapises* somme vnto Queene *T [...]**miris*, prisoner by the law of warre vnto *Cyrus*, employed the first favour that *Cyrus* did him, by setting him free, to kill himselfe, as he who never pretended to reap other fruit by his libertie, then to revenge the infamie of his taking vpon himselfe. *Boges* a Governour for king *Xerxes* in the countrie of *Ionia*, being besieged by the *Athenians* army vnder the conduct of *Cymon*, refused the composition, to returne safely, together with his goods and treasure into *Asia*, as one impatient to survive the losse of what his Master had given him in charge; and after he had stoutly-and even to the last extremitie, defended the Towne, having no manner of victuals left him; first he cast all the gold, and treasure, with whatsoever he imagined the enemy might reap [198]any commoditie by, 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, & throwne into the flames, afterward ran-in himselfe, where all were burned. *Ninache [...]**Juen* a Lord in the East *Indies*, having had an inkling of the king of *Portugales* Viceroyes deliberation to dispossesse him, without any apparant cause, of the charge he had in *Mala [...]**Ja*, for to give it vnto the king of *Campar*; of himselfe resolved vpon this resolution. First he caused an high scaffold to be set vp, somewhat longer then broad, vnderpropped with pillars, all gorgeously hanged with rich tapistrie, strewed with flowers, and adorned with pretious perfumes: Then hauing put-on a sumptuous long roab of cloth of gold, richly beset with store of pretious stones of inestimable worth, he came out of the pallace into the street, and by certaine steps ascended the scaffold, in one of the corners whereof, was a pile of aromaticall wood set afire. All the people of the Citie were flocked together, to see what the meaning of such vnaccustomed preparation might tend vnto. *Ninache [...]**Juen* with an vndanted-bold, yet seeming-discontented countenance, declared the manifold obligations, which the *Portugal* 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 forsake the care of it for

himselfe; that fortune refusing him all meanes to oppose himselfe against the injurie intended against him, his courage, at the least willed him to remove the feeling thereof, and not become a laughing stocke vnto the people, and a triumph to men of lesse worth then himselfe: which words as he was speaking, he cast himselfe into the fire. *Sextilia* the wife of *Scaurus* and *Praxea* wife vnto *Labeo*, to encourage their husbands, to avoid the dangers, which pressed them, wherein they had no share (but in regard of the interest of their conjugal affection) voluntarily engaged their life, in this extreame necessitie, to serve them, as an example to imitate, and company to regard. What they performed for their husbands; *Cocceius Nerva* acted for his countrie, and though lesse profitable, 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 cause to rid himselfe of life, but the compassion of the miserable estate, wherein he saw the Romane common-wealth. There is nothing can be added vnto the daintinesse of *Fulvius* wifes death, who was so inward with *Augustus*. *Augustus* perceiving he had blabbed a certaine secret of importance, which he on-trust had revealed vnto him; one morning comming to visit him, he seemed to frowne vpon him for-it; whereupon as guiltie, he returneth home, as one full of despaire, and in pitteous sort told his wife, that sithence he was falne into such a mischief, he was resolved to kill himselfe; shee as one no whit dismaide, replide vnto him; Thou shalt do but right, since having so often experienced the incontinence of my tongue, thou hast not learnt to beware of it, yet give me leave to kill my selfe first, and without more adoe, ran her selfe through with a sword. *Uibius Virius* despairing of his Cities safetie, besieged by the Romans, and mistrusting their mercie; in their Senates last consultation, after many remonstrances employed to that end, concluded, that the best and fairest way, was to escape fortune by their owne hands. The verie enemies should have them in more honour, and *Hanniball* might perceive what faithfull friends he had forsaken: Enviting those that should allow of his advise, to come, and take a good supper, which was prepared in his house, where after great cheere, they should drinke together whatsoever should be presented vnto him: a drinke that shall deliver our bodies from torments, free our minds from injuries, and release our eyes and eares from seeing and hearing so many horrible mischiefes, which the conquered must endure at the hands of most cruell and offended conquerors: I have (quoth he) taken order, that men fit for that purpose shall be readie, when we shall be expired, to cast vs into a great burning pile of wood. Diverse approved of his high resolution, but few did imitate the same. Seaven and twentie Senators followed him; who after they had attempted to stifle so irkesome, and suppress so terror-mooving a thought, with quaffing and swilling of wine, they ended their repast by this deadly messe: and entre-embracing one another, after they had in common deplored and bewailed their countries misfortunes; some went home to their owne houses, othersome staid there, to be entombed with *Uibius* in his owne fire; whose death was so long and lingring, forsomuch as the vapor of the wine having possessed their veines, and slowed the effect and operation of the poyson, that some lived an houre after they had seene their enemies enter *Capua*, which they caried [199] the next day after, and incurred the miseries, and saw the calamities, which at so high a rate they had sought to eschew. *Taurea Iubellius*, another citizen there, the Consul *Fulvius* returning from that shamefull slaughter, which he had committed of 225. Senators, called him churlishly by his name, and having arested him; Command (quoth he) vnto him, that I al [...]o be massacred after so many others, that so thou maist brag to have murdered a much more valiant man then ever thou wast. *Fulvius*, as one enraged, disdainig him; forasmuch as he had newly received letters from *Rome* contrarie to the inhumanitie of his execution, which inhibited him to proceed any further; *Iubellius* continuing his speach, said; sithence my Countrie is taken, my friends butchered, & having with mine owne hands slaine my wife and children, as the only meane to free them from the desolation of this ruine; I may not die the death of my fellow-citizens, let vs borrow the vengeance of this hatefull life from vertue: And drawing a blade, he had hidden vnder his garments, therewith ran himselfe through, and falling on his face, died at the Consuls feet.

*Alexander* besieged a citie in *India* ■ the inhabitants whereof, perceiving themselves brought to a very narrow pinch, resolved obstinately to deprive him of the pleasure he might get of his victorie, and together with their citie, in despite of his humanitie, set both the Towne & themselves on a light fire, and so were all consumed. A new kind of warring, where the enemies did all they could, and fought to save them, they to loose themselves, and to be assured of their death, did all a man can possible effect to warrant his life. *Astapa* a Citie in *Spaine*, being very weake of wals, and other defences, to withstand the Romanes that besieged the same; the inhabitants drew all their riches, and wealth into the market-place, whereof having made a heap, and on the top of it placed their wives and children, and encompassed and covered the same with drie brush wood, that it might burne the easier, and having appointed fiftie lusty yong men of theirs for the performance of their resolution, made a sallie, where following their determed vow, seeing they could not vanquish, suffered themselves to be flame every mothers childe. The fiftie, after they had massacred every living soule remaining in the Citie, and set fire to the heap, joyfully leaped there-into, ending their generous libertie in a state rather insensible, then dolorous and reprochfull; shewing their enemies, that if fortune had been so pleased, they should aswell have had the courage to bereave them of the victorie, as they had to yeeld it them both vaine and hideous, yea, and mortall to those, who allured by the glittering of the gold, that moulten ran from out the flame, thicke and three-fold approaching greedily vnto it, were therein smothered & burned, the formost being vnable to give backe, by reason of the throng that followed them. The *Abideans* pressed by *Philip*, resolved vpon the verie same, but being prevented, the King whose heart yerned and abhorred to see the fond-rash precipitation of such an execution (having first seized-vpon and saved the treasure, and moveables, which they had diversly condemned to the flames and vtter spoyle) retiring all the Souldiers, granting them the full space of three daies to make themselves away, that so they might do it with more order and leasure: which three daies they replenished with blood and murther beyond all hostile crueltie: And which is strange, there was no one person saved, that had power vpon himselfe. There are infinite examples of such-like popular conclusions, which seeme more violent, by how much more the effect of them is more vniversall. 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*, and delaide their execution any while, lost their goods, and could not be buried; but such as prevented the same, in killing themselves, were solemnly enterrd, & might at their pleasure, bequeath such goods as they had to whom they list. But a man doth also sometimes desire death, in hope of a greater good. I desire (saith *Saint Paul*) to be out of this world, that I may be with *Iesus Christ*: and who shall release me out of these bonds? *Cleombrotus Ambraciota* having read *Platoes Phaedon*, was so possessed with a desire and longing for an after-life, that without other occasion or more adoe, he went and headlong cast himselfe into the sea. Whereby it appeareth how improperly we call this voluntarie dissolution, dispaire; vnto which the violence of hope doth often transport-vs, and as often a peacefull & settled inclination of judgement. *Iaques du Castell* Bishop of *Soissons*, in the voyage which *Saint Lewes* vndertooke beyond the Seas, seeing the King & all his Armie readie to returne into *France*, and leave the affaires of Religion imperfect, resolved with himself rather to go to heaven; And having bidden his friends farewell, in the open view of all men, rushed alone into the enemies troops of [200]whom he was forthwith hewen in pieces. In a certaine kingdome of these late-discovered *Indies*, vpon the day of a solemne procession, in which the Idols they adore, are publikely caried vp and downe, vpon a chariot of exceeding greatnesse: besides that, there are many seen to cut and slice great mammocks of their quicke flesh, to offer the said Idols; there are numbers of others seen, who prostrating themselves alongst vpon the ground, endure verie patiently to be mouldred and crushed to death, vnder the Chariots wheelles, thinking thereby to purchase after their death, a veneration of holinesse, of which they are not defrauded. The death of this Bishop, armed as we have said, argueth more

generositie, and lesse sence: the heat of the combate amusing one part of it. Some common-wealths there are, that have gone about to sway the justice, and direct the opportunitie of voluntarie deaths. In our Citie of *Marseille*, they were wont in former ages, ever to keep some poison in store, prepared and compounded with hemlocke, at the Cities charge, for such as would vpon any occasion shorten their daies, having first approved the reasons of their enterprise vnto the six hundred Elders of the Towne, which was their Senate: For, otherwise it was vnlawfull for any bodie, except by the Magistrates permission, and for verie lawfully-vrgent occasions, to lay violent hands vpon himselfe. The verie same law was likewise vsed in other places. *Sextus Pompeius* going into *Asia*, passed through the Iland of *Cea*, belonging to *Negropont*; it fortun'd whilst he abode there, (as one reporteth that was in his companie) that a woman of great authoritie, having first yeelded an accompt vnto her Citizens, and shewed good reasons why she was resolved to end her life, earnestly entreated *Pompey* to be an assistant at her death, that so it might be esteemed more honourable, which he assented vnto; and having long time in vaine sought, by vertue of his eloquence (wherein he was exceeding ready) and force of perswasion, to alter her intent, and remove her from her purpose, in the end yeelded to her request. She had lived foure score and ten yeares in a most happie estate of minde and bodie, but then lying on her bed, better adorned then before she was accustomed to have-it, and leaning on her elbow, thus she bespake: The Gods, Oh *Sextus Pompeius* and rather those I forgo, then those I go vnto, reward and appay thee, for that thou hast vouchsafed to be both a counsellor of my life, and a witnesse of my death. As for my part, having hitherto ever tasted the favourable visage of fortune, for feare the desire of living overlong should make me taste of her frownes, with an happie an successefull end, I will now depart, and licence the remainder of my soule, leaving behind me two daughters of mine, with a legion of grand-children and nephewes. That done, having preached vnto, and exhorted all her people and kinsfolks to an vntie and peace, and divided her goods amongst them, and recommended her houshold Gods vnto her eldest daughter, with an assuredly-staide hand she tooke the cup, wherein the poyson was, and having made her vowes vnto *Mercurie*, and praiers, to conduct her vnto some happie place in the other world, roundly swallowed that mortall potion; which done, she intertained the companie with the progresse of her behaviour, and as the parts of her bodie were one after another possessed with the cold operation of that venome; vntill such time as shee said, shee felt-it worke at the heart and in her entrals, shee called her daughter to doe her the last office, and close her eyes. *Plinie* reporteth of a certaine *Hiperborean* nation, wherein, by reason of the milde temperature of the aire, the inhabitants thereof, commonly never die, but when they please to make themselves away, and that being wearie and tired with living, they are accustomed at the end of a longlong age; having first made merrie and good cheare with their friends, from the top of an heigh-steedie rocke, appointed for that purpose, to cast themselves headlong into the Sea. Grieving-smart, and a worse death seeme to me the most excusable incitations.

#### **The fourth Chapter.** **To Morrow is a new day.** ↪

I Doe with some reason, as me seemeth, give pricke and praise vnto *Iaques Amiot* above all our French writers, not only for his naturall puritie, and pure elegancy of the tongue, wherin [201]he excelleth all others, nor for his indefatigable constancie of so long and toyle-some a labour, nor for the vnsearchable depth of his knowledge, having so successefully-happy been able to explaine an Authour so close and thornie, and vnfold a writer so mysterious and entangled (for, let any man tell me what he list; I have no skill of the Greeke, but I see through out all his translation a sense so closely-joynted, and so pithily-continued, that either he hath assuredly vnderstood and inned the verie imagination, and the true conceit of the Authour, or having through a long and continuall conversion, lively planted in his minde a generall Idea of that of *Plutarke*, he hath at least lent him nothing that doth be [...]e him, or mis seeme him) but aboue all, I kon him thanks that he hath had the hap to chuse, and

knowledge to cull out so worthy a worke, and a booke so fit to the purpose, therewith to make so vnvaluable a present vnto his Countrey. We that are in the number of the ignorant had been vtterly confounded, had not his booke raised vs from out the dust of ignorance: God-a-mercy his endeoures we dare not both speak and write: Even Ladies are therewith able to confront Masters of arts: It is our breuiarie. If so good a man chance to live, I bequeath *Xenophon* vnto him, to doe 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 disin [...]angle himselfe from hard passages, that notwithstanding his stile is more close and neerer it selfe, when it is not laboured and wrested, and that it glideth smoothly at his pleasure. I was even now reading of that place, where *Plutarke* speaketh of himselfe, that *Rusticus* being present at a declamation of his in Rome, received a packet from the Emperour, which he temporized to open vntill he had made an end: wherein (saith he) all the assistants did singularly commend the gravitie of the man. Verily, being on the instance of curiositie, and on the greedie and insatiate passion of newes, which with such indiscreet impatience, and impatient indiscretion, induceth vs to neglect all things, for to entertaine a new-come guest, and forget all respect and countenance, wheresoever we be, suddainly to break-vp such letters as are brought-vs; he had reason to commend the gravitie of *Rusticus*: to which he might also have added the commendation of his civilitie and curtesie, for that he would not interrupt the course of his declamation; But I make a question, whether he might be commended for his wisdome: for, receiving vnexpected letters, and especially from an Emperour, it might verie well have fortun'd, that his deferring to read them, might have caused some notable inconvenience. *Rechlesnesse is the vice contrarie vnto curiositie*; towards which I am naturally enclined, and wherein I have seen many men so extreemly plunged, that three or foure daies after the receiving of letters, which hath been sent them, they have been found in their pockets yet vnopened. I never opened any, not onely of such as had been committed to my keeping, but of such as by any fortune came to my hands. And I make a conscience, standing neare some great person, if mine eyes chance, at vnwares, to steal some knowledge of any letters of importance that he readeth. Never was man lesse inquisitive, or pryed lesse into other mens affaires, then I. In our fathers time; the Lord of *Bo [...]jeres* was like to have lost *Turwin*, forsomuch as being one night at supper in verie good companie, he deferred the reading of an advertisement, which was delivered him of the treasons that were practised and complotted against that Citie, where he commanded. And *Plutarke* himselfe hath taught me, that *Iulius Caesar* had escaped death, if going to the Senate-house, that day wherein he was murdered by the Conspirators, he had read a memoriall which was presented vnto him. Who likewise reporteth the storie of *Archias*, the Tyrant of *Thebes*, how the night fore-going the execution of the enterprize that *Pelopidas* had complotted to kill him, thereby to set his Countrey at libertie: another *Archias* of *Athens* writ him a letter, wherein he particularly related vnto him all that was conspired and complotted against him; which letter being delivered him whilst he [...]ate 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 *Greece*. A wise man may, in mine opinion, for the interest of others, as not vnmanerly to breake companie, like vnto *Rusticus*, or not to discontinue some other affaire of importance, remit and defer to vnderstand such newes as are brought him: but for his owne private interest or particular pleasure, namely, if he be a man having publike charge, if he regard his dinner so much, that he will not break-it off, or his sleepe, that he 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 accessible for such as might casually come in, to [202]entertaine him that should be there placed. Witnessse, 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 verie hard, chiefly in humane actions, to prescribe so exact rules by discourse of reason, that fortune do not sway, and keepe her right in them.



## The fifth Chapter. Of Conscience. ↩

MY brother the Lord of *Bronze* and my selfe, during the time of our civill wars, travelling one day together, we fortun'd to meet vpon the way with a Gentleman, in outward semblance, of good demeanour: He was of our contrarie faction, but forasmuch as he counterfai'ted himselfe otherwise; I knew it not. And the worst of these tumultuous intestine broyles, is, that the cards are so shuffled (your enimie being neither by language nor by fashion, nor by any other apparant marke distinguished from you; nay, which is more, brought vp vnder the same lawes and customes, and breathing the same ayre) that it is a verie hard matter to avoide confusion and shun disorder. Which consideration, made me not a little fearfull to meet with our troopes, especially where I was not knowne, lest I should be vrged to tell my name, and happily doe worse. As other times before it had befallne me; for, by such a chance, or rather mistaking, I fortun'd once to loose all my men and horses, and hardly escaped my selfe: and amongst other my losses, and servants that were slaine, the thing that most grieved me, was the vntimely and miserable death of a yoong Italian Gentleman, whom I kept as my Page, and verie carefully brought-vp, with whom dyed, as forward, as budding and as hopefull a youth as ever I saw. But this man seemed so fearfully-dismaid, and at every encounter of horsemen, and passage, by, or through any Towne that held for the King, I observed him to be so strangely distracted, that in the end I perceived, and ghesed they were but guiltie alarums that his conscience gave him. It seemed vnto this seely man, that all might apparantly, both through his blushing selfe-accusing countenance, and by the crosses he wore vpon his vpper garments, read the [...] intentions of his faint-hart. Of such marvailous-working power is the sting of conscience: which often induceth vs to bewray, to accuse, and to combate our selves; and for want of other evidences shee produceth our selves against our selves,

Occultum quatsente anim [...] tortore flagellum. Iuven. Sat. 13. 195.

Their minde, the tormentor of sinne,  
Shaking an vnseen whip within.

The storie of *Bessus* the Poenian is so common, that even children have it in their mo [...]ths, who being found fault withall, that in mirth he had beaten-downe a neast of yong Sparrowes, and then killed them, answered, he had great reason to do-it, forsomuch as those yong birds ceased not [...]alsely to accuse him to have m [...]rthered his father, which parricide was never suspected to have been committed by him; and vntill that day had layen secret; but the revengefull suries of the conscience, made the same partie to reveal it, that by all right was to doe penance for so hatefull and vnnaturall a murther. *Hesiodus* correcteth the saying of *Plato*. That punishment doth commonly succeed the guilt, and follow sinne at hand: for, he affirmeth, that it rather is borne at the instant, and together with sinne it selfe, and they are as twinnes borne at one birth together. *Whosoever expects punishment, suffereth the same, and whosoever deferveth it, he doth expect it. Imp [...]e [...]se doth invent, and iniquitie dooth frame torments against it selfe.*

Malum consilium consultori pessimum. Eras. chil. 1. cent. 2. ad 14.

Bad counsell is worst for the counseller that gives the counsell.

Even as the Waspe stingeth and offendeth others, but hir selfe much more; for, in hurting others, she looseth hir force and sting for ever.

—*vitásque in vulnere ponunt.* Virg. Georg. li 4. 238.

[203] They, while they others sting,  
Death to themselves doe bring.

The *Can [...]*harides have some part in them, which by a contrarietie of nature serveth as an antidot or counterpoison against their poison: so likewise, as one taketh pleasure in vice, there is a certaine contrarie displeasure engendred in the conscience, which by sundrie irksome and painfull imaginations, perplexeth and tormenteth vs, both waking and asleep.

Quippe vbi se multi per somnia saepe loquentes, Luer. l. 5. 1168.  
Aut morbo delirantes procraxe ferantur,  
Et celata diu in medium peccata dedisse.

Many in dreames oft speaking, or vnhealed,  
In sicknesse raving have themselves revealed,  
And brought to light their sinnes long time concealed.

*Apollodorus* dreamed he saw himselfe first flead by the Scythians, and then boyled in a pot, and that his owne heart murmured, saying; I onely have caused this mischiefe to light vpon thee. *Epicurus* was wont to say, that no lurking hole can shroud the wicked; for, they can never assure themselves to be sufficiently hidden, sithence conscience is ever readie to disclose them to themselves.

—prima est haec vl [...]io, quód se Iuven. Sat. 13. [...] Iudice nemo n [...]cens  
absolvitur.

This is the first revenge, no guiltie mind  
Is quitted, though it selfe be judge assign'd.

Which as it doth fill vs with feare and doubt, so doth it store vs with assurance and trust. And I may boldly say, 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 desseignes.

Conscia mens vt cuique sua est, ita concipit intra Ouid. [...]ast. l [...]b. 1. 485.  
—*Pectora pro facto spèmque metúmque suo.*

As each mans minde is guiltie, so doth he  
Inlie breed hope and feare, as his deeds be.

Of examples, there are thousands; It shall suffice vs to alleage three onely, and all of one man. *Scipio* being one day accused before the Romane people, of an vrgent and capitall accusation; in stead of excusing himselfe, or flattering the Iudges; turning to them, he said. It will well beseeme you to vndertake to judge of his head, by whose meanes you have authoritie to judge of all the world. The same man, another time, being vehemently vrged by a *Tribune* of the people, who charged him with sundrie imputations, in lieu of pleading or excusing his cause gave him this sodaine and short answere. Let vs goe (quoth he) my good Cit [...]zens; let-vs forthwith goe (I say) to give hartie thankes vnto the Gods for the victorie, which even vpon such a day as this is, they gave me against the Carthaginians. And therewith advancing h [...] selfe to march before the people, all the assemblie, and even his accuser him selfe did vndelayedly follow him towards the Temple. After that, *Pe [...]*lius having been a [...]mated and stirred vp by *C [...]* to sollicite and demaund a strict accompt of him, of the money [...] had [...]lauaged, and which was committed to his trust, whilst he was in the Province of [...]; *Scipio* being come into the Senate-house, of purpose to answer for himselfe, pull [...]ng ou [...] the booke of his accompts from vnder his gowne, told them all, that that booke contained truely, both the receipt and laying out thereof; and being required to deliver

the same vnto a Clarke to register it, he refused to doe-it, saying, he would not doe himselfe that wrong or indignitie; and therevpon with his owne hands, in presence of all the Senate, tore the booke in pieces. I cannot apprehend or beleeeve, that a guiltie-cauterized conscience could possil lie dissemble or cou [...]terfet such an vndismaied assurance: His heart was naturally too great, and enured to overhigh fortune (saith *T [...]tus Livi [...]*s) to know how to be a criminall offender, and stoopingly to yeeld himselfe to the basenesse, to defend his innocencie. Torture and racking are dangerous inventions, and seeme rather to be trials of patience then Essayes of truth. And both he that can, and he that cannot endure them, conceal the truth. For, wherefore shall paine or smart, rather compell me to confesse that, which is so indeed, then force me to tell that which is not? And contrariwise, if he who hath not done that whereof he is accused, is sufficiently patient to endure those torments; why shall not he [204]be able to tolerate them, who hath done it, and is guiltie indeed; so deare and worthie 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 conscience. For, to the guiltie, it seemeth to give a kind of furtherance to the torture, to make him confesse his fault, and weakneth and dismayeth him: and on the other part, it encourageth and strengthneth the innocent against torture. To say truth, it is a meane full of vncertaintie and danger. What would not a man say; nay, what not doe, to avoide so grievous paines, and shun such torments?

Etiam innocentes cogit mentiri dolor. Sen. prover.

Torment to lie sometimes will drive,  
Ev'n the most innocent alive.

Whence it followeth, that he whom the Iudge hath 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 *Phylotas*, considering the circumstances of the end [...]ctment that *Alexander* framed against him, and the progresse of his torture. But so it is, that (as men say) it is the least evill humane weaknesse could invent: though, in my conceit, verie in humanely, and therewith all most vnprofitable. Many Nations lesse barbarous in that, then the Grae [...]ian, or the Romane, who terme them so, judge it a horrible and cruell 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 vnjust, 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 chuseth to die guiltlesse, then passe by this information, much more painfull, then the punishment or torment; and who many times, by reason of the sherpnesse of it, preventeth, furthereth, yea, and executeth the punishment. I wot not whence I heard this storie, but it exactly hath reference vnto the conscience of our Iustice. A countrie woman accused a souldier before his Generall, being a most severe Iustic [...],r, that he, with violence, had snatched from out hir poore childrens hands, the smal [...] remainder of some pappe or water gruell, which shee had onely left to sustaine them, forsomuch as the Armie had ravaged and wasted all. The poore woman, had neither witnesse nor prooffe of it; It was but hir yea, and his no; which the Generall perceiving, after he had summoned hir to be well advised what thee spake, and that shee should not accuse him wrongfully; for, if shee spake an vntruth, shee should then be culpable of his accusation: But shee constantly persisting to charge him, he forthwith, to discover the truth, and to be throughly resolved, caused the accused Souldiers belly to be ripped, who was found faultie, and the poore woman to have said true; whereupon shee was discharged. A condemnation instructive to others.

**The sixt Chapter.**  
**Of Exercise or Practise.** ↩

IT is a hard matter (although our conceit doe willingly applie it selfe vnto it) that Discourse and Instruction, should sufficiently be powerful, to direct vs to action, and addresse vs to performance, if over and besides that, we doe not by experience exercise and frame our mind, to the traine whereunto we will range-it: otherwise, when we shall be on the point of the effects, it will doubtlesse find it selfe much engaged and empeached. And that is the reason why amongst Philosophers, those that have willed to attaine to some greater excellence, have not been content, at home, and at rest to expect the rigors of fortune, for feare she should surprise them vnexperienced and find them novices, if she should chance to enter fight with them; but have rather gone to meet and front hir before, and witting-earnestly cast themselves to the triall of the hardest difficulties. Some have thereby voluntarily forsaken great riches, onely to practise a voluntarie povertie: others have willingly found out labour, and an austeritie of a toylesome life, thereby to harden and envre themselves [205]to evill, and travell: othersome have frankly deprived themselves of the dearest and best parts of their body, as of their eyes, and members of generation, lest their over-pleasing, and too-too wanton service, might in any sort mollifie and distract the constant resolution of their minde. But to die, which is the greatest worke we have to doe, exercise can nothing availe vs therevnto. A man may, by custome and experience, fortifie himselfe against grieffe, sorrow, shame, want, and such like accident: But concerning death, we can but once feele and trie the same. We are all novices, and new to learne when we come vnto it. There have, in former times, beene found men so good husbands and thriftie of time, that even in death they have assayde to tast and savour it; and bent their minde to observe and see, what manner of thing that passage of death was; but none did ever yet come backe againe to tell vs tidings of-it.

—nemo experti [...]us extat Lu [...]r. 3. 973. Frigida quem semel est vit  
aipausasequut [...].

No man doth ever-offer wake,  
Whom once his lifes cold rest doth take.

*Canius Iulius*, a noble Romane, a man of singular vertue and constancie, having beene condemned to death by that lewdly-mischievous monster of men, *Caligula*: besides many marvelous evident assurances he gave of his matchlesse resolution, when he was even in the nicke to endure the last stroke of the executioner; a Philosopher, being his friend, interrupted him with this question, saying: *Canius*, in what state is your soule now; what doth she; what thoughts possesse you now; I thought (answered he) to keep me readie and prepared with all my force, to-see whether in this instant of death, so short and so neere at hand, I might perceiue some dislodging or distraction of the soule, and whether it will shew some feeling of hir sudden departure; that (if I apprehend or learne anything of hir) I may afterward, if I can, returne, and give advertisement therof vnto my friends. Loe-here a Philosopher, not onely vntil death, but even in death it selfe: what assurance was it, and what fiercenes of courage, to will that his owne death should serve him as a lesson, and have leasure to thinke elsewhere in a matter of such consequence;

—*it is hoc animi morientis habebat*. Lucan. l. [...]. 63 [...]

This power of minde had he,  
When it from him did flee.

Me seemeth neverthelesse, that in some sort there is a meane to familiarize our selves with it, and to assay-it. We may have some experience of it, if not whole and perfect, at least such as may not altogether be vnprofitable, and which may yeelde vs better fortified and more assured. If we cannot attaine vnto it, we may at least approach-it, and discerne the same: And if we cannot enter hir sort, yet shall we see and frequent the approches vnto-it. It is not

with out reason we are taught to take notice of our sleepe, for the resemblance it hath with death. How easily we passe from waking to sleeping; with how little interest we loose the knowledge of light, and of ourselves. The facultie of sleepe might happily seeme vnprofitable, and against nature, sithence it depriveth vs of all actions, and barreth vs of all sense, were it not that nature doth thereby instruct vs, that she hath equally made vs, as wel to live, as to die; and by life presenteth the eternall state vnto vs, which she after the same reserveth for vs, so to accustome vs thereunto, and remove the feare of it from vs. But such as by some violent accident are falne into a faintnes of heart, and have lost all senses, they, in mine opinion, have well-nigh beene, where they might beholde hir true and naturall visage: For, touching the instant or moment of the passage, it is not to be feared, it should bring any travell or displeasure with-it, forasmuch as we can have, nor sense, nor feeling without leasure. Our sufferances have neede of time, which is so short, and plunged in death, that necessarily it must be insensible. It is the approaches that lead vnto it we should feare; and those may fall within the compasse of mans experience. Many things seeme greater by imagination, then by effect. I have passed over a good part of my age in sound and perfect health. I say, not onely sound, but blithe and wantonly-lustfull. That state full of lust, of prime and mirth, made me deeme the consideration of sicknesses so yrkesome and horrible, that when I came to the experience of them, I have found their fittes but weake, and their assaults but faint, in respect of my apprehended feare. Lo here what I daily proove. Let me be vnder a roofe, in a good chamber, warme-clad, and well at ease in some tempestuous and stormy [206]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. Onely to be continually pent vp in a chamber, seemed in tollerable to me. I have now enured my selfe to live a whole weeke, yea a moneth in my chamber full of care, trouble, alteration and weakenes; and have found, that in the time of my best health I moaned such as were sicke, much more, then I can well moane my selfe when I am ill at ease: and that the power of my apprehension did well-nigh halfe endear 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 so many preparations as I prepare against hir; and so many helpes as I call [...]osustaine, and assemble to endure the [...]locke and violence of it. But hab ornab we can never take too much advantage of it. During our second or third troubles (I doe not well remember which) I fortun'd one day, for recreation-sake, to goe forth and take the ayre, about a league from my house, who am seated even in the bowels of all troubles of our civill wars of *France*, supposing to be most safe, so neere mine owne ho [...]e and petreite, that I had no neede of better attendance or equipage. I was mounted vpon a very easie-going nagge, but not very sure. At my returning home againe, a sudden occasion being offered me, to make vse of this nagge in a peece of service, whereto he was neither trained not accustomed, one of my men (a-strong sturdie fellow) mounted vpon a yong strong-headed horse, and that had a desperate hard mouth, fresh, lustie and in breath; to shew his courage, and to out-goe his fewoes, fortun'd with might and maine to set spurres vnto 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 astonied in one place, and I in a trance groveling on the ground ten or twelwe paces wide of him; my face all torne and brused, my sword which I had in my hand a good way from me, my girdle broken, with no more motion or sense in me then a stocke. It is the onely swowning that ever I felt yet. Those that were with me, after thy had assayed all possible meanes to bring me to my selfe againe, supposing me dead, tooke me in their armes, and with much adoe were carying me home to my-house, which was about halfe a french league thence: vpon the way, & after I had for two houres space, by all, bin supposed dead and past all recoverie, I began to stir and breathe: for, so great abundance of blood was falne into my stomake, that to discharge it, nature was forced to roweze vp hir spirits. I was imediately set vpon my feete, and bending forward, I presently cast vp, n

quantitie as much clottie pure blood, as abucket will hold, and by the way was constra [...] ned to doe the like divers times before I could get home, whereby I begane to recover [...]ttle life, but it was by little and little, and so long adoin, that my chiefe senses were much more enclining to death then to life.

Per che dubbiosa ancor del suo riterne  
Nons' assicura at tonita la mente.

For yet the minde doubtfull it's returne  
Is not assured, but astonished.

The remembrance whereof (which yet I beare deeply imprinted in my minde) representing me hir visage and *Idea* so livele and so naturally, doth in some sort reconcile me vnto hir. And when I began to see, it was with so dim, so weake and so troubled a sight, that I could not discrene any thing of the light,

—come quel [...]hor'aepre, hor chiude Gliocchij, mezzo tral sonno el esser desto.

As he that sometimes opens, sometimes shuts  
His eyes, betweene sleepe and awake.

Touching the function of the soule, they started vp and came in the same progresse as those of the body. I perceived my selfe all bloodie; for my doublet was all sullied with the blood I had cast. The first conceit I apprehended, was, that I had received some shot in my head; and in truth, at the same instant, there were divers that shot round about vs. Me thought, my selfe had no other hold of me, but of my lippes-ends. I closed mine eyes, to helpe (as me seemed) to send it forth, and tooke a kind of pleasure to linger and languishingly to let my selfe goe from my selfe. It was an imagination swimming superficially in my minde, as weake and as tender as all the rest: but in truth, not onely exempted from displeasure, [207]but rather commixt with that pleasant sweetnesse, which they feele that suffer themselves to fall into a soft-slumbring and sense-entrancing sleepe. I beleeeve it is the same state, they find themselves in, whom in the agonie of death we see to droop and faint thorow weaknesse: and am of opinion, we plaine and moane them without cause, esteeming that either they are agitated with grieueous pangs, or that their soule is pressed with painfull cogitations. It was ever my conceite, against the opinion of many, yea and against that of *Stephanus la Boetie*, that those whom we see, so overwhelmed, and faintly-drooping at the approches of their end, or vtterly cast downe with the lingring tediousnes of their diseases, or by accident of some apoplexie, or falling-evil,

—(*vi morbi saepe [...]oactus* Luer. li. 3. 490.  
Ante oculos aliquis nostros vt fulminis ictu.  
Concidit, & spumas agit, ingemit, & fremit artus,  
Desipit, extent at neruos, torquetur, anhelat,  
Inconstanter & in iactando membra fatigat)

(Some man by force of sicknesse driu'n doth fall,  
As if by thunder stroke, before our eyes;  
He fomes, he grones, he trembles over all,  
He raves, he stretches, he's vext, panting lyes,  
He tyr's his limmes by tossing,  
Now this now that way crossing.)

or hurt in the head, whom we heare throb and rattle, and send forth grones and gaspes, although we gather some tokens from them, whereby it seemeth, they have yet some knowledge left and certain motions we see them make with their body: I say, I have ever thought, they had their soule and body buried and a sleepe.

‘Viuat & est vitae nescius ipse suae.’ Ouid. trist. lib. 1. el. 3. 12.

He lives yet knowes not he,  
That he alive should be.

And I could not beleeeve, that at so great an astonishment of members, and deffailance of senses, the soule could maintaine any force within, to know hirsselfe; and therefore had no manner of discourse tormenting them, which might make them judge and feele the misery of their condition, and that consequently they were not greatly to be moaned. As for my selfe, I imagine no state so intolerable nor condition so horrible, as to have a feelingly-afflicted soule, voide of meanes to disburthen and declare hir-selfe: As I would say of those we send to execution, having first caused their tongne to be cut out, were it not that in this manner of death, the most dumbe seemes vnto me the fittest, namely if it be accompanied with a resolute and grave countenance. And as those miserable prisoners which light in the hands of those hard-harted and villenous Souldiers of these times, of whom they are tormented with all manner of cruell entreatie, by compulsion to drawe them vnto some excessive and vnpossible ransome, keeping them all that while in so hard a condition and place, that they have no way left them to vtter their thoughts and expresse their miserie. The Poets have fained, there were some Gods, that faouored the release of such as sufferd so languishing deaths. ‘—hunc ego DitiVirg. Aen. lib. 4. 703. [...]r [...]. Sacrumiusa fero, téque isto corpore soluo.’

This to death sacred, I, as was my charge,  
Doe beare, and from this body thee enlarge.

And the faltering speeches and vncertaine answeres, that by continuall ringing in their eares and incessantvrging them are somtimes by force wrested from them or by the motions which seeme to have some simpathie with that whereof they are examined, is notwithstanding no witnes, that they live at least a perfect sound life. We doe also in yawning, before fleep fully seize vpon vs, apprehend as it were in a slumber, what is done about vs, and with a troubled and vncertain hearing, follow the voyces, which seeme to sound but on the outward limits of our soule; and frame answers according to the last words we heard, which taste more of chance then of sense: which thing now I have proved by experience, I [...]ake no doubt, but hitherto, I have well judged of it. For, first lying as in a trance, I labo [...]ed even with my na les to open my doublet (for I was vnarmed) and well I wot, that in [...]y imagination I felt nothing did hurt me. For, there are several motions in vs, which preceed not of our free wil▪

Sem [...]animésque micant digiti▪ ferrúmque retractant.lib. 10. 396.

[208]

The halfe-dead fingers stirre, and feele,  
(Though it they cannot stirre) for steele.

Those that fall, doe commonly by a naturall impulsion cast their armes abroade before their falling, which sheweth, that our members have certaine offices, which they lend one to another, and possesse certain agitations, apart from our discourse:

Falciferos memorant currus abscindere membra, Leur. li. 3.  
Vt tremere in terra videatur ab artubus, id quod  
Decidit abscissum, cùm mens tamen atque hominis vis  
Mobilitate mali non quit sentire dolorem.

They say, sith-bearing chariots limbes 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 stomacke was surcharged with clotted blood, my hands of themselves were still running to it, as often they are wont (yea against the knowledg of our will) where we feele it to itch. There are many creatures, yea and some men, in whom after they are dead, we may see their muskles 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 feete or handes feele whilst we sleepe, are not ours. When I came neere my house, where the tidings of my fall was alreadie come, and those of my housholde met me, with such outcries as are vsed in like times, I did not onely answere some words, to what I was demanded, but some tell me, I had the memory to commaund 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 seemeth this consideration proceeded from a vigilant soule: yet was I cleane distracted from-it, they were but vaine conceits, and as in a cloud, onely moved by the sense of the eyes and eares: 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 senses produced of themselves, as it were of custome. Whatsoever the soule did assist-it with, was but a dreame, being lightly touched, and only sprinkled by the soft impression of the senses. In the meane time my state was verily most pleasant and easefull. I felt no maner of care or affliction, nither for my selfe nor others. It was a slumbering, languishing and extreame weaknesse, without anie paine at all. I saw mine owne house and knew it not; when I was laide in my bedde, I felt great ease in my rest, For I had beene vilely hurried and haled by those poore men, which had taken the paines to carry me vpon their armes a long and wearysome way, and to say truth, they had all beene wearied twice or thrice over, and were faine to shift severall times. Many remedies were presently offerd me, but I tooke 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 hinderd me from judging of it, and the feeblenes of my body from feeling the same. Me-thought I was yeelding vp the ghost so gently, and after so easie and indolent a maner, that I feele no other action lesse burthensome then that was. But when I beganne to come to life againe and recover my former strength,

Vt tandem sensus convaluere mei,Ovid. Trist. li. 1 [...]. 3. 14.

At last when all the sprites I beare,  
Recall'd and recollected were,

which was within two or three houres after, I presently felt my selfe full of aches and paines all my body over; for, each part thereof was with the violence of the fall much brused and tainted; and for two or three nights after I found my selfe so ill, that I verily supposed I should have had another fit of death: But that a more lively, and sensible one: (and to speak plaine) I feel my bru [...] yet, and feare me shall doe while I live: I will not forget to tell you, that the last thing I could rightly fall into againe, was the remembrance of this accident, and I made my men many times to repeat me over and over againe, whither I was going, whence I



came, and at what houre that chance befell me, before I could throughly conceive it. Concerning the maner of my falling they in favor of him who had bin the cause of it, concealed the truth [209]from me, and told me other flim flam tales. But a while after, and the morrow next when my memorie beganne to come to it selfe againe, and represent the state vnto me, wherein I was at the instant, when I perceived the horse riding over me (for being at my heeles, I chanced to espie him, and helde my selfe for dead; yet was the conceite so sodaine, that feare had no leasure to enter my thoughts) me seemed it was a flashing or lightning, that smote my soule with shaking, and that I came from another world. This discourse of so slight an accident, is but vaine and frivolous, were not the instructions I have drawne from thence, for my vse: For truly, for a man to acquaint himselfe with death, I finde no better way, then to approach vnto it. Now as *Plinie* saith, every man is a good discipline vnto himselfe alwayes provided he be able to prie into himselfe. This is not my doctrine, it is but my studie; And not another mans lesson, but mine owne. Yet ought no man to blame me if I impart the same. What serves my turne, may happily serve another mans; otherwise I marre nothing, what I make vse of, is mine owne. And if I play the foole, it is at mine owne cost, and without any other bodies interest. For it is but a kind 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 we know but their names. No man since hath followed their stepes: it is a thorny and crabbed enterprise, and more then it makes shew of, to follow so strange and vagabond a path, as that of our spirit: to penetrate the shady, and enter the thicke-covered depths of these internall winding cranks; To chuse so many, and settle so severall aires of his agitations: And tis a new extraordinary amusing, that distracts vs from the common occupation of the world, yea and from the most recommended: Many yeares are past since I have no other aime, whereto my thoughts bend, but my selfe, and that I controule and study nothing but my selfe. And if I study any thing else, it is imediatly to place it vpon, or to say better, in my selfe. And me thinkes I erre not, as commonly men doe in other sciences, without all comparison lesse profitable. I impart what I have learn't by this, although I greatly con [...]ent not my selfe with the progresse I have made therein. *There is no description so hard, nor so profitable, as is the description of a mans owne life.* Yet must a man handsomely trimme vp, yea and dispose and range himselfe to appeare on the Theatre of this world. Now I continually tricke vp my selfe; for I vncessantly describe my selfe. Custome hath made a mans speech of himselfe, vicious. And obstinately forbids it in hatred of boasting, which ever seemeth closely to follow ones selfe witnesses, whereas a man should wipe a childes nose, that is now called to vn nose himselfe.

In vicium ducis culpae fuga. Her. art poet. 31

Some shunning of some sinne,  
Doe draw some further in.

I finde more evill then good by this remedie: But suppose it were true, that for a man to entertaine the company with talking of himselfe, were necessarily presumption: I ought not following my generall intent, to refuse an action, that publisheth this crazed quality, since I have it in my selfe: and I should not conceale this fault, which I have not onely in vse, but in profession. Neverthelesse to speake my opinion of it, this custome to condemne wine is much to blame, because many are therewith made drunke. Onely good things may be abvsed. And I believe this rule hath onely regard to popular defects: They are snaffles wherewith neither Saints, nor Philosophers, nor Devines, whom we heare so gloriously to speake of then sulves, will in any sort be bridled. No more doe I, though I be no more the one then other. If they write purposely or directly of it, yet when occasion doth conveniently leade them vnto it, faine they not, headlong to cast themselves into the listes? Whereof doth *Scraetes* treat more at large, then of himselfe? To what doth he more often direct his Disciples discourses, then to speake of themselves, not for their bookes lesson, but of the essence and mooving of their

soule? We religiously shrieue our selves to God and our confessour as our neighbours to all the people. But will some answere me, we reporte but accusation; wee then reporte all: For, even our vertue it selfe is faultie and repentable; My arte and profession, is to live. Who forbids me to speake of it, according to my sense, experience, and custome; Let him appoint the Architect to speake of buildings, not according to himselfe, but his neighbours, according to anothers skill, and not his owne. If it be a glory, for a man to publish his owne worth himselfe, why doth not *Cicero* prefer the eloquence of *Hortensius*, and *Hortensius* that of *Ciceror*. Some may peradventure suppose that by deedes and effects [210]and not simply by words, I witness of my selfe. I principally set forth my cogitations; a shapeletle subject, and which cannot fall within the compasse of a worke-manlike production: with much adoe can I set it downe in this ayrie body of the voice. Wiser men, and more learned and devout, have lived avoyding all apparant effects. Effects would speake more of fortune, then of me. They witness their part, and not mine; vnlesse it be conjecturally and vncertainly: Parcels of a particular shew: I wholly set forth and expose my selfe: It is a *Sceletos*; where at first sight appeare all the veines, muskles, gristles, sinnewes, and tendons, each severall part in his due place. The effect of the cough produceth one part, that of palenesse ot panting of the heart another, and that doubtfully. I write not my gests, but my selfe and my essence. I am of opinion that a man must be very wise to esteeme himselfe, and equally consciencious to give testimony of it: be it low, be it high indifferently. If I did absolutely seeme good and wise vnto my selfe, I would boldly declare it. To speake lesse of himselfe then he possesseth, is folly and not modesty. To pay himselfe for lesse then he is worth, is basenesse and pusilanimity, saith *Aristotle*. No vertue aides it selfe with false-hood; and truth is never a matter of errour. And yet for a man to say more of himselfe, then he can well prove, is not ever presumption, though often sottishnesse. For a man to over-weene, and please himselfe exceedingly with what he is, and fall into indifereet love with himselfe, is in my conceit, the substance of this vice. The best remedy to cure him, is to doe cleane contrary to that which those appoint, who inforbidding men to speake of themselves, doe consequently also inhibit more to thinke of themselves. *Pride consisteth in conceit*: The tongue can have no great share in it. For one to ammuse on himselfe, is in their imagination to please himselfe: And for a man to frequent and practise himselfe, is at an over-deare rate to please himselfe. But this excesse doth onely breed in them, that but superficially feele and search themselves, that are seene to follow their affaires, which call idlennesse and fondnesse, for a man to entertaine, to applaud and to endear himselfe, and frame Chimeraes, or build Castles in the ayre; deeming themselves as a third person and strangers to themselves. If any be besotted with his owne knowledge, looking vpon himselfe, let him cast his eyes towards former ages, his pride shall be abated, his ambition shall be quailed; for there shall he finde many thousands of spirits, that will cleane suppress and treade him vnder. If he fortune to enter into any selfe-presumption 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 far behind them. No particular quality shall make him proud, that therewith shall reckon so many imperfect and weake qualities that are in him and at last, the nullity of humane condition. Forsomuch as *Socrates* had truly onely nibled on the precept of his God, to know himselfe, and by that study had learned to contemne himselfe, he alone was esteemed worthy of the name of Wise. Whosoever shall so know himselfe, let him boldly make himselfe knowen by his owne mouth:

### **The seuenth Chapter.** **Of the recompences or rewards of Honour.** ↩

THose which write the life of *Augustus Caesar*, note this in his military discipline, that he was exceeding liberall and lauish in his gifts to such as were of any desert; but as sparing and strait-handed in meere recompences of honour. Yet is it that himselfe had been liberally gratified by his Vnckle with militarie rewards, before euer he went to warres. It hath beene a

wittie inuention, and receiued in most parts of the worlds Common-wealths, to establish and ordaine certaine vaine and worthles markes, 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 garment; the priuiledge to ride in Coch through the Citie; or by night to haue a Torch carried before one: Some particular place to sit-in in common assemblies; the prerogatives of certaine surnames and titles, and proper additions in armes, and such like things; the vse wherof hath beene diuersly receiued according to the [211]opinions of Nations, which continueth to this day. We haue for our part, together with diuers of our neighbour-Nation, the orders of Knight-hood, which only were established to this purpose. Verily it is a most laudable vse, and profitable custome, to find meanes to reward the worth, and acknowledge the valour of rare and excellent men, to satisfie and content them with such payments, as in no sort charge the common wealth, and put the Prince to no cost at all. And that which was ever knowne by ancient experience, and at other times we haue plainly perceived amongst ourselves, that men of qualitie, were ever more jealous of such recompences, then of others, wherein was both gaine and profit: which was not without reason and great apparance. If to the prize, which ought simply to be of honour, there be other commodities and riches joyned, this kinde of commixing, in stead of encreasing the estimation thereof, doeth empaire, dissipate, and abridge-it. The order of the Knights of Saint *Michaell* 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 hcretofore beene the cause, that there was no charge or state of what quality soever, whereto 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 greatnes. Vertue embracing with more ambition, and more willingly aspiring after a recompence, that is meerly and simply her owne, and which is rather glorious, then profitable. For, to say truth, other giftes haue novse so worthy; masmuch, as they are employed to all manner of occasions. With riches a man doeth reward the service of a groome, the diligence of a messenger, the hopping of a dancer, the tricks of a vaulter, the breath of a lawyer, and the basest offices a man may receive; yea, with the same paulty pelfe mony, vice is payed and sinne requited, as flattery, murther, treason, *Maqu [...]*relage, and what not? It is then no marvell, if vertue doth lesse willingly desire this kinde of common trash, mony, then that which is only proper and peculiar to h [...]rselfe, and is altogether noble and generous. *Auguctus* had therefore reason, to be much more niggardly and sparing of this last, then of the former, forasmuch has honour is a priuiledge which drawes his principall essence from rarenesse: And so doth vertue it selfe.

Cu [...] malus est nemo, quis bonus esse potest? Mart. l. 12. epig. 82. 2.

To him who good can seeme,  
Who doth none bad esteeme?

We shall not see a man highly regarded, or extraordinarily commended, that is curiouslie carefull to have his children well nurtured, because it is a common action, how just and worthy praise soever it be: no more then one great tree, where the forrest is full of such. I doe not thinke that any Spartane Citizen did boastingly glorifie himselfe for his valor, because it was a popular vertue in that Nation: And as little for his fidelitie, and contempt of riches. There is no recompence fals vnto vertue, how great soever it be, if it once haue past into custome: And I wot not whether we might call it great, being common. Since then the rewardes of honor, haue no other prize and estimation then that few enjoy it, there is no way to disannull them, but to make a largesse of them. Were there now more men found deserving the same then in former ages, yet should not the reputation of it be corrupted. And it may easilie happen that more deserve-it: For, there is no vertue, doeth so easilie spread it selfe as military valian [...].e. There is another, true, perfect, and Philosophical, wherof I speake not (I

vse this word according to our custome) farre greater and more full then this, which is a force and assurance of the soule, equally contemning all manner of contrarie accidents, vpriought, vn [...]forme, and constant, wherof ours is but an easie and glimmering raie. Custome, institution, example and fashion, may effect what ever they list in the establishing of that I speak-of, and easily make it vulgare, as may plainely bee seene by the experience our civill warts give-vs of-it, And whosoever could now joyne vs together, and eagerly flesh al our people to a common enterprise, we should make our ancient military name and chivalrous credit to flourish againe. It is most certaine that the recompence of our order did not in former times onely concerne prowis, and respect valour; it had a further aime. It was never the reward or payment of a valiant souldier; but of a famous Captaine. The skill to obey could not deserve so honorable an hire: for, cast we backe our eyes to antiquity, we shall perceive, that for the woorthy obtayning thereof, there was required more vniuersall warre like experinesse, and which might imbrace the greatest part, and most parts of a military [212]man; *Neque enim eadem militares & imperatoriae artes sunt; for the same artes and partes belong not to a generall and common Souldier*; and who besides that, should also bee of a fit and accommodable condition for such a dignitie. But I say, that if more men should now adaies be found worthy of it, then have bin heretofore, yet should not our Princes be more liberall of it: and it had bin much better, not to bestow it vpon all them to whom it was due, then for ever to loose, (as of late we have done) the vse of so profitable an invention. *No man of courage vouch [...]afeth to advantage himselfe of that which is common vnto many*. And those which in our dayes, have least merited that honourable recompence, seeme, in all apparence, most to disdain it, by that meanes to place themselves in the ranke of those to whom the wrong is offred by vnworthy bestowing and vilifying of that badge, which particularly was due vnto them. Now by defacing and abolishing this to suppose, suddenly to be able to bring into cridite, and renue a semblable custome, is no convenient enterprise, in so licentious, so corrupted, and so declining an age, as is this wherein we now live. And it will come to passe that the last shall even from her birth incur the incommodities, which haue lately ruined and ouerthrowne the other. The rules of this new orders-dispensation had need to be otherwise wrested and constrained, for to giue it authority: and this tumultuous season is not capable of a short and ordered bridle. Besides, before a man is able to giue credit vnto it, it is requisite a man loose the memory of the first, and of the contempt whereinto it is fallen. This place might admitte some discourse vpon the consideration of valour, and difference betweene this vertue and others: But *Plutarch* hauing often spoken of this matter, it were in vaine heere for mee to repeat what he sayes of it. This is worthy to be considered, that our nation giveth the chiefe preheminance of all vertue vnto valiancy, as the Etymology of the word sheweth, which commeth of valour, or worth: and that according to our receiued custome, when after the phrase of our court and nobility we speake of a worthy man, or of an honest man, we thereby inferre no other thing than a valiant man; after the vsuall Roman fashion. For, the generall denomination of vertue doth amongst them take her Etymology, of force or might. The only proper and essential forme of our nobility in *France*, is military vocation. It is very likely, that the first vertue that ever appeared amongst men, and which to some hath given preheminance over others, hath bin this by which the strongest and more couragious have become masters over the weakest, and purchased a particular rancke and reputation to themselues: Whereby this honour and dignity of speech is left vnto it: or else these nations being very war-like, haue giuen the price vnto that of vertues, which was the worthiest and more familiar vnto them. Even as our passion, and this heartpanting, and mind-vexing carefull diligence, and diligent carefulnesse, which we continually apprehend about womens chastity, causeth; also that a good woman, an honest woman, a woman of honor and vertue, doth in effect and substance, signifie no other thing vnto vs, than a chaste wife or woman; as if to bind them to this duty, we did neglect all others, and gaue them free liberty to commit any other fault, to covenant with them, neuer to quit or forsake this one.

**The eight Chapter.**  
**Of the affection of fathers to their children. To the Ladie of *Estissac*.**

MADAME, if strangenesse doe not save, or novelty shielde mee, which are wont to give things reputation, I shall never, with honestie, quit my selfe of this enterprise; yet is it so fantastical, and beares a shew so different from common custome, that that may haply purchase-it free passage. It is a melancholy humor, and consequently a hatefull enemy to my naturall complexion, bredde by the anxietie, and produced by the anguish of carking care, whereinto some yeares since I cast my selfe, that first put this humorous conceipt of writing into my head. And finding my selfe afterward wholly vnprovided of subject, and voyde of other matter. I have presented my selfe vnto my selfe for a subject to write, and argument [213]to descant vpon. It is the onely booke in the world of this kinde, and of a wilde extravagant designe. Moreover, there is nothing in it worth [...]e the marking but this fantasticalnesse. For, to so vaine a ground and base a subject, the worldes best workeman, could never have given a fashion deserving to be accompted-of. Now (woorthy Lady) sithence I must pourtray my selfe to the life, I should have forgotten a part of importance, if therewithall I had not represented the honour I have ever yeeleed to your deserts, which I have especially beene willing to declare in the forefront of this Chapter; For asmuch as amongst your other good parts, and commendable qualities, that of loving amity, which you have shewen to your children, holdeth one of the first ranckes. Whosoever shall vnderstand and know the age, wherein your late husband the Lord of *Estissac* left you a Widdow, the great and honorable matches haue 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 spight, or a thwart so manifold thorny difficulties; the charge and conduct of their affaires, which have tossed, turmoyled and remooved you in all corners of *France*, and still hold you besieged; the happy and successefull forwardnesse you, which only through your wisdom or good fortune have given them, he will easily say with mee, that in our age we haue no patterne of motherly affection more exemplare; than yours. I praise God (Madam) it hath beene so well employed: For, the good hopes, which the yoong Lord of *Estissac*, your sonne giveth of himselfe, foreshew an vndoubted 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 many-fold offices he hath received from you, my meaning is, that if ever these my compositions shall happily one day come into his hands (when peradventure I shall neither have mouth nor speach to declare it vnto him) he receive this testimonie in all veritie from me; which shall also more lively be testified vnto him by the good effects, (whereof, if so it please God, he shall have a sensible feeling) that there is no Gentleman in *France*, more endebted to his mother, then he; and that hereafter he cannot yeeld a more certaine prooffe of his goodnesse, and testimonie of his vertue, then in acknowledging and confessing you for such. If there be any truely-naturall law, that is to say, any instinct, vniversally and perpetually imprinted, both in beasts and vs, (which is not without controversie) I may, according to mine opinion, say, that next to the care, which each living creature hath to his preservation, and to flie what doth hurt him; the affection which the engenderer beareth his off-spring, holds the second place in this ranke. And forasmuch as nature seemeth to have recommended the same vnto-vs, ayming to extend, encrease, and advance, the successive parts or parcels of this hir frame. It is no woonder if back ■ againe it is not so great from children vnto fathers. This other Aristotelian consideration remembred: That *hee who doth benefit another, loveth him better than hee is beloved of him againe*: And hee to whom a debt is owing, loveth better, than hee that oweth: And every workeman loveth his worke better, than hee should bee beloved of it againe, if it had sense or feeling. Forasmuch as we love to be; and being consisteth in moving and action. Therefore is every man, in some sort or other in his owne 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 be esteemed or loved as honestie. Honestie is firme and permanent, affording him that did it, a constant gratification. Profite is verie slipperie, and easilie lost, nor is the memorie of it so sweet, or so fresh. Such things are dearest vnto vs, that have cost vs most: And to give, is of more cost then to take. Since it hath pleased God to endow-vs with some capacitie of discourse, that as beasts we should not servily be subjected to common lawes, but rather with judgement and voluntarie libertie applie our selves vnto them; we ought somewhat to yeeld vnto the simple auctoritie of Nature: but not suffer hir tyrannically to carrie-vs away: only reason ought to have the conduct of our inclinations. As for me, my taste is strangely distasted to it's propensions, which in vs are produced without the ordinance and direction of our judgement. As vpon this subject I speak-of, I cannot receive this passion, wherewith some embrace children scarsly borne, having neither motion in the soule, nor forme well to be distinguished in the bodie, whereby they might make themselves lovely or amiable. And I could never well endure to have them brought vp or nursed neere about me. A true and wel ordred affection, [114]ought to be borne and augmented, with the knowledge they give vs of themselves; and then, if they deserve-it (naturall inclination marching hand in hand with reason) to cherish and make much of them, with a perfect fatherly love and loving friendship, and conformably to judge of them if they be otherwise, alwaies yeelding our selves vnto reason, notwithstanding naturll power. For the most part; it goeth cleane contrary, and commonly feele our selves more mooved with the sports, idlenesse, wantonnesse, and infant-trifles 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, monkees, or perokitoes, and not as men. And some that liberally furnish them with sporting bables while they be children, will miserably pinch it in the least expence for necessaries when they grow men. Nay, it seemeth that the jelousie we have to see them appeare into, and injoy the world, when we are ready to leave them, makes vs more sparing and close-handed toward them. It vexeth and grieveth vs when we see them following vs at our heeles, supposing they sollicite vs to be gone hence: And if we were to feare that since the order of things beareth, 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 cruelty and injustice, not to receive them into the share and society of our goods, and to admit them as Partners in the vnderstanding of our domesticall affaires (if they be once capable of it) and not to cut off and shut- vp our commodities to provide for theirs, since we have engendred them to that purpose. It is meere injustice to see an old, crazed, sinnow-shronken, and nigh dead father sitting alone in a Chimny-corner, to enjoy so many goods as would suffice for the preferment and entertainment of many children, and in the meane while, for want of meanes, to suffer them to loose their best daies and yeares, without thrusting them into publike service and knowledge of men; whereby they are often cast into dispaire, to seeke, by some way how vnlawfull soever to provide for their necessaries. And in my daies, I have seene divers yong-men, of good, houses so given to stealing and filching, that no correction 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 answered and confessed vnto me, that onely by the rigor and covetise of his father he had beene forced and driuen to fall into such lewdnesse and wickednesse. And even at that time he came from stealing certaine jewels from a Lady, in whose bed-chamber he fortun'd to come with certaine other Gentlemen when she was rising, and had almost beene taken. He made me remember a tale I had heard of an other Gentleman, from his youth so fashioned and inclined to this goodly trade of pilfering, that comming afterward to be heire and Lord of his owne goods, resolved to giue over that manner of life, could notwithstanding (if he chanced to come neere a shop, where he saw any thing he stood in neede of) not chuse but steale the same, though afterward he would ever send mony and pay for it. And I have seene diverse so inured to that vice, that amongst their companions, they would ordinarily steale such things, as they would restore againe. I am a Gascoine, and there is no vice

wherein I have lesse skill: I hate it somewhat more by complexion, then I accuse it by discourse. I doe not so much as desire another mans goods.

And although my Country-men be indeed somewhat more taxed with this fault, then other Provinces of *France*, yet have we seene of late daies, and that sundry times men well borne and of good parentaeg in other parts of *France* in the hands of justice, and lawfully convicted of many most horrible robberies. I am of opinion that in regard of these debauches and lewd actions, fathers may, in some sort, be blamed, and that it is onely long of them. And if any shall answer mee, as did once a Gentleman of good worth and vnderstanding, that he thriftily endeavored to hoard vp riches, to no other purpose, nor to have any vse and commodity of them, then to be honoured, respected and suingly sought 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 maintaine himselfe in authority with his houshold, and keepe him from falling into contempt and disdain of all the world. (And truely according to *Aristotle*, not onely old-age, but each imbecility, is the promoter, and motive of couetousnesse. That is something, but it is a remedie for an evill, whereof the birth should have beene hindered, and breeding a voyded. That father may truely be said miserable, 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 yeeld himselfe [215] respectable by vertue and sufficiency, and amiable by his goodnesse, and gentlenesse of maners.* The very cinders of so rich a matter, have their value: so 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 needes prove venerable, and especially vnto his children, whose mindes ought so to be directed by the parents, that reason and wisdom, not necessity and neede, nor rudenesse and compulsion, may make them know and performe their duty.

— & errat longè, mea quidem sententia, Ter. Adel [...]. act. 1. see. 1. 39  
Qui imperium credat esse gravius aut stabilius,  
Vi quod fit, quàm illud quod amicitia adiungitur;

In mine opinion he doth much mistake,  
Who, that command more graue, more firme doth take,  
Which force doth get, then that which friendships make.

I vtterly condemne all maner of violence in the education of a yong spirit, brought vp to honour and liberty. There is a kinde of slavishnesse in churlish-rigor, and servility in compulsion; and I hold, that *that which can not be compaessed by reason, wisdom and discretion, can never be attained by [...].orce and constraint.* So was I brought vp: they tell mee, 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 hir childisn faults (the indulgence of hir mother applying it selfe very mildely vnto it) was never other meanes vsed but gentle words. And were my desire frustrate, there are diverse other causes to take hold-of, without reproving my discipline, which I know to be just and naturall. 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 ingenuity and liberty. I have seene no other effects in rods, but to make childrens mindes more remis [...],e, or more maliciously head-strong. Desire we to be loved of our children? Will we remove all occasions from them to wish our death? (although no occasion of so horrible and vnnaturall wishes, can either be just or excusable) *nullum scelus rationem habet*, no ill deede hath a good reason.

Let vs reasonably accommodate their life, with such things as are in our power. And therefore should not we marry so young, that our age doe in a maner confound it selfe with theirs. For, this inconvenience doth vnavoidably cast vs into many difficulties, and encombrances. This I speake, chiefly vnto Nobility, which is of an idle disposition, or lo [...]tering condition, and which (as we say) liveth onely by hir lands or rents: for else, where life standeth vpon gaine; plurality and company of children is an easefull furtherance of husbandry. They are as many new implements to thrive, and instruments to grow rich. I was married at thirty yeeres of age, and commend the opinion of thirty-five, which is said to be *Aristotles*. *Plato* would have no man married before thirty, and hath good reason to scoffe at them that will defer it till after fifty-five, and then marry; and condemne their breed as vnworthy of life and sustenance. *Thales* appointed the best limites, who by his mother, being instantly vrged to marry whilst he was yong, answered that it was not yet time; and when he came to be old he said it was no more time. A man must refuse opportunity to every importunate action. The ancient *Gaules* deemed it a thamefull reproach, to have the acquaintance of a woman before the age of twenty yeeres, and did especially recommend vnto men that sought to be trained vp in warres, the carefull preseruation of their maiden-head, vntill they were of good yeeres, forsomuch as by loosing it in youth, courages are thereby much weakened and greatly empaired, and by copulation with women, diverted from all vertuous action.

Mahor cogiunto à gi [...] vinetta sposa,  
Lieto hemat de'figl [...] era invilito  
Ne gli affetti di padre & di marito.

But now conjoyn'd to a fresh-springing spouse,  
Ioy'd in his children, he was thought▪ abased,  
In passions twixt a Sire, and husband placed.

*Muleasses* King of *Thunes*, he whom the Emperour *Charles* the fifth restored vnto his [216]owne state againe, was wont to vpbraide his fathers memorie, for so dissolutely-frequenting of women, terming him a sloven, effeminate, and a lustfull engenderer of children. The Greeke storie doth note *Iecus* the *Tarentine*, *Chryso*, *Astylus*, *Diopomus* and others, who to keepe their bodies tough and strong for the service of the Olympicke courses, wrestlings and such bodily exercises, they did, as long as they were possessed with that care, heedefully abstaine from all venerian actes, and thouching of women. In a certaine country of the Spanish *Indies*, no man was suffered to take a wife, before he were fortie yeares olde, and women might marry at tenne yeeres of age. There is no reason, neither is it convenient, that a Gentleman of five and thirtie yeeres, should give place to his sonne, that is but twenty: For then is the father as seemely, and may aswell appeare, and set himselfe forward, in all manner of voyages of warres, aswell 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 parts, and ought truly to impart them, but so, that he forget not himselfe for others: And to such may justly that answer serve, which fathers have commonly in their mouthes: *I will not put off my clothes before I be readie to goe to bed*. But a father over-burthend with yeares, and crazed through sicknesse, and by reason of weakenesse and want of health, barred from the common societie of men, doth both wrong himselfe, injure his, idely and to no vse to hoorde vp, and keepe close a great heape of riches, and deale of pelfe. He is in state good enough, if he be wise to have a desire to put off his clothes to goe to bed. I will not say to his spirt, but to a good warme night gowne, As for other pompe and trash whereof hee hath no longer vse or neede; hee ought willingly to distribute and bestow them amongst those, to whom by naturall decree they ought to belong. It is reason he should have the vse, and bequeath the fruition of them, since nature doth also deprive him of them, otherwise without doubt there is both envy and malice stirring. The worthiest action, that ever the Emperour *Charles* the fifth performed was



this, in imitation of some ancients of his quality, that he had the discretion to know, that reason commanded vs, to strip or shift our selves when our cloathes trouble and are too heaue for vs, and that it is high time to goe to bed, when our legges faile vs. He resigned his meanes, his greatnesse and Kingdome to his Sonne, at what time he found his former vndanted resolution to decay, and force to conduct his aslaies, to droope in himselfe, together with the glory he had thereby acquired.

Solue senescentem mature se [...]s equum, ne Mor. 1. [...]ep. 1. 8.  
Peccet ad extremum ridendus, & ilia ducat,

If you be wise, the horse growne▪ old be times cast off,  
Least he at last fall lame, soultter, and breed a skoffe.

This fault, for a man not to be able to know himselfe betimes, and not to feele the impuissance and extreame 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 lost the reputation of the most part of the greatest men in the world. I have in my daies both seene and fam [...]liarly knowen some men of great authority, whom a man might easily descerne, to be strangely fallen from that ancient sufficiency, which I know by the reputation they had thereby attained▪ vnto in their best yeares. I could willingly for their honors sake have wis [...]t them at home about their owne businesse, discharged from all negotiations of the commonwealth and employments of war, that were no longer fit for them. I have sometimes been familiar in a Gentlemans house, who was both an old man and a widdower, yet lusty of his age. This man had many daughters [...]ariageable, and a sonne growne to mans state, and readie to appeare in the world, a thing that drew▪ on, and was the cause of great charges, and many visitations, wherein he tooke but little pleasure, not onely for the continuall care hee had to save, but more by reason of his age, hee had betaken him-selfe 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 beseeme him to give vs place, and resigne his chiefe house to his son (for he had no other mannor-house conveniently well furnished) and quietly retire himselfe to some farme of his, where no man might trouble him, or disturbe his rest, since he could not otherwise avoide our importunitie, seeing the condition of his children; who afterward followed my counsell, and found great ease by it. It is not to be said, that they have any thing given them by such a way of obligation, which a man may not recall againe: I, that am readie to play such a part, would give over vnto them the full possession of my [217]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 deede. I would leave the vse and fruition of all vnto them, the rather because it were no longer fit for me to weald the same. And touching the disposing of all matters in grosse, I would reserve what I pleased vnto my selfe. 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 controule the demeanors: storing them with instruction and advised counsel according to the experience he hath had of them, and himself to addressse the ancient honour and order of his house in the handes of his successours, and that way warrant himselfe of the hopes hee may conceive of their future conduct and after successe. And to this effect, I would not shunne 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 amongst them (as I could not wel without offending their meetings and hindering their recreation, by reason of the peevish frowardnesse of my age, and the trouble of my infirmities, and also without forcing their rules, and resisting the forme 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 shew, but the most easefull and commodious. And not as some yeeres since, I saw a Deane of S. *Hillarie* of Poitiers, reduced by reason and the

incommoditie of his melancholy to such a continuall solitarinesse, that when I entered into his chamber he had never remooved one step out of it in two and twenty yeares before: yet had all his faculties free and easie, onely a rheume excepted that fell into his stomake. Scarse once a weeke would he suffer any body to come and see him. Hee 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 tarrie there, but as soone as he was in, must goe out againe. All his exercise was sometimes to walke vp and downe his chamber, and now and then reade on some booke (for he had some vnderstanding of letters) but obstinately resolved to live and die in that course, as he did shortly after. I would endeavour by a kinde of civill demeanour and milde conversation, to breede and settle in my children a trueharty-loving friendship, and vnfaigned good will towards me. A thing easily obtained amongst well-borne mindes: For, if they proove, or be such surly-furious beastes, or given to churlish disobedience, as our age bringeth forth thousands, they must as beastes be hated, as churls 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 disdain our children should call vs so. I have reformed this fault in mine owne housholde. It is also follie and injustice to deprive children, especially being of competent age, of their fathers familiaritie, and ever to snew them a surly, austere, grim, and disdainfull countenance, hoping thereby to keepe them in awefull feare and duteous obedience. For, it is a very vnprofitable proceeding, and which maketh fathers yrkesome vnto children; and which is worse, ridiculous. They have youth and strength in their hands, and consequently, the breath and favour of the worlde; and doe with mockerie and contempt receive these churlish fierce, and tyrannicall countenaunces, from a man that hath no lusty bloud left him, neither in his heart, nor in his veines; meere bugge-bearers, and scar-crowes, to scare birdes with all. If it lay in my power to make my selfe feared, I had rather make my selfe beloved. There are so many sortes 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 hers. Commandement and feare are no longer her weapons. I have knowen one whose youth had bin very imperious and rough, but when he came to mans age, although hee live in as good plight and health as may be, yet he chaseth, he scoldeth, he brawleth, he fighteth, he sweareth, and biteth, as the most boistrous and tempestuous master of *France*, he frets and consumes himselfe with care [...]ke and care and vigilancy (all which is but a juglin & ground for his familier to play vpon, and cozen him the more) as for his goods, his garners, his cellers, his coffers, yea his purse, whilst himselfe keeps the keyes of them, close in his bosome and vnder his boulder, as charily as he doth his e [...]es, other enjoy and commaund the better part of them; whilst he pleaseth and fla [...]tereth himselfe, with the [...]ggardly sparing of his table, all goeth to wracke, and is lavishly wasted in diverse corners of his house, in play, in riotous [218]spending, and in soothingly entertaining the accompts or tales of his vaine chafing, foresight and providing. Every man watcheth and keepeth sentinell against him, if any silly or needlesse servant doe by fortune apply himselfe vnto it, he is presently made to suspect him: A quality on which age doth immediately bite of itselfe. How many times hath he vaunted and applauding himselfe told me of the strict orders of his house, of his good husbandry, of the awe he kept his household in, and of the exact obedience, and regardfull reverence he received of all his family, and how cleare-sighted he was in his owne businesse:

Ille solus nescit omnia. Ter. Adel. áct. 4. scen. 2. 9.

Of all things none but he,  
Most ignorant must be.

I know no man that could produce more parts, both naturall and artificiall, fit to preserve his maisterie, and to maintaine his absolutenesse, 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 know, as most exemplare. It were a matter beseeming a scholasticall question, whether it be better so, or otherwise. In his presence all things give place vnto him. This vaine course is ever left vnto his authority, that he is never gaine-said. He is had in awe, he is feared, he is beleev'd, he is respected his belly-full. Doth he discharge any boy or servant? he presently trusseth vp his packe, then is he gone; but whether? onely out of his sight, not out of his house. The steps of age are follow, the senses so troubled, the minde so distracted, that he shall live and doe his office, a whole yeere in one same house, and never be perceived. And when fit time or occasion serveth, Letters are produced from farre places, humbly suing, and pittifully complayning, with promises to doe better, and to amend, by which he is brought into favour and office againe. Doth the master make any bargaine, or dispatch that pleaseth not? it is immediately smothered and suppressed, soone after forging causes, and devising colourable excuses, to excuse the want of execution or answer. No forraine Letters being first presented vnto him, he seeth but such as are fit for his knowledge. If peradventure they come vnto his hands, as he that trusteth 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 seemeth to aske him forgiveness, that wrongeth him by his Letter. To conclude, he never lookes into his owne businesse, but by a disposed, designed and as much as may be pleasing image, so contrived by such as are about him, because they will not stirre vp his choler, moove his impatience, and exasperate his frowardnesse. I have seene vnder different formes, many long and constant, and of like effect oeconomies. It is ever proper vnto women, to be read [...]ly bent to contradict and crosse their husbands. They will with might and maine hand-over head, take hold of any colour to thwart and withstand them: the first excuse they meete with, serves them as a plenary justification. I have seene some, that would in grosse steale from their husbands, to the end (as they tolde their Confessors) they might give the greater almes. Trust you to such religious dispensations. They thinke no liberty to have, or managing to possesse sufficient authority, if it come from their husbands consent: They must necessarily vsurpe it, either by wily craft or maine force, and ever injuriously, thereby to give it more grace and authority. As in my Discourse, when it is against a poore old man, and for children, then take they hold of this Title, and therewith gloriously serve their turne and passion, and as in a common servitude, easily vsurpe and monopolize against his government and domination. If they be men-children, tall, of good spirit and forward, then they presently suborne, either by threats, force or favour, both Steward, Bail [...]ffe, Clarke, Receiver, and all the Fathers Officers, and Servants. Such as have neither wife nor children, doe more hardly fall into this mischief: but yet more cruelly and vnworthily. Old *Cato* was wont to say, *So many servants, so many enemies*. Note whether according to the distance, that was betwene the purity of his age, and the corruption of our times, he did not fore-warne vs, that *Wives, Children, and Servants are to vs so many enemies*. Well fittes it decrepitude to store vs with the sweet benefite of ignorance and vnperceiving facility wherewith we are deceived.

If we did yeeld vnto it, what would become of vs? Doe we not see that even then, if we have any suites in law or matters to be decided before judges, both Lawyers and Iudges, will commonly take part with, and favour our childrens causes against vs, as men interested in the same? And if I chance not to spie, or plainly perceive how I am cheated, cozoned and [219]beguiled. I must of necessitie discover in the end, how I am subject and may be cheated, beguiled, and cozoned. And shall the tongue of man ever bee able to expresse the vnvaluable worth of a frend, in comparison of these civill bondes? The lively image and Idea whereof; I perceive to be amongst beasts so vnspotted. Oh with what religion doe I respect and observe the same! If others deceive me, yet do I not deceive my selfe, to esteeme my selfe capable, and of power to looke vnto my selfe, nor to trouble my braines to yeeld my selfe vnto it. I doe beware and keepe my selfe from such treasons, and cunny-catching 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 discoursed of, I ammuse not my selfe on him, but presently cast mine eyes on my selfe, and all my wits together, to see in what state I am, and how it goeth with me. Whatsoever concerneth him, the same hath relation to me. His fortunes forewarne me, and summon vp my spirites 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 enfold, as we can vnfold our consideration.* And many Authours doe in this maner wound the protection of their cause, by over-rasnly running against that, which they take hold-of, thirling such darts at their enemies, that might with much more advantage be cast at them. The Lord of *Monluc*, late one of the Lord Marshals of *France*, having lost his sonne, who died in the Iland of *Madera*, a worthy, forward and gallant yoong gentleman, and truely of good hope; amongst other his griefes and regrets, did greatly moove me to condole, the infinite displeasure and heartes-sorrow that he felt, in asmuch as he had never communicated and opened himselfe vnto him: for, with his austere humour and continuall endeavoring to hold a grimme-sternfatherly gravity over him, he had lost the meanes, perfectly to finde and throughly to know his sonne, and so to manifest vnto him, the extreame affection he bare him, and the worthy judgement he made of his vertue. Alas (was he wont to say) the poore lad, saw never any thing in me, but a severe-surly-countenance, full of disdain, and happily was possessed with this conceit, that I could neither love nor esteeme him according to his merits. Ay-me, to whom did I reserve, to discover that singular and loving affection, which in my soule I bare vnto him? Was it not he that should have had all the pleasure and acknowledgement thereof? I have forced and tormented my selfe to maintaine this vaine maske, and have vtterly lost the pleasure of his conversation, and therewithal his good will, which surely was but faintly cold towards me, forsomuch as he never received but rude entertainment of mee, 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 losse of friends, as that our owne knowledge or conscience tels vs, we never omitted to tell them every thing, and expostulate all matters vnto them, and to have had a perfect and free communication with them. Tell me my good friend, am I the better or the worse by having a taste of it? Surely I am much the better. His grieffe doth both comfort and honour mee. 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 vnfold and open my selfe as much as I can to mine owne people, and willigly declare the state of my will and judgment 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 soever. Amongst other particular customes, which our ancient Gaules had, (as *Caesar* affirmeth) this was one, that children never came before their fathers, nor were in any publicke assembly seene in their company, but when they began to beare armes; as if they would infer, that then was the time, fathers should admit them to their acquaintance and familiarity. I have also observed another kinde of indiscretion in some fathers of our times, who during their owne life, would never be 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 and commit the same authority, over them and their goods, vnto their wives, with full power and law to dispose of them at their pleasure. And my selfe have knowen a Gentleman, a chiefe officer of our crowne, that by right and hope of succession (had he lived vnto it) was to inherite above fifty thousand crownes a yeere good land, who at the age of more then fifty yeeres fell into such necessity and want, and was run so farre in debt, that he had nothing left him, and as it is supposed died for very neede; whilst his mother in hir extreame decrepitude, enjoyed all his lands and possessed all his goods, by vertue [220]of his fathers will and testament, who had lived very neere foure-score yeeres. A thing (in my conceite) no way to be commended, but rather blamed. Therefore doe I thinke, that a man but little advantaged or bettered in estate, who is

able to liue 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 houses then that. My predecessours have commonly followed this counsell, and so have I, and all have found good by it. But those that dissuade vs from marrying of riche wives, lest they might prooue over disdainfull and peevish, or lesse tractable and loving, are also deceived to make vs neglect and for-goe a reall commoditie, for so frivolous a conjecture. To an vnreasonable women, 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 chast, by how much fairer they are. Some colour of reason there is, men should leave the administration of their goods and affaires vnto mothers, whilst their children are not of competent age, or fit according to the lawes to manage the charge of them: And il hath their father brought them vp, if he cannot hope, these comming to yeares of discretion, they shal have no more wit, reason, and sufficiencie, then his wife, considering the weaknesse of their sexe. Yet truely were it as much against nature, so to order things, that mothers must wholly depend of their childrens discretion. They ought largely and competently to be provided, wherewith to maintaine their estate, according to the quality of their house and age: because *neede and want is much more vnseemely and hard to be indured in women, than in men:* And children rather then mothers ought to be charged therewith. In generall, my opinion is, that the best distribution of goods, is when we die, to distribute them according to the custome of the Country. The Lawes have better thought vpon them then we: And better it is 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 civill prescription, they are appointed to certaine successours. And albeit we have some further liberty, I thinke it should be a great and most apparant cause to induce vs to take from one, and barre him from that, which Fortune hath allotted him, and the common Lawes and Iustice hath called him vnto: And that against reason wee abuse this liberty, by suting the same vnto our priuate 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 see some, towards whom it is but labour lost, carefully to endeavour to doe any good offices. *A word il taken defaceth the merite of tenne yeeres.* Happy he, that at this last passage is ready to sooth and applaud their will. The next action transporteth him; not the best and most frequent offices, but the freshest and present worke the deede. They are people that play with their wils and testaments, as with apples and rods, to gratifie or chastize every action of those who pretend any interest therevnto. It is a matter of over-long pursute, and of exceeding consequence, at every instance to be thus dilated, and wherein the wiser sort establish themselves once for all, chiefly respecting reason, and publike observance. We somewhat over-much take these masculine substitutions to hart, and propose a ridiculous eternity vnto our names. We also over-weight such vaine future conjectures, which infant-spirits give-vs. It might peradventure have beene deemed injustice, to displace me from out my rancke, because I was the dullest, the slowest, the vnwillingest, and most leaden-pated to learne my lesson o any good, that ever was, not onely of all my brethren, but of all the children in my Countrey; were the lesson concerning any exercise of the minde or body. It is follie to trie anie extraordinarie conclusions vpon the trust of their divinations, wherein we are so often deceived. If this rule may be contradicted, and the destinies corrected, in the choise they have made of our heires, with so much more apparance, may it be done in consideration of some remarkable and enormous corporall deformitie; a constant and incorrigible vice; and according to vs great esteemers of beautie; a matter of important prejudice. The pleasant dialogue of *Plato* the law-giver, with his citizens, will much honor this passage. Why then (say they) perceiving their ende to approach, shall we not dispose of that which is our owne, to whom and according as we please? Oh Gods what cruelty is this?

That it shall not be lawfull for vs, to give or bequeath more or lesse according to our fantasies, to such as have [221]served vs, and taken paines with vs in our sickenesses, in our age, and in our busines? To whom the Law-giver answereth in this manner; my frends (saith he) who doubtles shall shortly die it is a hard matter for you, both to know your selves, and what is yours, according to the *Delphike* in scripture: As for me, who am the maker of your lawes, I am of opinion that neither your selves are your owne, nor that which you enjoy. And both you and your goods, past and to come, belong to your familie; and moreover both your families and your goods are the common wealths: Wherefore, least any flatterer, either in your age, or in time of sickenes, or any other passion, should vnadvisedly induce you to make any vnlawfull convayance or vnjust will and testament, I will looke to you and keepe you from-it. But having an especiall respect both to the vniversall 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 yeelde to a publike benefit*. Followe that course meereley, whereto 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 general, to have a regardfull respect of that which you leave behind you. But to returne to my former discourse, me thinkes, we seldome see that woman borne, to whom the superioritie or majestie over men is due, except the motherly and naturall; vnles it be for the chastisement of such, as by some fond-febricitant humor have voluntarily submitted themselves vnto them: But that doth nothing concerne old women, of whom we speake here. It is the apparence of this consideration, hath made vs to frame, and willingly to establish this law (never seene else where) that barreth women from the succession of this crowne, and there are few principalities in the world, where it is not aleaged, aswel as here, by a likely and 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 choise they shall make of their children, which is most commonly vnjust and fantasticall. For, the same vnrule appetite, and distasted relish, or strange longings, which they have when they are great with child, the same have they a [...] al times in their minds. They are commonly seene to affect the weakest, the simplest and most abject, or such (if they have any) that had more neede to sucke. For, wanting reasonable discourse to chuse, and embrace what they ought, they rather suffer themselves to be directed, where natures impressions are most single, as other creatures, which take no longer knowledge of their yong-ones, then they are sucking. Moreover, experience doth manifestly snue vnto vs, that the same naturall affection, to which we ascribe so much authoritie, hath but a weake foundation. For a very small gaine, we daily take mothers owne children from them and induce them to take charge of ours; Doe we not often procure them to bequeath their children to some fond, filthie, sluttish, and vnhealthie nurce, to whom we would be very loth to commit ours, or to some brutish Goate, not onely forbidding them to nurce and feede their owne children (what danger soever 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 wee soone see through custome a certaine kinde of bastard-affection to be engendred in them, more vehement then the naturall, and to be much more tender and carefull for the well fare and preservation of other mens children, then for their owne. And the reason why I have made mention of Goates, is, because it is an ordinarie thing round about me where I dwell, to see the countrie women, when they have not milke enough to feed their infants with their owne breasts, to call for Goates to helpe them. And my selfe have now two lacke is wayting vpon me, who except it were eight daies never suck't other milke then Goates; They are presently to come at call, and give yong infants sucke, and become so well acquainted with their voice, that when they heare them crie; they runne forthwith vnto them. And if by chance they have any other child put to their teates, then their nursing, 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 his neighbours, who could never be induced to sucke any other, whereby he shortly died; and as I verely thinke, of meere hunger. *Beasts as well as we doe soone alter, and easily bastardize their naturall affection.* I beleeeve, that in that, which *Herodotus* reporteth of a certaine province of *Libia*, there often followeth great error and mistaking. He saith, that men doe indifferently vse, and as it were in common frequent women; [222] And that the childe as soone as he is able to goe, comming to any solemne meetings and great assemblies, led by a naturall instinct findeth out his owne father: where being turned loose in the midst of the multitude, looke what man the childe doth first adresse his steps vnto, and then goe to him, the same is ever afterward reputed to be his right father. Now if we shal duely consider this simple occasion of loving our children, because we have begotten them, for which we call them our other selves. It seemes there is another production comming from vs, and which is of no lesse recommendation and consequence. For what we engender by the minde, the fruites of our courage, sufficiencie, or spirite, are brought forth by a far more noble part, then the corporall, and are more, our owne. We are both father and mother together in this generation: such fruites 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 theire, then ours. The share we have in them is but little; but of these all the beautie, all the grace, and all the worth is ours. And therefore doe they represent, and resemble vs much more lively then others. *Plato* addeth moreover, that these are immortall issues, and immortalize their fathers, yea and deifie them, as *Licurgus*, *Solen*, and *Minos*. All histories being full of examples of this mutuall friendship of fathers toward their children, I have not thought it amisse to set downe some choise one of this kinde. *Heliodorus* that good Bishop of *Tricea*, loved rather to loose the dignity, profit and devotion of so venerable a Prelateship, then to for-goe his daughter, a yong woman to this day commended for hir beautie, but happily somewhat more curiously and wantonly pranked-*vp* then beseemed 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 an ongst other commendable qualities, most excellent in all maner of learning, who (as I think) was the sonne of that great *Labienus*, cheife of all the captaines that followed and were vnder *Caesar* in the warres againe the *Gaules*, and who afterward taking great *Pompeys* part, behaved himselfe so valiantly and so constantly, that he never forsooke him vntill *Caesar* defeated him in *Spaine*. This *Labienus* of whom I spake, had many that envied his vertues; But aboue all (as it is likely) courtiers, and such as in his time were favored of the Emperors, who hated his franknes, his fatherly humors, and distaste he bare still against tyrannie, wherewith it may be supposed he had stuffed his bookes and compositions. His adversaries vehemently pursued him before the Magistrate of *Rome*, and prevailed so farre, that many of his works which he had published were condemned to be burned. He was the first on whom this new example of punishment was put in practise, 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 meanes enough, or matter sufficient of crueltie, vnlesse we had entermingled amongst them things, which nature hath exempted from all sense and sufferance, as reputation, and the inventions of our minde: and except we communicated corporall mischiefes vnto disciplines and monuments of the Muses. Which losse *Labienus* could not endure, nor brooke to survive those his deare, and highly-esteemed issues: And therefore caused himselfe to be carried, and shut *vp* alive within his auncestors monument, where, with a dreadlesse resolution, he at once provided, both to kill himselfe and be buried together. It is hard to shew any more vehement fatherly affection, than that. *Cassius Severus*, a most eloquent man, and his familiar friend, seeing his Bookes burnt, exclaimed, that by the same sentence hee should therewithall be condemned to be burned alive, for hee still bare and kept in minde, what they contained in them. A like accident happened to *Geruntius Cord [...]*s, who was accused to have commended *Brutus* and *Cassius* in his Bookes. That base, servile, and corrupted Senate, and worthie of a farre worse maister then *Tiberius*, adjudged

his writings to be consumed by fire And he was pleased to accompany them in their death; for, he pined away by abstaining from all manner of meat. That notable man *Lucane*, being adjudged by that lewd varlet *Nero* to death; at the latter end of his life, when al his bloud was well nigh spent from out the veines of his arme, which by his Phisitian he had caused to be opened, to hasten his death, and that a chilling cold began to seize the vttermost parts of his limbes, and approach his vitale spirits, the last thing he had in memory, was some of his owne verses, written in his booke of the *Pharsalian* warres, which with a distinct voice hee repeated, and so yeilded vp the ghost, having those last words in his mouth. What was that but a kinde, tender, and fatherly farwell which he tooke of his children? representing the [223]last adewes, and parting imbracements, which at our death we give vnto our deere issues? And an effect of that naturall inclination, which in that last extremity puts vs in minde of those things, which in our life-time we have held dearest and most precious? Shall we imagine that *Ep [..]curus*, who (as himselfe said) dying tormented with the extreame paine of the chollike, had all his comfort in the beauty of the doctrine, which he 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 behind him, either a counterfeit, deformed, or ill-borne childe, or a foolish, triviall, and idle booke, not onely he, but all men in the world besides of like learning and sufficiency, would much rather have chosen, to incurre the former then the latter mischiefe. It might peradventure be deemed impiety, in Saint *Augustine* (for example-sake) if on the one part one should propose vnto him, to bury all his bookes, whence 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 fruits of 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-qualited 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 it please, I give it as purely and irrevocable, as any man can give to his corporal 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 neede should require) I must borrow of him as of a stranger. If I be wiser then he, he is richer then I. There are few men given vnto Poesie, that would not esteeme it for a greater honour, to be the fathers of *Virgils Aeneidos*, then of the goodliest boy in *Rome*, and that would 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 conceited of his Labours*. It is not easie to be believed, that *Epaminondas*, who wanted to leave some daughters behind him, which vnto all posterity, should one day highly honour their father (they were the two famous victories, which he had gained of the Lacedemonians) would ever have given his free consent, to change them, with the best-borne, most gorgeous, and goodliest damsels of all *Greece*: or that *Alexander*, and *Caesar*, did ever wish to be deprived of the greatnesse of their glorious deedes of warre, for the commodity to have children and heires of their owne bodies, how absolutely-perfect, and well accomplished so ever they might be. Nay, I make a great question, whether *Phidtas* or any other excellent statuary, would as highly esteeme, and dearely love the preservation, and successefull continuance of his naturall children, as he would an exquisite and match-lesse-wrought Image, that with long study, and diligent care he had perfected according vnto arte. And as concerning those vicious and furious passions, which sometimes have inflamed some fathers to the love of their daughters, or mothers towards their sonnes; the very same, and more partially-earnest is also found in this other kinde of childe-bearing and aliance. Witnesse that which is reported of *Pigmalion*, who having curiously framed a goodly statue, of a most singularly-beauteous woman, was so strange-fondly, and passionately surprised with the lustfull love of his owne workmanship, that the Gods through his raging importunity were faine in favour of him to give it life.



Tentatum mollescit ebur, posito (que) rigore Orid. Metá [...]. lib. 10. 283.  
Subsidit digitis▪

As he assaid it, th'yvorie softned much,  
And (hardnesse left) did yeeld to fingers touch.

### The ninth Chapter. Of the Parthians Armes.↵

IT is a vitious fond fashion of the Nobility and gentry of our age, and full of nice-tendernesse, never to betake themselves to armes, except vpon some vrgent and extreame necessity: [224]and to quit them as soone as they perceive the least hope or apparance, that the danger is past: Whence ensue many disorders, and inconveniences: For, every one running and calling for his armes when the alarum is given, some have not yet buckled their cuirace, when their fellowes are already defeated. Indeede our forefathers would have their Caske, Lance, Gantlets, and Shields carried, but so long as the service lasted, themselves would never leave-off their other pieces. Our troopes are now all confounded and disordered, by reason of bag and baggage, of carriages, of lackies, and foote-boies, which because of their masters armes they carry, can never leave them. *Titus Livius*; speaking of the French, saith, *Intolerantissima laboris corpora vix arma humer is gerebant. Their bodies most impatient of labour* Liv. d [...]. 1. 1. 10 *could hardly beare armour on their backs.* Divers 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 queis capitum raptus de subere cortex. Virg. Aen. lib. 742.

Whose caske to cover all their head.  
Was made of barke from Corke-tree flea'd.

*Alexander* the most daring and hazardous Captain that ever was, did very seldome arme himselfe: And those which amongst vs neglect them, doe not thereby much empaire their reputation. If any man chance to be slaine for want of an armour, there are as many more that miscary with the over-heavy burthen of their armes, and by them are engaged, and by a counterbuffe are brused, or otherwise defeated. For in truth to see the vnweildy weight of our and their thicknesse, it seemeth we but endeavour to defend our selves, and we are rather charged then covered by them. We have enough to doe, to endure the burthen of them, and are so engived and shackled in them, as if we were to fight but with the shocke or brunt of our armes: And as if we were as much bound to defend them, as they to shield vs. *Cornelius Facitus* doth pleasantly quip and jest at the men of war of our ancient Gaules, so armed, only to maintaine themselves, as they that have no meane, either to offend or to be offended, or to raise themselves being overthrowne. *Lucullus* seeing certaine Median men at armes, which were in the front of *Tigranes* Army, heavily and vnweildely armed, as in an yron-prison, apprehended thereby an opinion, that he might easily defeat them, and began to charge them first, and got the victory. And now that our Muskettiers, are in such credite, I thinke we shall haue some invention found to immure vs vp, that so we may be warranted from them, and to traine vs to the warres in Skonces and Bastions, as those which our fathers caused to be carried by Elephants. A humour farre different from that of *Scipio* the yoonger, who sharply reprooved his souldiers, because they had scattered certaine Calthrops vnder the water alongst a dike, by which those of the Towne that he besieged might sally out vpon him, saying; *that those which assailed, should resolve to enterprise and not to feare*: And had some reason to feare, that this provision might secure and lull their vigilancy asleepe to guard themselves. Moreover he said to a yoong man, that shewed him a faire shield he had; Indeed good youth, it is a faire one, but *a Roman souldier 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'usberg [...] in dosso haveano, & l'elmo intesta,  
Due di quelli guerrier de i quali io canto.  
Ne notte o di depo ch'entrar [...] inquesta Ariest [...] Orl, [...]an. 12. stan. 30  
Stanza, gl' havean m [...] messi da cant [...];  
Che facile â portar come la vesta  
Eralor, perche in vso l'havean tanto.

Cuirasse on backe did those two warriors beare,  
And caske on head, of whom 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 vsde them in such sort.

The Emperour *Caracalla* in leading of his Army was ever wont to march a foot armed at all assaies. The Roman footmen caried not their morions, sword and target only, as for other armes (saith *Cicero*) they were so accustomed to weare them continually, that they hindered [225]them no more then their limbs: *Arma enim, membra militis esse dicunt*: for they say armor and weapon, are a soldiers limbs. But there withal such victuals as they should need for a fortnight and a certaine number of stakes, to make their rampards or palisadoes with; so much as weighed threescore pound weight. And *Marius* his souldiers thus loden, marching in battelarray, were taught to march five leagues in five houres, yea six if need required. Their military discipline was much more laborsome then ours: So did it produce far different effects. *Scripto* the yonger, reforming his army in *Spaine*, appointed his souldiers to eate no meate but standing, and nothing sodden or rosted. It is worth the remembrance how a Lacedemonian souldier being in an expedition of warre, was much noted and blamed, because hee was once seene to seeke for shelter vnder a house: They were so hardened to enduree all manner of labour and toyle, that it was counted a reprehfull infamy for a souldier to be seene vnder any other roofe then that of heavens-vault, in what weather soever: Were we to doe so, we should never leade our men far. *Marcellinus* a man well trained in the Roman wars, doth curiously observe the manner which the Parthians vsed to arme themselves, and noteth it so much the more, by how much it was far different from the Romans. They had (saith he) certaine armes so curiously enter-wrought as they seemed to be made like feathers, which nothing hindered the stirring of their bodies, and yet so strong, that our darts hitting them, did rather rebound, or glance by, then hurt them (they be the scales our ancestors were so much wont to vse.) In another place, they had (saith he) their horses stiffe and strong, couered with thicke hides, and themselves armed from head to foote, with massie yron plates so artificially contrived, that where the joynts are, there they furthered the motion, and helped the stirring. A man would have said, they had been men made of yron: For they had peeces so handsomly fitted and so lively representing the forme and parts 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 chinckes about their nostrils, by which they hardly drew breath

Flexilis inductis hamatur lamina membris, Glaud. in Ruff. l. 2. 358.  
Horribilis visu, credas simulacr a moveri  
Ferrea, cognato (que) viros spirare metallo.  
Par Vestitus equis, ferrata fronte minantur,  
Ferratós (que) mevent securis vulneris armos.

The bending plate is hook't on limbes ore-spread,  
Fearefull to sight, steele images seem'd ledde,  
And men to breath in mettall with them bredde.  
Like furniture for horse, with steeled head,

They threat, and safe from wound,  
With barr'd limbs tread the ground,

Loc-heere a description, much resembling the equipage of a compleat French-manat armes, with all his bardes. *Plutarke* reporteth that *Demetrius* caused two Armoures to be made, each one weighing six score pounds, the one for himselfe, the other for *Alcinus*, the chiefe man of war, that was next to him, whereas all common Armoures weighed but threescore.

### The tenth Chapter. Of Bookes.↩

I Make no doubt but it shall often be fall me to speake of things, which are better, and with more truth handled by such as are their crafts-masters. Here is simply an Essay of my naturall faculties, and no whit of those I have acquired. And he that shall tax me with ignorance, shall have no great victory at my hands; 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 serch after knowledge, let him seeke it where it is: there is nothing I professe lesse. [226]These are but my fantasies, by which I endeavour not to make things knowen, but myselfe. They may haply one day be knowen vnto me, or have bin at other times, according as fortune hath brought me where they were declared or manifested. 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 farre the knowledge I have of it, dooth now reach. Let no man busie himselfe about the matters, but on the fashion I give them. Let that which I borrow be survaid, 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 best falleth out) what I can not so well expresse, 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 thinks they sufficiently name themselves without mee. If in reasons, comparisons and arguments, I transplant any into my soile, or confound them with mine owne, I purposely conceale the Authour, thereby to bridle the rashnesse of these hastie censures, that are so headlong cast vpon all manner of compositions, namely yoong writings, of men yet living; and in vulgare, that admitte all the worlde to talke of them, and which seemeth to convince the conception and publike designe alike. I will have them to give *Plutarch* a bobbe vpon mine owne lippes, and vex themselves, in wronging *Seneca* in mee. My weakenesse must be hidden vnder such great credites. I will love him that shall trace, or vnfeather me; I meane through clearenesse of judgement, and by the onely distinction of the force and beautie of my Discourses. For my selfe, who for want of memorie, am ever to seeke, how to trie and refine them, by the knowledge of their country, knowe perfectly, by measuring mine owne strength, that my soyle is no way capable, of some over-pretious flowers, that therin I find set, and that all the fruites of my encrease could not make it amendes. This am I bound to answer-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 discern, if they be shewed me. For, many faults doe often escape our eyes; but the infirmitie of judgement consisteth in not being able to perceive 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 rapsodies, than fortune. And looke how my humours or conceites present them-selves, so I shuffle them vp. Sometimes they prease out thicke and thee-folde, and other times they come out languishing one by one. I will have my naturall and ordinarie pace seene as loose, and as shuffling as it is. As I am, so I goe on plodding. And besides, these are matters, that a

man may not be ignorant of, and rashly and casually to speake of them. I would wish to have a more perfect vnderstanding of things, but I will not purchase it so deare, as it cost. My intention is to passe the remainder of my life quietly, and not laboriously, in rest, and not in care. There is nothing I will trouble or vex my selfe about, no not for Science it selfe, what esteeme soever it be-of. I doe not search and tosse over Books, but for an honest recreation to please, and pastime to delight my selfe: or if I studie, I onely endeavour 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 meus ad metas sudet oportet equus. [...]oportet. l. 4. [...]l. 1. 70.

My horse must 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 giuen them a charge or two, I leave them as I found them. Should I earnestly plod vpon them I should loose both time and my selfe; for I have a skipping wit. What I see not at the first view, I shall lesse see it, if I opinionate my selfe vpon it. I doe nothing without blithnesse▪ and an over obstinate continuation and plodding contention, doth dazle, dul and weary the same: My sight is thereby confounded and diminished. I must therefore withdraw-it, and at fittes goe to it againe. Even as to judge well of the lustre of scarlet we are taught to cast our eyes ouer it, in running it over by diuers glances, sodaine glimpses, and reiterated reprisings. If one booke seeme tedious vnto me, I take another, which I follow not [227]with any earnestnes, except it be at such houres as I am idle, or that I am wearie with doing nothing. I am not greatly affected to new books, because ancient Authors are in my judgement more full and pithie: nor am I much addicted to Greeke books, forasmuch as my vnderstanding can well rid his worke with a childish and apprentice intelligence. Amongst moderne bookes meerly pleasant. I esteeme *Bocace* his *Decameron*, *Rabelais*, and the kisses of *Iohn* the second (if they may be placed vnder this title) worth the paines-taking to reade them. As for *Amadis* 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 heaue-pased mind of mine, will no more be pleased with *Aristotle*, or tickled with good *Ovid*: his facilitie, and quaint inventions, which heretofore have so ravished me, they can now adaias scarcely entertaine me. I speake my minde freely of all things, yea of such as peradventure exceede my sufficiencie, and that no-way I hold to be of my jurisdiction. What my conceit is of them, is also to manifest the proportion of my insight, and not the measure of things. If at any time I find my selfe distasted of *Platoes Axiochus*, as of a forceles worke, due regarde had to such an Author, my judgement doth nothing beleeeve it selfe: It is not so fond-hardy, or selfe-conceited, as it durst dare to oppose it selfe against the authority of so many other famous ancient judgements, which he reputeth his regents and maisters, and with whome hee had rather erre. He chafeth with, and condemneth himselfe, either to rely on the superficial sense, being vnable to pierce into the centre, or to view the thing by some falce lustre. He is pleased onely to warrant himselfe from trouble and vnruines: As for weaknes he acknowledgeth and ingeniously auoweth the same. He thinkes to give a just interpretation to the apparances which his conception presents vnto him, but they are shallow and imperfect. Most of *Aesopes* fables have diuers senses, and severall interpretations: Those which *Mythologize* them, chuse some kinde of color well-suting with the fable; but for the most part, it is no other then the first and superficial glosse: There are others more quicke, more sinnowie, more essential and more internal, into which they could never penetrate; and thus thinke I with them. But to follow my course; I have ever deemed that in Poesie, *Virgil*, *Lucretius*, *Catullus*, and *Horace*, doe doubtles by far hold the first ranke: and especially *Virgil* in his *Georgiks*, which I esteeme to be the most accomplished piece of worke of Poesie: In comparison of which one may easily discerne, that there are some passages in the *Aeneidos*,

to which the Author (had he lived) would no doubt have given some review or correction: The fift booke whereof is (in my mind) the most absolutely perfect. I also love *Lucan*, and willingly read 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 Latin tongue, and judge him wonderfull conceited and apt, lively to represent the motions and pashions 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 verily it is an vnequall comparison; yet can I hardly assure my selfe in this opinion whensoever I find my selfe entangled in some notable passage of *Lucretius*. If they were moved at this comparison, what would they say now of the fond, hardie and barbarous stupiditie of those which now adaiies compare *Ariosto* vnto him? Nay what would *Artosto* say of it himselfe?

O seclum insipiens & infac [...]tum Catul. epig. 40. 8.

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 blushed not to equall *Plautus* vnto *Terence* (who makes more shew to be a Gentleman) then *Lucretius* vnto *Virgil*. This one thing doth greatly advantage the estimation and preferring of *Terence*, that the father of the Roman eloquence, of men of his quality doth so often make mention of him; and the censure, which the chiefe judge of the Roman Poets giveth of his companion. It hath often come vnto my minde, how such as in our daies giue themselues to composing of comedes (as the Italians who are very happie in them) employ three or foure arguments of *Terence* and *Plautus* to make vp one of theirs. In one onely comedie they will huddle vp five or six of *Bocaces* tales. That which makes them so to charge themselves with matter, is the distrust they have of their owne sufficiency, and that they are not able to vndergoe [228]so heavie a burthen 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 please vs, they will have the story or tale to busie and amuse vs: where as in my Authors it is cleane contrary: The elegancies, the perfections and ornaments of his manner of speech, make vs neglect and loose the longing for his subiect. His quaintnesse and grace doe still retaine vs to him. He is every where pleasantly conceited,

Liquidus puroque simillimus amni, Hor. li 2. epist. 2. 120.

So clearely-neate, so neatly-cleare,  
As he a fine-pure Riuer were.

and doth so replenish our minde with his graces, that we forget those of the fable. The same consideration drawes me somewhat further. I perceive that good and ancient Poets have shunned the affectation and enquest, not onely of fantasticall, new fangled, Spagniolized, and Petrarchisticall elevations, but also of more sweet and sparing inventions, which are the ornament of all the Poeticall workes 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 smoothly equall neatnesse, continued sweetnesse, and flourishing comelinesse of *Catullus* his Epigrams, then all the sharpe quippes, and witty girds, wherewith *Martiall* doth whet and embellish the conclusions of his. It is the same reason I spake of erewhile, as *Martiall* of himselfe. *Minus illi ingenio laborandum fuit, in cuius locum materia successerat. He needed the Mart. praef l. 8. lesse worke with his wit, in place whereof matter came in supply;* The former without being moved or pricked cause themselves to be heard lowd enough: they have

matter to laugh at every where, and neede not tickle themselves; where as these must have forraine helpe: according as they have lesse spirit, they must have more body. They leape on horse-backe: because they are not sufficiently strong in their legges to march on foot. Even as in our dances, those base conditioned men that keepe dancing-schools, because they are vnfit to represent the porte and decency of our nobility, endevour to get commendation by dangerous lofty 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 gravity, where they neede but simply to tread a natural measure, represent an vnaffected cariage, and their ordinary grace; And as I have also seene some excellent Lourdans, or Clownes attired in their ordinary worky-day clothes, and with a common homely countenance, affoord vs all the pleasure that may be had from their arte: Prentises and learners that are not of so high a forme, to besmeare their faces, to disguise themselves, and in motions to counterfeit strange visages, and antickes, to enduce vs to laughter. This my conception is no where better discerned, then in the comparison betweene *Virgils Aeneidos*, and *Orlando Furios* [...]. The first is seene to soare 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 distrusting his owne wings, except it be for some short flight, and for feare his strength and breath should faile him, to sit downe at every fields-end.

Excursúsque breves tent at Virg. Aen. lib. 4. 194.

Out-lopes sometimes he doth assay,  
But very short, and as he may.

Loe-here then, concerning this kind of subjects, what Authors please me best: As for my other lesson, which somewhat more mixeth profite with pleasure, whereby I learne to range my opinions, and addresse my conditions; the Bookes that serve me thereunto, are *Plutarke* (since he spake French,) and *Seneca*; Both have this excellent commodity for my humour, that the knowledge I seeke in them, is there so scatteringly and loosely handled, that whosoever readeth them is not tied to plod long vpon them, whereof I am vncapable. And so are *Plutarques* little workes, and *Senecaes* Epistles; which are the best and most profitable partes of their writings. It is no great matter to draw mee to them, and I leave them where I list. For, they succeed not, and depend not one of another. Both jumpe and suite 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 Countries; both rich and mighty in the common-wealth, and in credite with their masters. Their instruction is the prime and [229]creame of Philosophie, and presented with a plaine, vnaffected, and pertinent fashion. *Plutarke* is more vniforme and constant; *Seneca* more waving and diverse. This doth labour, force, and extend himselfe, to arme and strengthen vertue against weaknesse, feare, and vitious desires; the other seemeth nothing so much to feare their force or attempt, and in a maner scorneth to hasten or change his pace about them, and to put himselfe vpon his garde. *Plutarques* opinions are Platonicall, gentle and accommodable vnto civill societie: *Senacaes* Stoicall and Epicurian, further from common vse, but in my conceit, more proper particular, and more solide. It appeareth in *Seneca*, that he somewhat inclineth and yeeldeth to the tyrannie of the Emperors which were in his daies; for, I verily beleeve, it is with a forced judgement, he condemne the cause of those noblie-minded murtherers of *Caesar*: *Plutarke* is every where free and open-hearted; *Seneca*, full-fraught with points and sallies, *Plutarke* stuft with matters. The former doth moove and enflame you more; the latter, content, please, and 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 best serve my turne, and square with my intent. But boldly to confesse

the truth, (For, *Since the bars of impudencie were broken downe, all curbing is taken away*) his maner of writing seemeth verie tedious vnto me, as doth all such-like stuffe. For, his prefaces, definitions, divisions, and Etymologies, consume the greatest part of his Works; whatsoever quicke, wittie, and pithie conceit is in him, is surcharged, and confounded by those his long and far-fetcht preambles. If I bestow but one houre in reading him, which is much for me; and let me call to minde what substance, or iuice I have drawne from him, for the most part, I find nothing but winde & ostentation in him: for he is not yet come to the arguments, which make for his purpose, and reasons that properly concerne the knot or pith I seek-after. These Logicall and Aristotelian ordinances are not availfull for me, who onely endeavour to become more wise and sufficient, and not more wittie or eloquent. I would have one begin with the last point: I vnderstand sufficiently what death and voluptuousnesse are: let not a man busie himselfe to anatomize them. At the first reading of a Booke, I seeke for good and solide reasons, that may instruct me how to sustaine their assaults. It is nether gramaticall subtilties, nor logicall quiddities, nor the wittie contexture of choise words, or arguments, and syllogismes, that will serve my turne. I like those discourses that give the first charge to the strongest, part of the doubt; his are but flourishes, and languish every where. They are good for Schooles, at the barre, or for Orators and Preachers, where we may slumber: and though we wake a quarter of an houre after, we may find and trace him soone enough. Such a maner of speech is fit for those Iudges, that a man would corrupt by hooke or crooke, by right or wrong, or for children and the common people, vnto whom a man must tell all, and see what the event will be. I would not have a man go about, and labour by circumlocutions, to induce and win me to attention, and that (as our Herolds or Criers do) they shall ring out their words. Now heare me, now listen, or [...]o [...]yes. The Romanes in their Religion were wont to say, *Hoc age*; which in ours we say, *Sursum corda*. There are so many lost words for me. I come readie prepared from my house. I need no allurement nor sawce; my stomacke is good enough to digest raw meat: And whereas with these preparatives and flourishes, or preambles, they thinke to sharpen my taste, or stir my stomacke, they cloy and make it wallowish. Shall the priviledge of times excuse me from this sacrilegious boldnesse, to deeme *Platoes* Dialogismes to be as languishing, by over-filling and stuffing his matter? And to bewaile the time that a man, who had so many thousands of things to vtter, spends about so many, so long, so vaine, and idle interloquutions, and preparatives? My ignorance shall better excuse me, in that I see nothing in the beautie of his language. I generally enquire after Bookes, that vse sciences, and not after such as institute them. The two first, and *Plinie*, with others of their ranke, have no *Hoc age* in them, they will have to doe with men, that have forewarned themselves; or if they have, it is a materiall and substantiall *Hoc age*, and that hath his bodie apart. I likewise love to read the Epistles and *ad Atticum*, not onely because they containe a most ample instruction of the Historie, and affaires of his times, but much more because in them I descrie his private humours. For, (as I have said elsewhere (I am wonderfull curious, to discover and know, the minde, the soule, the genuine disposition, and naturall judgement of my Authors. A man ought to judge their sufficiencie, and not their customes, nor them by the shew of their writings. Which they set [230]forth on this worlds Theatre. I have sorrowed a thousand times, that ever we lost the booke, that *Brutus* writ of Virtue. *Oh it is a goodly thing to learne the Theorike of such as vnderstand the practise well.* But forsomuch as the Sermon is one thing, and the Preacher another: I love as much to see *Brutus* in *Plutarke*, as in himselfe, I would rather make choise to know certainly, what talke he had in his Tent with some of his familiar friends, the night foregoing the battell, then the speach he made the morrow after to his Armie: and what he did in his chamber or closet, then what in the Senate or market place. As for *Cicero*, I am of the common judgement, that besides learning, there was no exquisite excellencie 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 remisse nicenesse. And I know not well how to excuse him, in that he deemed his Poesie 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 vnworthy they were of the glorie of his name. Concerning his eloquence, it is beyond all comparison, and I verily beleeeve, that none shall ever equall it. *Cicero* the yoonger, who resembled his father in nothing, but in name, commaunding in *Asia*, chanced one day to have many strangers at his board, and amongst others, one *Castius* sitting at the lower end, as the maner is to thrust-in at great mens tables: *Cicero* inquired of one of his men what he was, who told him his name, but he dreaming on other matters, and having forgotten what answere his man made him, asked him his name twice or thrice more: the servant, because he would not be troubled to tell him one thing so often, and by some circumstance make him to know him better. It is, said he, the same *Castius*, to whom some have told you, that in respect of his owne, maketh no accompt of your fathers eloquence: *Cicero* being suddainly, mooved, commaunded the said poore *Castius*, to be presently taken from the table, and well whipt in his presence: Lo-heere an vncivill and barbarous host. Even amongst those, which (all things considered) have deemed his eloquence matchlesse and incomparable others there have been, who have not spared to note some faults in it: As great *Brutus* said, that it was an eloquence, broken, halting, and disjoynted, *fractam & elumbem: Incoherent and sinnowlesse*. Those Orators that lived about his age, reprooved also in him the curious care he had of a certaine long cadence, at the end of his clauses, and noted these words, *Esse videatur*, which he so often vseth. As for me, I rather like a cadence that falleth shorter, cut like I am bikes: yet doth he sometimes confound his numbers; but it is seldome: I have especially observed this one place. *Ego verò me minus diu senem esse malle, quàm esse seuem*, Ci [...]. d [...] Senect. *antequam essem. But I had rather, not 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 pleasant and easie: 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 varietie and truth of his inward conditions, in grosse and by retale: the diversitie of the meanes of his collection and composing, and of the accidents that threaten him. Now, those that write of mens lives, forasmuch as they ammuse and busie themselves more about counsels than events, more about that which commeth from within, than that which appeareth outward; they are fittest for me: And that's the reason why *Plutarke* above all in that kind, doth best please me. Indeed I am not a little grieved that we have not a dozen of *Laer [...]*, or that he is not more knowne, or better vnderstood: for, I am no lesse 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 kind of studie of Historie, a man must, without distinction, tosse and turne over all sorts of Authors, both old and new, both French and others, if he will learne the things they so diversly treat-of. But me thinks that *Caesar* above all doth singularly deserve to be studied, not onely for the vnderstanding of the Historie, as of himselfe; so much perfection and excellencie is there in him more than in others, although *Salust* be reckoned one of the number. Verily I read that Author with a little more reverence and respect, than commonly men reade profane and humane Workes: sometimes considering him by his actions, and wonders of his greatnesse, and other times waighing the puritie and inimitable polishing and elegancie of his tongue, which (as *Cicero* saith) hath not onely exceeded all Historians, but happily *Cicero* himselfe: with such sinceritie in his judgement. Speaking of his enemies, that except the false colours, wherewith he goeth about to cloake his bad cause, and the corruption and filthinesse of his pestilent ambition. I am perswaded there is nothing in him to [231]be found fault-with: and that he hath been over-sparing to speake of himselfe: for, so many notable and great things could never be executed by him, vnlesse he had put more of his owne vnto them, than he setteth downe. I love those Historians that are either verie simple, or most excellent. The simple who have nothing of their owne to adde vnto the storie, and have but the care and diligence to collect whatsoever come 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 amongst others (for example sake) plaine and well-meaning Froisard, who in his enter prize, hath marched with so free and genuine a puritie, that having committed some oversight; he is neither ashamed to acknowledge, nor afraide to correct the same, wheresoever 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 historie should be naked, bare, and formelesse; each man according to his capacitie or vnderstanding may reap commoditie out of it. The curious and most excellent have the sufficiencie to cull and chuse that, which is worthie to be knowne, and may select 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 authoritie vnto them, to direct and shapen our beliefe vnto theirs. But truely that belongs not to many. Such as are betweene both (which is the most common fashion) it is they that spoile all; they will needs chew our meat for vs, and take vpon them a law to judge, and by consequence to square and encline the storie according to their fantasie; for, where the judgement bendeth one way, a man cannot chuse but wrest and turne his narration that way. They vndertake to chuse things worthy to be knowne, and now and then conceal either a word, or a secret action from vs, which would much better instruct vs: omitting such things as they vnderstand not, as incredible: and happily such matters, as they know not how to declare, either in good Latin, or tollerable French. Let them boldly enstall their eloquence, and discourse: Let them censure at their pleasure, but let them also give vs leave to judge after them: And let them neither alter nor dispence by their abridgements and choise, any thing belonging to the substance of the matter; but let them rather send it pure and entire with all hir dimensions vnto vs. Most commonly (as chiefly in our age) this charge of writing histories is committed vnto base, ignorant, and mechanicall kind of people, only for this consideration that they can speak well; as if we sought to learne the Grammer of them; and they have some reason, being only hyred to that end, and publishing nothing but their tittle-tattle to aime at nothing else so much. Thus with store of choise and quaint words, and wyre-drawne phrases 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 imploid themselves in weighty affaires, or that were partners in the conduct of them, or that at least have had the fortune to manage others of like qualitie.* Such in a maner are all the Graecians and Romans. For, many eye-witnesses hauing written of one same subject (as it hapned in those times, when Greatnesse and Knowledge did commonly meet) if any fault or over-sight have past them, it must be deemed exceeding light, and vpon some doubtfull accident. *What may a man expect at a Phisitions hand, that discourseth of warre, or of a bare Scholler, treating of Princes secret designes?* If we shall but note the religion, which the Romans had in that, we need no other example: *Asinius Polio* found some mistaking or oversight in *Caesars* Commentaries, whereinto he was falne, only because he could not possiblie oversee all things with his owne eyes, that hapned in his Armie, but was faine to relie on the reports of particular men, who often related vntruths vnto him; or else because he had not been curiously advertised, and distinctly enformed by his Lieutenants and Captaines, of such matters as they in his absence had managed or effected. Whereby may be seen, that *nothing is so hard, or so vncertaine to be found-out, as the certaintie of a Truth,* sithence no man can put any assured confidence concerning the truth of a battel, neither in the knowledge of him, that was Generall, or commanded over it, nor in the soldiers that fought, of any thing, that hath hapned amongst them; except after the maner of a strict point of law, the severall witnesses are brought and examined face to face, and that all matters be nicely and thorowly sifted by the objects and trials of the successe of every accident. Verily the knowledge we have of our own affaires is much more barren and feeble. But this hath sufficiently [232] been handled by *Bodine*, and agreeing with my conception. Somewhat to aide the weaknesse of my memorie, and to assist her great defects; for it hath often been my chance to light vpon

bookes, which I supposed to be new, and never to have read, which I had not vnderstanding diligently read and run-over many yeares before, and all bescribed with my notes: I have a while since accustomed my selfe, to note at the end of my booke (I meane such as I purpose 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 vnto my mind, the aire and generall Idea, I had conceived of the Author in reading him. I will here set downe the Coppie of some of mine annotations, and especially what I noted vpon my *Guicciardine* about ten yeares since: (For what language soever my bookes speake vnto me, I speake vnto them in mine owne.) He is a diligent Historiographer, and from whom in my conceit, 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 been an Actor of most part of them, and in verie honourable place. There is no signe or apparance, that ever he disguised or coloured any matter, either through hatred, malice, favour, or vanitie; whereof the free and imparciall judgements he giveth of great men, and namely of those by whom he had been advanced or employed in his important charges, as of Pope *Clement* the seaventh, beareth vndoubted testimonie. Concerning the parts wherewith he most goeth about to prevaile, which are his digressions and discourses, many of them are verie excellent, and enriched with faire ornaments, but he hath too much pleased himselfe in them: for, endeavouring to omit nothing that might be spoken, having so full and large a subject, and almost infinite, he proveth somewhat languishing, and giveth a taste of a kind 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 counsels, 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 soever in apparance they be of themselves, he doth 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 been produced and compassed by way of reason. No corruption could ever possesse men so vniversally, but that some one must of necessity escape the contagion; which makes me to feare, he hath had some distaste or blame in his passion, and it hath haply fortun'd, that he hath judged or esteemed of others according to himselfe. In my *Philip de Comines*, there is this: In him you shall find a pleasing-sweet, and gently-gliding speach, fraught with a purely-sincere simplicitie, his narration pure and vnaffected, and wherein the Authours vnspotted-good meaning doth evidently appeare, void of all maner of vanitie or ostentation speaking of himselfe, and free from all affection or envie speaking of others: his discourses and perswasions, accompanied more with a wellmeaning zeale, and meere veritie, then with any laboured and exquisit sufficiencie, and allthrough, with gravitie and authoritie, representing a man well-borne, and brought vp in high negotiations. Vpon the memories and historie of Monsieur du *Bellay*: It is ever a well-pleasing thing, to see matters writen by those, that have assaide how, & 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 libertie of writing, which clearely shineth in ancient writers of their kind: as in the Lord of *Ionuille*, familiar vnto Saint *Lewis*, *Eginard*, Chancellor vnto *Charlemaine*; and of more fresh memorie in *Philip de Comines*. This is rather a declamation or pleading for king *Francis* against the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, then an Historie. I will not believe, they have altered or changed any thing concerning the generalitie of matters, but rather to wrest and turne the judgement of the events, many times against reason, to our advantage, and to omit whatsoever they supposed, to be doubtfull or ticklish in their masters life: they have made profession of it witnesse the recoylings of the Lords of *Momorancy* and *Byron*, which therein are forgotten; and which is more, you shall not so much as find the name of the Ladie of *Estampes* mentioned at all. A man may sometimes colour, and happily hide secret actions, but absolutely to conceal that, which all the world knoweth, and especially such things as

have drawne-on publike effects, and of such consequence, it is an inexcusable defect, or as I may say vnardonable oversight. To conclude, whosoever desireth to have perfect information and knowledge of King *Fraucis* [233] the first, and of the things hapned in his time, let him addresse himselfe elsewhere, if he will give any credite vnto me. The profite he may reap heer, is by the particular destruction of the battels and exploits of warre, wherein these Gentlemen were present; some priue conferences, speaches, or secret actions of some Princes, that then lived, and the practises managed, or negotiations directed by the Lord of *Langeay*, in whom doubtlesse are verie many things, well-worthie to be knowne, and diverse discourses not vulgare.

### The eleventh Chapter. Of Crueltie. ↩

ME thinks 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 represent the same visage, that the vertuous doe. But vertue importeth, and soundeth somewhat I wot not what greater and more active, then by an happy complexion, gently and peaceably, to suffer it selfe to be led or drawne, to follow reason. He that through a naturall facilitie, and genuine mildnesse, should neglect or contemne injuries received, should no doubt performe a rare action, and worthy commendation: But he who being toucht and stung to the quicke, with any wrong or offence received, should arme himselfe with reason against this furiously-blind desire of revenge, and in the end after a great conflict, yeeld himselfe master over-it, should doubtlesse 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 verie name of vertue presupposeth difficultie, and inferreth resistance, and cannot well exercise it selfe without an enemie.* It is peradventure the reason why we call God good, mightie, liberall, and just, but we terme him not vertuous. His workes are all voluntarie, vnforced, and without compulsion. Of Philosophers, not onely Stoicks, but also Epicurians (which endearing I borrow of the common received opinion, which is false) whatsoever the nimble saying or wittie quipping of *Arsesilaus* implieth, who answered the man that vpbraided him, how diuers men went from his schoole to the Epicurian, but none came from thence to him: I easily beleeve-it (said he) for, *Of cocks are many capons made, but no man could ever yet make a cocke of a capon.* For truly, in constancie, and rigor of opinions, and strictnesse of precepts, the Epicurian Sect doth in no sort yeeld to the Stoicke. And a Stoicke acknowledging a better faith, then those disputers, who to contend with *Epicurus*, and make sport with him, make him to infer and say what he never ment, wresting and wyre drawing his words to a contrarie sense, arguing and silogizing by the Grammarians priuiledge, another meaning, by the maner of his speach, and another opinion, then that they know he had, either in his minde, or maners, saith, that he left to be an Epicurian, for this one consideration amongst others, that he findeth their pitch to be overhigh and inaccessible: *Et ij qui [...] vocantur, sunt [...] & [...] omnesque virtutes* Sen. epist. 13. & *colunt & retinent. And those that are called lovers of pleasure, are lovers of honestie and iustice, and doe both reverence and retaine all sorts of vertue.* Of Stoicke and Epicurian Philosophers, I say, there are diuers, 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 discourse beyond all the affronts and checks of fortune; but that moreover, it was verie requisite, to seeke for occasions, whereby a man might come to the triall of it: They will diligently quest and seek out for paine, smart, necessitie, want, and contempt, that so they may combate them, and keep their minde in breath: *Multum sibi adijcit virtus lacessita. Vertue provoked addes much to it selfe.* It is one of the reasons why *Epaminondas* (who was of a third sect) by a verie lawfull way refuseth some riches, fortune had put into his hands, to the end (as he saith) he might have cause to strive and resist povertie, in which want and extremitie he ever continued after.

*Socrates* did in my minde more vndantedly enure himselfe to this humor, maintaining for his exercise the peevisch frowardnesse of his wife, then which no essay can be more vex-full, [234]and is a continuall fighting at the sharpe. *Metellus* of all the Romane Senators (he onely having vndertaken 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 most vnjust law passe in favor of the Commualtie: by which opposition, having incurred all the capital paines, that *Saturninus* had imposed on such as should refuse it) intertaind those that led him to the place of execution, with such speeches: That *to doe evill was a thing verie easie, and too demissely base: and to doe well where was no danger, was a common thing; but to doe well, where was both perill and opposition, was the peculiar office of a man of vertue.* These words of *Metellus* doe clearly represent vnto vs, what I would have verified; which is, that *vertue reiecteth facilitie to be hir companion:* And that an easefull, pleasant, 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 thornie way; She would either have strange difficulties to wrestle withall (as that of *Metellus*) by whose meanes fortune hir selfe is pleased to breake the roughnesse of his course; or inward encombrances, as the disordinate appetites and imperfections of our condition bring vnto hir. Hitherto I have come at good ease; but at the end of this discourse, one thing commeth into my minde, which is, that the soule of *Socrates*, which is absolute the perfectest that ever came to my knowledge, would, according to my accompt, prove a soule deserving but little commendation: For, I can perceive no maner of violence or vicious concupisence in him: I can imagine no maner of difficultie or compulsion in the whole course of his vertue. I know his reason so powerfull, and so absolute mistresse over him, that she can never give him way to any vicious desire, and will not suffer it so much as to breed in him. To a vertue so exquisit, and so high-raised as his is, I can perswade nothing. Me thinkes I see it march with a victorious and triumphant pace, in pompe, and at ease, without let or disturbance. If vertue cannot shine but by resisting contrarie appetites, shall we then say, it cannot passe without the assistance of vice, and oweth him this, that by his meanes it attaineth to honour and credit? What should also betide of that glorious and generous Epicurian voluptuousnesse, that makes accompt, effeminately to pamper vertue in hir lap, and there wantonly to entertaine it, allowing it for hir recreation, shame, reproch, agues, povertie, death, and tortures? If I presuppose, that perfect vertue is knowne by combating sorrow, and patiently vnder-going paine, by tollerating the fits and agonies of the gout, without stirring out of his place; if for a necessarie object, I appoint hir sharpnesse and difficultie; what shall become of that vertue, which hath attained so high a degree, as it doth not onely despise all maner of paine, but rather rejoyceth at-it, and when a strong fit of the collike shall assaile-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 proofes vnto-vs? As also others have, whom in effect I finde to have exceeded the verie rules of their discipline; witness *Cato* the yonger; when I see him die, tearing and mangling his entrails; I cannot simply content my selfe to beleieve, 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, which the rules of the Stoike sect had ordained vnto him, settled, without some alteration or motion, and impassibilitie. There was, in my conceit, in this mans vertue overmuch cheerefulnesse, and youthfulness to stay there. I verily beleieve, he felt a kind of pleasure and sensualitie in so noble an action, and that therein he more pleased himselfe, then in any other, he ever performed in his life. *Sic abiit è vita, vt causam moriendi Cic. Tuse. q [...]. lib. 1. nactum se esse gauderet. So departed he his life, that he reioyced to have found an occasion of death.* I doe so constantly beleieve-it, that I make a doubt, whether he would have had the occasion of so noble an exploit taken from him. And if the goodnesse which induced him to embrace publike commodities more then his owne, did not bridle me, I should easily fall into this opinion, that he thought himselfe greatly beholding vnto fortune, to have put his vertue vnto so noble a triall, and to have favoured that

robber, to tread the ancient libertie of his Countrey vnder foote. In which action me thinks I read a kinde of vnspeakable joy in his minde, and a motion of extraordinarie pleasure, joyned to a manlike voluptuousnesse, at what time it beheld the worthinesse, and considered the generositie and haughtinesse of his enterprise,

Deliberat a morte feroci [...].r. Hor. li. 1. od. 27. 29. Cleopatra.

Then most in fiercenesse did he passe,  
When he of death resolved was.

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not vrged or set-on by any hope of glorie, as the popular and effeminate judgements have judged: For, that consideration is over base, to touch so generous, so haughtie, and so constant a heart; but for the beautie of the thing it selfe in it selfe, which he, who managed all the springs, and directed all the wards thereof, saw much more clearer, and in it's perfection, then we can doe. Philosophie hath done me a pleasure to judge, that so honorable an action, had been vndecently placed in any other life, then in *Catoes*, and that onely vnto his it appertained to make such an end. Therefore did he with reason perswade both his sonne, and the Senators that accompanied him, to provide otherwise for themselves. *Catoni quum incredibilem natura tribuisset gravitatem, eámque ipse perpetua constantia roboravisset, sempérque in proposito consilio permansisset: moriendum potius quàm tyranni vultus aspiciendus erat. Whereas nature had afforded Cato an incredible gravitie, and he had strengthened it by continuall constancie, and ever had stood firme in his purposed desseignes, rather to die then behold the Tyrants face.* Each death should be such as the life hath been. By dying we become no other then we were. I ever interpret a mans death by his life. And if a man shall tell me of any one vndanted in apparence, joyned vnto a weake life; I imagine it to proceed of some weake cause, and sutable to his life. The ease 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, be it never so little, with the true tincture of Philosophie, can content himselfe to imagine *Socrates*, onely, free from feare and passion, in the accident of his imprisonment, of his fetters, and of his condemnation? And who doth not perceiue in him, not onely constancie and resolution (which were ever his ordinarie qualities) but also a kinde of I wot not what new contentment, and carelesse rejoycing in his last behaviour, and discourses? By the startling at the pleasure, which he feeleth in clawing of his legges, after his fetters were taken-off; doth he not manifestly declare an equall glee and joy in his soule, for being rid of his former incommodities, and entring into the knowledge of things to come? *Cato* shall pardon me (if he please) his death is more tragicall, and further extended, whereas this in a certaine manner is more faire and glorious. *Aristippus* answered those, that bewailed the same; when I die, I pray the Gods send me such a death. A man shall plainly perceiue in the minds 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 painfull vertue, nor by the ordinances of reason, for the maintaining of which, their minde must be strengthened: It is the verie essence of their soule; it is hir naturall and ordinarie habite. They have made it such, by a long exercise and observing the rules and precepts of Philosophie, having lighted vpon a fa [...]e and rich nature. Those vicious passions, which breed in vs, finde no entrance in them. The vigor and constancie of their soules, doth suppress and extinguish all manner of concupisences, so soone as they but begin to move. Now that it be not more glorious, by an vndaunted and divine resolution, to hinder the growth of temptations, & for a man to frame himselfe to vertue, so that the verie seeds of vice be cleane rooted out; then by maine force to hinder their progresse; and having suffred himselfe to be surprised by the first assaults of passions,

to arme and bandie himselfe, to stay their course and to suppress them: And that this second effect be not also much fairer, then to be simply stored with a facile and gentle nature, and of it selfe distasted and in dislike with licentiousnesse and vice, I am perswaded there is no doubt. For, this third and last manner, seemeth in some sort, to make a man innocent, but not vertuous: free from doing ill, but not sufficiently apt to doe well. Seeing this condition is so neere vnto imperfection and weaknesse, that I know not well how to cleare their confines and distinctions. The verie names of goodnesse and innocencie, are for this respect in some sort names of contempt. I see that many vertues, as chastitie, sobrietie, and temperance, may come vnto vs by meanes of corporall defects and imbecilitie. Constancie in dangers (if it may be termed constancie) contempt of death, patience in misfortunes, may happen, and are often seen in men, for want of good judgement in such accidents, and that they are not apprehended for such as they are indeed. *Lacke of apprehension and stupiditie, doe sometimes counterfet vertuous effects.* As I have often seen come to passe, that some men are commended, for things they rather deserve to be blamed. An Italian gentleman did once hold this position in my presence, to the prejudice & disadvantage of his nation; That the subtiltie of the Italians, and the vivacitie of their conceptions [236] was so great, that they foresaw such dangers and accidents as might betide them so faroff, that it was not to be deemed strange, if in times of warre, they were often seene to provide for their safetie, yea, before they had perceived the danger: That we and the Spaniards, who were not so warie and subtile, went further; and that before we could be frighted with any perill, we must be induced to see it with our eyes, and feel it with our hands, and that even then we had no more hold: But that the Germanes and Switzers, more shallow and leaden-headed, had scarce the sense and wit to re-advise themselves, at what time they were even overwhelmed with miserie, and the axe readie to fall on their heades. It was peradventure but in jest, that he spake-it, yet is it most true, that in the arte of warre-fare, new trained Souldiers, and such as are but novices in the trade, doe often headlong, and hand over head cast themselves into dangers, with more inconsideration, then afterward when they have seene and endured the first shocke, and are better trained in the schoole of perils.

—haud ignarus, quantum nova gloria in armis, Et praedulce decus primo certamine possit.

Not ignorant, how much in armes new praise,  
And sweetest honour, in first conflict weighes.

Lo heer the reason why when we judge of a particular action, we must first consider many circumstances, and throughly observe the man, that hath produced the same before we name and censure it. But to speake a word of my selfe: I have sometimes noted my friends to terme that wisdom in me, which was but meere fortune; 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 far from attaining vnto that chiefe and most 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 strived to bridle the desires, wherewith I have found my selfe vrged and pressed. My vertue, is a vertue, or to say better innocencie, accidentall and casuall. Had I been borne with a lesse regular complexion, I imagine my state had been verie pittypfull, and it would have gon hard with me: for, I could never perceive any great constancie in my soule, to resist and vndergoe passions, had they been any thing violent. I cannot foster quarels, or endure contentions in my house. So am I not greatly beholding vnto my selfe, in that I am exempted from many vices:

— *si vitijs mediocribus, & mea paucis* Hor. li. 8. sat. 6. 65.

Mendosa est natura, alioquirecta velut si  
Egregio inspersos reprehendas corpore naeuos.

If in a few more fault's my nature faile,  
Right otherwise: as if that you would raile  
On prettie moles well placed,  
On bodie seemely graced.

I am more endebted to my fortune, then to my reason for it: Shee hath made me to be borne of a race famous for integritie and honestie, and of a verie good father. I wot not well whether any part of his humors have descended into me, or whether the domestike examples, and good institution of my infancie have insensibly set their helping hand vnto it; or whether I were otherwise so borne:

Seu Libra, seu me Scorpius aspicit Hor. li. 2. od. 17. 17.

Formidolosus, pars violentior  
Natalis horae, seu tyrannus  
Hesperiae Capricornus vndae.

Whither the chiefe part of my birth-houre were  
Ascendent *Libra*, or *Scorpius* full of feare,  
Or in my *Horoscope* were *Capricorne*,  
Whose tyrannie neere westerne Seas is borne.

But so it is, that naturallly of my selfe, I abhorre and detest all maner of vices. The answere of *Antisthenes* to one, that demanded of him, which was the best thing to be learned: *To vnlearn evill*, seemed to be fixed on this image, or to have an ayme at this. I abhorre them (I say) with so naturall, and so innated an opinion, that the very same instinct and impression, which I suckt from my nurse, I have so kept, that no occasions could ever make me alter [237]the same: No, not mine owne discourses, which because they have been somewhat lavish in noting or taxing something of the common course, could easily induce me to some actions, which this my naturall inclination makes me to hate. I will tell you a wonder, I will tell it you indeed: I thereby find in many things, more stay and order in my maners, then in my opinion: and my concupiscence lesse debauched, then my reason. *Aristippus* established certaine opinions so bold, in favour of voluptuousnesse & riches, that he made all Philosophie to mutinie against him. But concerning his maners, *Dionysius* the tyrant, having presented him with three faire yong Wenches, that he might chuse the fairest; he answered he would chuse them all three, and that *Paris* had verie ill successe, forsomuch as he had preferred one above hir fellowes. But they being brought to his owne house, he sent them backe againe, without tasting them. His servant one day carrying store of money after him, and being so over-charged with the weight of it, that he complained, his Master commanded him, to cast so much thereof away, as troubled him. And *Epicurus*, whose positions are irreligious and delicate, demeaned himselfe in his life verie laboriously, and devoutly. He wrote to a friend of his, that he lived but with browne bread and water, and entreated him to send him a piece of cheefe, against the time he was to make a solemne feast. May it be true, that to be perfectly good, we must be so by an hidden, naturall, and vniversall proprietie, without law, reason, and example? The disorders and excesses, wherein I have found my selfe engaged, are not (God be thanked) of the worst. I have rejected and condemned them in my selfe, according to their worth; for, my judgement was never found to be infected by them. And on the other side, I accuse them more rigorously in my selfe, then in an other. But that is all: as for the rest, I applie but little resistance 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 being commixt with others, which (if a man take not good heed vnto himselfe) for the most part entertaine and enterchaine 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 single, and as alone as I could:

—*nec vltra* Iuv. sat. [...]. 164. *Errorom foveo*.—

Nor doe I cherish any more,  
The error which I bred before.

For, as touching the Stoickes opinion, who say, that when the wise man worketh, he worketh with all his vertues together; howbeit, according to the nature of the action, there be one more apparant than others (to which purpose the similitude of mans bodie might, in some sort, serve their turne; for, the action of choller cannot exercise it selfe, except all the humours set-to their helping-hand, although choller be praedominant) if thence they will draw alike consequence, that when the offender trespasseth, he doth it with all the vices together. I doe not so easily beleeeve them, or else I vnderstand them not; for, in effect, I feel the contrarie. They are sharpe-wittie subtilties, and without substance, about which Philosophie doth often busie it selfe. Some vices I shun; but othersome I eschew as much as any Saint can doe. The Peripatetikes doe also disavow this connexitie, and indissoluble knitting together. And *Aristotle* is of opinion, *That a wise and iust man may be both intemperate and incontinent*. *Socrates* avowed vnto them, who in his Phisiognomie perceived some inclination vnto vice, that indeed it was his naturall propension, but that by discipline he had corrected the same. And the familiar friends of the Philosopher *Stilpo* were wont to say, that being borne subject vnto wine and women, he had, by studie, brought himselfe to abstaine from both. On the otherside, what good I have, I have it by the lot of my birth: I have it neither by law nor prescription, nor by any apprenticeship. The innocencie that is in me, is a kinde of simple-plaine innocencie, without vigor or arte. Amongst all other vices, there is none I hate more, then crueltie, both by nature and judgement, as the extreamest of all vices. But it is with such an yearning and faint-hartednesse, that if I see but a chickins necke puld off, or a pigge stickt, I cannot chuse but grieve, and I cannot well endure a seelie dew-bedabled hare to groane, when she is seized vpon by the boundes; although hunting be a violent sport. Those that are to withstand voluptuousnesse, doe willingly vse this argument, to shew, it is altogether vicious and vnreasonable: That where she is in her greatest prime and chiefe strength, she doth so over-sway vs, that reason can have no accesse vnto vs, and for a further triall, alleage the experience we feel and have [238]of it, in our acquaintance or copulation with women.

—*cùm iam praesagit gaudia corpus* L [...].r. lib. 4. 1097. *Atque in eo est Venus,*  
*vt muliebria conserat arva.*

When now the bodie doth light-joyes fore-know,  
And *Venus* set the womans fields to sow.

Where they thinke pleasure doth so far transport vs beyond our selves, that our Discourse, then altogether overwhelmed, and our reason wholie ravished in the gulfe of sensualitie, cannot by any meanes discharge her function. I know it may be otherwise: And if a man but please, he may sometimes, even vpon the verie instant, cast his mind on other conceits. But she must be strained to a higher key, and heedfully pursued: I know a man may gourmandize the earnest and thought-confounding violence of that pleasure: for I may with some experience speake of it; and I have not found *Venus* to be so imperious a goddess, as many, and more reformed than my selfe wnesse her to be, I thinke it not a woonder, as doth the Queene of *Navarre*, in one of the Tales of her *Heptameron* (which respecting the subject it treateth-of, is a verie prettie booke) nor doe I deeme it a matter of extreame difficultie, for a man to weare-out a whole night, in all opportunitie and libertie, in companie of a faire



Mistresse, long time before sued-vnto, and by him desired; religiously keeping his word, if he have engaged himselfe, to be contented with simple kisses and plaine touching. I am of opinion, that the example of the sport in hunting would more fit the same: wherein as there is lesse pleasure, so there is more distraction and surprising, whereby our reason being amazed, looseth the leasure to prepare her selfe against it: when as after a long questing and beating for some game, the beast doth suddainly start, or rowze vp before vs, and happily in such a place, where we least expected the same. That suddaine motion, and riding, and the earnestnesse of showting, jubeting and hallowing, still ringing in our eares, would make it verie hard for those, who love that kind of close or chamber-hunting, at that verie instant, to withdraw their thoughts else-where. And Poets make *Diana* victoriously to triumph both over the firebrand and arrowes of *Cupid*.

Quis non malarum quas amor curas habet Hor. epod. 2. 37.  
Haec inter obliviscitur?

While this is doing, who doth not forget  
The wicked cares wherewith Loves heart doth fret?

But to returne to my former discourse, I have a verie feeling and tender compassion of other mens afflictions, and should more easily weep for companie sake, if possible for any occasion whatsoever, I could shed teares. There is nothing sooner mooveth teares in me, then to see others weepe, not onely fainedly, but howsoever, whether truely or forcedly. I do not greatly waile for the dead, but rather envie them. Yet doe I much waile and moane the dying. The Canibales and savage people do not so much offend me with roasting and eating of dead bodies, as those, which torment and persecute the living. Let any man be executed by law, how deservedly soever, I cannot endure to behold the execution with an vnrelenting eye. Some one going about to wisse the clemencie of *Iulius Caesar*; He was (saith he) tractable & milde in matters of revenge. Having compelled the Pirates to yeeld themselves vnto him, who had before taken him prisoner, and put him to ransome, forasmuch as he had threatned to have them all crucified, he condemned them to that kind of death, but it was after he had caused them to be strangled. *Philomon* his secretarie, who would have poysoned him, had no sharper punishment of him, then an ordinarie death. Without mencioning the Latin Author, who for a testimonie of clemencie dareth to alleage, the onely killing of those, by whom a man hath been offended, it may easily be ghesseed, that he is tainted with vile and horrible examples of crueltie, such as Romane Tyrants brought into fashion. As for me, even in matters of justice, *Whatsoever is beyond a simple death, I deeme it to be meere crueltie*: And especially amongst vs, who ought to have a regardfull respect, that their soules should be sent to heaven, which cannot be, having first by intollerable tortures agitated, and as it were brought them to dispaire. A Souldier, not long since, being a prisoner, and perceiving from a loft a Tower, where he was kept, that store of people flocked together on a greene, and Carpenters were busie at worke to erect a skaffold, supposing the same to be for him, as one desperat, resolved to kill himselfe, and searching vp and downe for some thing to make himselfe away, found nothing but an old rustie cart-naile, which fortune presented [239]him with; he tooke it, and therewithall, with all the strength he had, strooke and wounded himselfe twice in the throat, but seeing it would not rid him of life, he then thrust it into his bellie vp to the head, where he left it fast-sticking. Shortly after, one of his keepers comming-in vnto him, and yet living, finding him in that miserable plight, but weltring in his goare-blood, and readie to gaspe his last, told the Magistrates of it, which, to prevent time before he should die, hastned to pronounce sentence against him: which when he heard, and that he was onely condemned to have his head cut-off, he seemed to take heart of grace againe, and to be sorie for what he had done, and tooke some comfortable drinks, which before he had refused, greatly thanking the Iudges for his vnhoped gentle condemnation: And told them, that for feare of a more sharply-cruell, and intollerable death by law, he had resolved to

prevent-it by some violent manner of death, having by the preparations he had seen the Carpenters make, and by gathering of people together, conceived an opinion, that they would torture him with some horrible torment, and seemed to be delivered from death, onely by the change of it. Were I worthie to give counsell, I would have these examples of rigor, by which superior powers goe about to keep the common people in awe, to be onely exercised on the bodies of criminall malefactors: For, to see them deprived of christian buriall, to see them haled, disbowelled, parboyled, and quartered, might happily touch the common sort as much, as the paines, they make the living to endure: howbeit in effect it be little or nothing, as saith God, *Qui corpus occidunt, & postea non habent quod faciant*. Luke 12. 4. *Those that kill the bodie, but have afterwards no more to doe:* And Poets make the horror of this picture greatly to prevaile, yea, and above death, Ci [...]. Tusc. qu. lib. 1.

Hen reliquias semiassi Regis, denudatis ossibus,  
Per terram sanie delibutas foede divexarier.

O that the reliques of an halfe-burn't King, bones bared,  
On earth besmear'd with filth, should be so foully marred.

It was my fortune to be at *Rome*, vpon a day that one *Catena*, a notorious high-way theese, was executed: at his strangling no man of the companie seemed to be mooved to any ruth; but when he came to be quartered, the Executioner gave no blow that was not accompanied with a pitteous voyce, and hartie exclamation, as if every man had had a feeling sympathie, or lent his senses to the poore mangled wretch. Such inhumane outrages and barbarous excesses should be exercised against the rinde, and not practised against the quicke. In a case somewhat like vnto this, did *Artaxerces* asswage and mittigate the sharpnesse of the ancient lawes of *Persia*, appointing that the Lords, which had trespassed in their estate, whereas they were wont to be whipped, they should be stripped naked, and their clothes whipped for them: and where they were accustomed to have their haire pulled-off, they should onely have their hat taken off. The Aegyptians so devout and religious, thought they did sufficiently satisfie divine Iustice, in sacrificing painted and counterfait hogges vnto it: An over-hardy invention, to go about with pictures & shadowes to appease God, a substance so essentiall and divine. I live in an age, wherein we abound with incredible examples of this vice, through the licentiousnesse of our civill and intestine warres: And read all ancient stories, be they never so tragicall, you shall find none to equall those, we daily see practised. But that hath nothing made me acquainted with it. I could hardly be perswaded, before I had seene it, that the world could have afforded so marble-hearted and savage-minded men, that for the onely pleasure of murther would commit-it; then cut, mangle, and hacke other members in pieces: to rouze and sharpen their wits, to invent vnused tortures and vnheard-of torments; to devise new and vnknowne deathes, and that in cold blood, without any former enmitie or quarrell, or without any gaine or profite; and onely to this end, that they may enjoy the pleasing spectacle of the languishing gestures, pittifull motions, horror-moving yellings, deep fetcht groanes, and lamentable voyces of a dying and drooping man. For, that is the extreamest point whereunto the cruelty of man may attaine. *Ut homo hominem, non iratus, non timens, tantum spectaturus Sen. cl [...]. lib. [...]. c. 4. occidat. That one man should kill another, neither being angrie, nor afeard, but onely to looke on.* As for me, I could never so much as endure, without remorse and grieffe, to see a poore, sillie, and innocent beast pursued and killed, which is harmelesse and voide of defence, and of whom we receive no offence at all. And as it commonly hapneth, that when the Stag begins to embost, and finds his strength to faile-him, having no other remedie [240]left him, doth yeeld and bequeath himselfe vnto vs that pursue him, with teares suing to vs for mercie.

—questúque cruentus Virg. Ae [...]. li. 7. 521. Atque imploranti similis▪

With blood from throat, and teares from eyes,  
It seemes that he for pittie cryes.

was ever a grievous spectacle vnto me. I seldom take any beast alive, but I give him his libertie. *Pythagoras* was wont to buy fishes of fishers, and birds of fowlers to set them free againe.

—primóque à cade ferarum Ovid. Metam. lib. 15. 106. Incaluisse puto maculatum sanguine ferrum.

And first our blades in blood embrude I deeme  
With slaughter of poore beasts did reeking steeme.

*Such as by nature shew themselves bloodie-minded towards harmlesse beasts, witnessse a naturall propension vnto crueltie.* After the ancient Romanes had once enured themselves without horror to behold the slaughter of wilde beasts in their shewes, they came to the murther of men and Gladiators. Nature (I feare me) hath of hir owne selfe added vnto man a certaine instinct to humanitie. No man taketh delight to see wilde beasts sport and wantonly to make much one of another: Yet all are pleased to see them tugges, mangle, and enterteare one an other. And least any bodie should jeast at this simphathie, which I have with them. Divinitie it selfe willeth vs to shew them some favour: And considering, that one selfe-same master (I meane that incomprehensible worlds-framer) hath placed all creatures in this his woondrous pallace for his service, and that they, as well as we, are of his houshold: I say, it hath some reason to injoyne vs, to shew some respect and affection towards them. *Pythagoras* borrowed *Metempsychosis* of the Aegyptians, but since, it hath been received of divers Nations, and especially of our *Druides*:

Morte carent animae, sempérque priore relictâ 158.  
Sede, novis domibus vi [...]nt, habitânque receptae.

Our death-lesse soules, their former seats refrained,  
In harbors new live and lodge entertained.

The Religion of our ancient Gaules, inferred, that soules being eternall, ceased not to remove and change place, from one bodie to another: to which fantasie was also entermixed some consideration of divine justice. For, according to the soules behaviors, during the time she had been with *Alexander*, they said, that God appointed-it another bodie to dwell-in, either more or lesse painfull, and sutable to hir condition.

—*muta ferarum* Clau [...]. in Ruff. lib. 1 482.  
Cogit vincla pat [...], truculentos ingerit vrsis,  
Praedonés (que) lupis, fallaces vulpibus addit.  
Atque vbi per varios annos per mille figuras  
Egit let [...]e [...] purgatos flumine tandem  
Rursus ad humanae revocat primordia formae.

Dumbe bands of beasts he makes mens soules endure, 491.  
Blood-thirstie soules he doth to Beares enure,  
Craftie to Foxes, to Woolves bent to rapes;  
Thus when for many yeares, through many shapes,  
He hath them driv'n in *Lethe* lake at last,  
Them purg'd he turn's to mans forme whence they past.

If the soule had been valiant, they placed-it in the bodie of a Lion; if voluptuous, in a Swine; if faint-harted, in a Stagge, or a Hare; if malicious in a Foxe, and so of the rest, vntill that being purified by this punishment, it reassumed and tooke the bodie of some other man

again.

Ipsē ego, nam meminī, Troiāni tempore belli Ovid. M [...]ta [...]. lib. 15. 160.  
Panthoides Euphorbus eram.

When *Troy* was won, I, as I call to mind,  
Euphorbus was, and Panthus sonne by kind.

As touching that alliance between vs and beasts, I make no great accompt of-it, nor do I greatly admit it; neither of that which divers Nations, and namely of the most ancient and [241]noble, who have not onely received beastes into their societie, and company, but allowed them a place farre about themselves; sometimes deeming them to bee familiars and favored of their Gods, and holding them in a certaine awfull respect and reverence, more then humane, and others acknowledging no other God, nor no other Divinitie, then they. *Beluae Cic. Nat. Deor. lib. 1. à barbaris propter beneficium consecratae. Beasts by the Barbarians were made sacred for some benefit.*

—*crocodilon adorat*  
Pars haec, illa pavet saturam serpentibus Ibin, Iuven. sat. 15 [...]  
Effigies sacri hic nitet aurea Cercopitheci.

This country doth the Crocodile adore,  
That feares the Storke glutted with serpents goare,  
The sacred Babion here▪  
In gold shape doth appeare.

—*hic pisces fluminis, illic Oppida tota canem venerantur. 7.*

A fish here, whole Townes reverence most  
A Dogge they honor in that coast.

And the very same interpretation, that *Plutarke* giveth vnto this error, which is very well taken, is also honorable for them. For, he saith, that (for example-sake,) it was neither the Cat nor the oxe, that the Egyptians adored; but that in those beasts, they worshipped some image of divine faculties. In this patience and vtility, and in that, vivacity, or (as our neighbours the Borgonians with all *Germany*) the impatience to see themselves shut-vp: Whereby they represented the liberty, which they loved and adored, beyond all other divine facultie, and so of others. But when amongst the most moderate opinions, I meete with some discourses, that goe about and labour to shew, the neere resemblance between vs and beastes, and what share they have in our greatest Priviledges, and with how much likely-hood they are compared vnto vs, truely I abate much of our presumption, and am easily removed from that imaginary Soveraigntie, that some give and ascribe vnto vs about all other creatures. If all that were to be contradicted, yet is there a kind of respect, and a general duty of humanitie, which tieth vs, not only vnto brute beasts that have life and sense, but even vnto trees and plants. *Vnto men we owe Iustice, and to all other creatures, that are capable of it, grace and benignitie.* There is a kinde of enter-changeable commerce and mutuall bond between them and vs. I am not ashamed nor affraide to declare the tendernesse of my childish Nature, which is such, that I cannot well reject my Dog, if he chance (although out of season) to fawne vpon me, or begge of mee to play with him. The Turkes have almes, and certaine Hospitalls appoynted for brute beasts. The Romans had a publike care to breed and nourish Geese, by whose vigilancy their Capitoll had beene saved. The Athenians did precizely ordaine, that all maner of Mules, which had served or beene employed about the building of their Temple, called *Hecatompodon*, should be free, and suffered to feede wheresoever they pleased, without any let or empeachment. The Agrigentines had an ordinary custome,

seriously and solemnly to bury all such beasts, as they had held deare; as horses of rare worth and merit, speciall dogs, choise or profitable birds, or such as had but served to make their children sport. And the sumptuous magnificence, which in all other things was ordinary and peculiar vnto them, appeared also almost notably in the stately sumptuousnesse, and costly number of monuments erected to that end, which many ages after have endured and been maintained in pride and state. The Aegyptians 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 were mourning weedes for them. *Cymon* caused a stately-honourable toombe to be erected for the Mares, wherewith he had three times gained the prize at running in the Olimpikie games. Ancient *Xantippus* caused his Dogge to be entered vpon a hill by the sea shoare, which ever since hath beene named by him. And *Plutarke* (as himselfe saith) made it a matter of conscience, in hope of a small gaine, to sell or send an Oxe to the shambles, that had served him a long time.

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### The twelfth Chapter. An Apologie of *Raymond Sebond*.↩

KNOWLEDGE is withoutall contradiction, a most profitable and chiefe ornament: Those who despise it declare evidently their sottishnesse: Yet doe not I value it at so excessive a rate, as some have done; namely *Herillus* the Philosopher, who grounded his chiefe felicity vpon it, and held that it lay in hir power to make vs content and wise: which I cannot beleeeve, nor that which others have said, that *Knowledge is the mother of all vertue*, and that all *vice proceedeth of ignorance*. Which if it be, it is subject to a large interpretation. My house hath long since ever stood open to men of vnderstanding, and is very well knowne to many of them: for, my father, who commanded the same fifty yeeres and vppward, set on fire by that new kind of earnestnesse, wherewith King *Francis* the first embraced Letters, and raised them vnto credite, did with great diligence, and much cost, endeavour to purchase the acquaintance of learned men: receiving and entertaining them as holy persons, and who had some particular inspiration of divine wisdome; collecting their sentences and discourses, as if they had beene Oracles; and with so much more reverence and religious regard, by how much lesse authority he had to judge of them: for, he had no knowledge of Letters, no more than his predecessors before him. As for me, I love them indeed, but yet I worship them not. Amongst others, *Peter Bunel* (a man in his time, by reason of his learning, of high esteeme) having so journed a few daies at *Montagne* with my father, and others of his coate, being ready to depart thence, presented him with a booke entituled *Theologia naturalis; five liber creatur arum magistri Raimondi de Scbona*. And for somuch as the Italian and Spanish tongues were very familiar vnto him, and that the booke was written in a kind of latinized Spanish, whereof diverse words had Latine terminations; he hoped, that with little aide, he might reape no small profite by it, and commended the same very much vnto him, as a booke most profitable, and fitting the daies in which he gave it him. It was even at what time the new-fangles of *Luther* began to creepe in favour, and in many places to shake the foundation of our ancient believe. Wherein he seemed to be well advised, as he who by discourse of reason fore-saw, that this budding disease would easily turne to an execrable Atheisme: For, the vulgar wanting the faculty to judge of things by themselves, suffering it selfe to be carried away by fortune, and led-on by outward apparances, if once it be possessed with the boldnesse to despise, and malapertnesse to impugne the opinions, which to fore it held in awefull reverence (as are those wherein consisteth their salvation) and that some articles of their religion be made doubtfull and questionable, they will soone and easily admit an equall vncertainty in all other parts of their believe, as they that had no other grounded authority or foundation, but such as are now shaken and weakned, and immediately reject (as a tyrannicall yoke) all impressions, they had in former times received by the authority of

Nam cupidè conculcatur nimis antè metutumLutr. 1. 5. 1150

That which we fear'd before too much,  
We gladly scorne when tis not such.

vndertaking thence-forward to allow of nothing, except they have first given their voice and particular consent to the same. My father, a few-daies before his death, lighting by chance vpon this booke, which before he had neglected, amongst other writings commanded mee to translate the same into French. It is easie to translate such authors, where nothing but the matter is to be represented; but hard and dangerous, to vndertake such as have added much to the grace and elegancy of the language, namely to reduce them into a weaker and poorer tongue. It was a strange taske, and new occupation for mee: but by fortune beeing then at leisure, and vnable 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 tooke singular delight, and commanded the same to be printed, which accordingly was after his decease performed. I found the [243]conceits of the author to be excellent, the contexture of his worke well followed, and his project full of pietie. Now forasmuh as diverse amuse themselves to reade-it, and especially Ladies, to whom we owe most service, it hath often beene my hap to help them, when they were reading it, to discharge the booke of two principall objections, which are brought against the same. His drift is bold, and his scope adventurous; for he vndertaketh by humane and naturall reasons, to establish and verifie all the articles of Christian religion against Atheists. Wherein (to say truth) I find 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 aucthor, whose name is so little knowne, and of whom. all we know, is, that he was a Spaniard, who about two hundred yeeres since professed Phisicke in *Thoulouse*. I demanded once of *Adrianus Turnebue* (a man who knew all things) what such a booke might be, who answered, that he deemed the same to be some Quintessence extracted from out *Saint Thomas Aquinas*: For, in good truth, onely such a spirit fraught with so infinite erudition, and so full of admirable subtilitie, was capable of such and so rare imaginations. So it is, that whosoever be the authour or deviser of it (the title whereof ought not without further reason to be taken from *Sebond*) he was a very sufficient-worthie man, and endowed with sundry other excellent qualities. The first thing he is reprov'd for in his Booke, is, that *Christians wrong themselves much, in that* The first Obiection. *they ground their beliefe vpon humane reasons, which is conceived but by faith, and by a particular inspiration of God.* Which objection seemeth to containe some zeale of pietie; by reason whereof we ought with so much more mildnes and regarde, endeavour to satisfie them that propose it. It were a charge, more befitting a man conversant, and sutable 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 and high and so much exceeding al humane vnderstanding, as is this Verity, wherewith it hath pleased the goodnesse of God to enlighten vs, it is most requisite, that he affoord and lend vs his helpe. And that, with an extraordinary and priviledged favour, that so we may the better conceive and entertaine the same: For, I suppose that meanes meereely humane can no way be capable of it; which if they were; so many rare and excellent mindes, and so plenteously stored with naturall faculties, as have beene in times past, would never by their discourse, have mist the attayning of this knowledge. *It is faith onely, which lively and assuredly embraceth the high mysteries of our Religion.* And no man can doubt, but that it is a most excellent and commendable enterprise, properly to accommodate and fit to the service of our faith, the natural helps and humane implements which God hath bestowed 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 meanes,

studies and imaginations, carefully to endeavour, how to embellish, amplify and extend the truth of his belief and religion. *It is not enough for vs to serve God in spirit and soule*, we owe him besides, and wee yeelde vnto him a corporall worshiping; we applie our limmes, our motions, and all externall things, to honour him. The like ought to be done, and we should accompany our faith with all the reason we possesse: Yet alwayes with this proviso, that we thinke it doth not depend of-vs, and that all our strength and arguments can never attaine to so supernaturall and divine a knowledge: Except it seize vpon vs, and as it were enter into vs by an extraordinarie infusion: And vnlesse it also enter into vs, not onely by discourse, but also by humane meanes, she is not in her dignitie, nor in her glorie. And verely I feare therefore, that except this waie, we should not enjoy-it. Had we fast-holde on God, by the enterposition of a lively faith; had we hold-fast on God by himselfe, and not by vs; had we a divine foundation, then should not humane and worldly occasions have the power so to shake and totter-vs, as they have. Our hold would not then yeeld to so weake a batterie: The love of noveltie; the constraint of Princes; the good successe of one partie; the rash and casuall changing of our opinions, should not then have the power to shake and alter our belief. We should not suffer the same to be trouble at the will and pleasure of a new argument, and at the perswasion, no, not of all the rhetorike that ever was: we should withstand these boistrous billowes with an inflexible and vnmmoveable constancie:

Illisos fluctus rupes, vt vasta refundit, Virg. Aen. l. 7. 587.  
 Et varias circumlatrantes dissipat vndas  
 [244] — *Mosesua*.

As huge rocks doe regorgeth invective waves,  
 And dissipate the billowes brawling braves,  
 Which these gainst those still bellow out,  
 Those being big and standing stout.

If this raie of Divinitie did in any sort touch vs, it would everie where appeare: Not only our words, but our actions, would beare some shew and lustre of it. Whatsoever should proceede from vs, might be seene inlightned with this noble and matchles brightnes. We should blush for shame, that in humane sects, there was never any so factions, what difficultie or strangenesse soever his doctrine maintained, but would in some sort conforme his behaviors and square his life vnto it: Whereas so diuine and heavenly an instution never markes christians but by the tongue. And will you see whether it be so? Compare but our maners vnto a Turke, or a Pagan, and we must needes yeeld vnto them: Whereas in respect of our religions superioritie, we ought by much, yea by an incomparable distance, out-shine them in excellencie: And well might a man say, *Are they so iust, so charitable, and so good? Then must they be Christians*. All other outward shewes and exterior apparences are common to all religions: As hope, affiance, events, ceremonies, penitence and martyrdome. *The peculiar badge of our truth should be vertiue*; As it is the heavenliest and most difficult marke, and worthiest production of Verity it self. And therefore was our good Saint *Lewis* in the right, when that Tartarian king, who was become a Christian, intended to come to *Lions*, to kisse the Popes feet, and there to view the sanctitie he hoped to find in our lives and manners, instantly to divert him from it, fearing lest our dissolure manners, and licentious kind of life, might scandalize him, and so alter his opinion fore-conceived of so sacred a religion. Howbeit the contrary happened to another, who for the same effect being come to *Rome* and there viewing the disolutenesse of the prelates and people of those dayes, was so much the more confirmed in our religion; considering with himselfe what force and divinity it must of consequence have, since it was able, amidst so many corruptions, and so viciously-polluted hands, to maintaine her dignitie and splendor. *Had we but one onely graine of faith, wee should then be able to remoove mountaines from out their place*. saith the holy Writ. Our actions being guided, and accompanied with divinitie, should not then be meerely humane, but even as our belief, containe some wonder-causing thing. *Brevis est institutio vitae*

*honestae beatae (que), si credas. The institution of an honest and blessed life is but short, if a man beleeve. Some make the worlde beleeve, that they beleeve things they never do. Others (and they are the greater number) perswade themselves they doe so, as vnable to conceive what it is to beleeve. We thinke it strange if in warres, which at this time doe so oppresse our state, we see the events to floate so strangly, and with so common and ordinarie a manner to change and alter: The reason is, we adde nothing vnto it but our owne. Iustice, which is on the one side, is vsed but for a cloake and ornament; she is indeede alleadged, but nor received, nor harboured, nor wedded. She is as in the mouth of a Lawyer, and not as she ought in the heart and affection of the partie. God oweth his extraordinarie assistance vnto faith and religion, and not to our passions. Men are but directors vnto-it and vse religion for a shew: It ought to be cleane contrarie. Doe but marke if we doe not handle it as it were a peece of waxe, from our so right and so firme a rule, to drawe so many contrary shapes. When was this better seene than now-adaies in France? Those which have taken it on the left, and those who have taken it on the right hand; Such as speake the false, and such who speake the truth of it, do so alike employ and fit the same to their violent and ambitious enterprises, proceede vnto it with so conformable a proceeding in riotousnes and injustice, they make the diversitie they pretend in their opinions doubtfull, and hard to be believed, in a thing from which depends the conduct and law of our life. Can a man see from one same Schoole and Discipline, more vnited and like customes and fasnions to proceed? View but the horrible impudencie wherewith we tosse diuine reasons to and fro, and how irreligiously wee have both rejected and taken them againe, according as fortune hath in these publike stormes transported vs from place to place. This solemne proposition; *Whether it be lawfull for a subiect, for the defence of religion, to rebell and take armes against his Prince:* Call but to minde, in what mouthes but a twelve-moneth agoe the affirmative of the same was the chiefe pillar of the one part; the negative was the maine-vnderproppe of the other: And listen now from whence commeth [245]the voyce and instruction of one and other: and whether armes clatter and clang lesse for this, than for that cause. And we burne those men, which say, that truth must be made to abide the yoke of our neede: And how much worse doth France, than speake it? Let vs confesse the truth? he that from out this lawfull army should cull out, first those who follow it for meere zeale of a religious affection, then such as only regard the defence and protection of their countries lawes, or service of their Prince; whether hee could ever erect a compleate company of armed men. How comes it to passe, that so few are found, who have still held one same wil and progresse in our publike 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 rashnesse, and now through their slownes, demissnes, and heavines to spoile, and as it were overthrow our affaires, but that they are thrust into them by casuall motives, and particular consideration, according to the diversities wherewith they are moved? *I plainly perceive, we lend nothing vnto devotion but the offices that flatter our passions.* There is no hostilitie so excellent, as that which is absolutly Christian. Our zeale worketh wonders, when ever it secondeth our inclination toward hatred, crueltie, ambition, avarice, detraction, or rebellion. Towards goodnes, benignitie, or temperance, it goeth but slowly, and against the haire, except miraculously, some rare complexion leade him vnto it, it neither runnes nor flieth to it. *Our religion was ordained to root out vices, but it shrowdeth, fostreth and provoketh them.* As commonly wee say, *We must not make a foole of God.* Did wee believe in him, I say not through faith, but with a simple beleefe, yea (I speake it to our confusion) did we but believe and know him, as wee doe another storie, or as one of our companions, we should then love him aboue all other things, by reason of the infinite goodnes, and vnspeakable beauty that is, and shines 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 injurie his neighbour, his kinsman, or his maister. Is there so simple a minde, who on the one side having before him the obiect of one of our vicious pleasures, and on the other to his full viewe, perfect*



knowledge and assured perswasion, the state of an immortall glorie, that would enter into contention of one for the other? And if we often refuse it through meere contempt: for what drawes vsto blaspheming, vnlesse it be at all adventures, the desire itselſe of the offence? The Philosopher *Antisthenes*, when he was initiated in the mysteries of *Orpheus*, the priest; saying, vnto him, that such as vowed themselves to that religion, should after death receive eternall and perfect felicities, replied, if thou believe-it, why dost thou not die thy self? *Diogenes* more roughly (as his manner was) and further from our purpose, answered the priest, who perswaded him to be one of his order, that so he might come vnto, and attaine the happinesse 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 asse, and dost nothing of any worth, shalt be happy, because thou art a Priest? Did we but receive these large promises of everlasting blessednes with like authoritie, as we do a philosophicall discourse, we should not then have death in that horror as we have:

Non iamse moriens dissolvi conquereretur, Luer. l. 3. 630.  
 Sed magis ire foras, vestem (que) relinquere vt an [...]uis  
 Gauderet, praelonga senex aut cornua cervus.

He would not now complaine to be dissolved dying,  
 But rather more rejoyce, that now he is forth-flying,  
 Or as a Snake his coate out-worne,  
 Or as old Harts, doth cast his horne.

I will be dissolved should we say, and be with *Jesus Christ*. The forcible power of *Platoes* discourse, of the immortality 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, and by our owne hands, and no otherwise than other religions are received. We are placed in the country, where it was in vse; where we regard hir antiquity, or the authority of those who have maintained hir; where we feare the menaces wherewith she threatneth all mis-beleevers, or follow hir promises. The considerations ought to be applied and employed to our beleefe, but as Subsidiaries: they be humane bondes. Another Country, other Testimonies, equall promises: [246]alike menaces, mighe semblably imprint a cleane contrary religion in vs: weare christians by the same title, as we are either Perigordins or Germans. And as *Plato* saith, *There are [...]*Jew so confirmed in Atheisme, but some great danger will bring vnto the knowledge of Gods divine power. The 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 cowardice of heart doth plant, and weaknesse establish in vs!* A goodly faith, that believes that which it beleeveth, onely because it wanteth the courage not to beleefe the same. A vicious passion, as that of inconstancie and astonishment is, can it possibly ground any regular production in our mindes or soules? They establish (saith he) by the reason of their judgement, that whatsoever is reported of hell, or of after-comming paines, is but a fiction; but the occasions to make triall of it, offering it selfe, at what time age or sickenes doth sommon them to death: the error of the same, through the horror of their future condition, doth then replenish them with an other kinde of beleefe. And because such impressions make mens hearts fearefull, hee by his lawes, inhibiteth all instruction of such threats, and the perswasion, that any evill may come vnto man from the Gods, except for his greater good, and for a medicinable effect, whensoever he falleth into-it. The report of *Bion*, that being infected with the Athiesmes of *Theodorus*, he had for along time made but a mockerie of religious men; but when death did once seize vpon him, he yeilded vnto the extreamest superstitions: As if the Gods would either be remooved, or come againe, according to Bions businesse. *Plato* and these examples conclude, that wee are brought to beleefe in God, either by reason, or by compulsion. Atheisme being a proposition, as vnnaturall and monstrous as it is harde and vneasie to be established in any mans minde, how insolent and vnruely soever hee may be. Many have

beene scene, to have conceived, either through vanitie or fiercenesse, strange and seld-knowne opinions, as if they would become reformers of the world, by affecting a profession onely in countenance: who though they be sufficiently foolish, yet are they not powerfull enough, to ground or settle it in their consciences. Yet will not such leave to list-*vp* their joynd hands to heaven, give them but a s [...]occado on their breast: and when feare shall have suppress, or sicknesse vanquished this licentious fervour of a wavering minde, then will they suffer themselves gently to be reclaimed, and discreetly to be perswaded, to give credite vnto true believe and publike examples. A decree seriously digested is one thing, and these shallow and superficial impressions another, which bred by the dissolutnesse of a loose spirit, do rashly and vncertainly floate *vp* and downe the fantasie of a man. Oh men most braine-sicke and miserable, that endeavour to be worse than they can! The error of Paganisme, and the ignorance of our sacred trueth, was the cause of this great soules-fall; but onely great in worldly greatnes; also in this next abuse, which is, that children and olde men, are found to be more susceptible or capable of religion, as if it were bredde and had her credite from our imbecilitie. *The bond which should binde our iudgement, tie our will, enforce and ioine our soules to cur Creator, should be a bond taking his doubling and forces, not from our considerations, reasons and passions, but from a divine and supernaturall 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 soule commaunded by saith, reason willeth, that she drawes all our other parts to the service of her intent, according to their power and facultie. Nor is it likely, but that this vast worldesframe must beare the impression of some markes, therein imprinted by the hand of this great-wondrous Architect, and that even in all things therein created, there must be some image, somewhat resembling, and having coherencie with the workeman that wrought and framed them. Hee hath left imprinted in these high and misterious workes, the characters 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 manifest th [...]se, that are invisible to vs. Sebond* hath much travelled about this woorthie studie, and sheweth vs, *That there is no parcell of this world, that either beiyeth or shameth his Maker.* It were a manifest wronging of Gods goodnesse, if all this vniverse did not consent and simpathize with our believe. Heaven, earth, the elements, our bodies, our soule; yea all things-else, conspire and agree vnto-it: onely the meanes how to make vse of them must be found out: They will instruct vs sufficiently, be we but capable to learne and apt to vnderstand. For, *this world is a most holy Temple, into which man is brought [247] there to behold Statues and Images, not wrought by mortall 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 vnto vs. The invisible things of God (saith Saint Paul) doe evidently appeare by the creation o [...] the world, iudgeing of his eternall Wisedome and Divinity by his workes.*

Atque adeo faciem coeli non invidet orbi, Manil. l. 4. 840  
 Ipse deus, vultus (que) suos corpús (que) recludit,  
 Semper voluend [...]: se (que) ipsum inculcat & offert  
 Vt bene cognosci possit, doc [...]á [...] (que) videndo  
 Qualis ent, doceâ [...] (que) suas attendere leges.

God to the world doth not heav'ns face envie,  
 But by still mooving it doth notifie  
 His face and essence, doth himselfe applie,  
 That he may well be knowen, 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. T'is that, which giveth both fashion and worth vnto it. Even as the vertuous actions of *Socrates* and *Cato*, are but frivolous and profitable, because they had

not their end, and regarded not the love 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 haue a kind of body, but a shapelesse masse, without light or fashion, vnlesse faith and the grace of God be joynd thereunto. Faith, giving as it were a tincture and lustre vnto *Sebonds* arguments, make them the more firme and solide: They may well serve for a direction and guide to a yong learner, to lead and set him in the right way of this knowledge. They in some sort fashion and make him capable of the grace of God, by meanes whereof our beliefe is afterward atchieved and made perfect. I know a man of authority, brought vp in letters, who confessed vnto me, that he was reclaimed from out the errorrs of mis-beleeving by the Arguments of *Sebond*. And if it happen, they be dispoyled of this ornament, and of the helpe and approbation of faith, and taken but for meere humane fantazies, yet to combate those, that headlong are fallen into the dreadfull error, and horrible darkenesse of irreligion, even then, shall they be found as firme and forcible, as any other of that condition, that may be opposed against them. So that we shall stand vpon termes to say vnto our parties,

Si melius quid habes, accerse, vel imperiumfer. Hor. l. 1. epi. 5. 6.

If you have any better, send for me,  
Or else that I bid you, contented be.

Let them either abide the force of our proofes, of shew vs some others, vpon some other subject, better compact and more full. I have in a maner vnawares halfe engaged my selfe in the second objection, to which I had purposed to frame an answer for *Sebond*. *Some say his Arguments are weake, and simple to verifie what he would,* and vndertake to front him easily. The second obiection. Such fellowes must somewhat more roughly be handled: for they are more dangerous, and more malicious then the first. 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 Venome infecteth the innocent matter. These have some preoccupation of judgement that makes their taste wallowish and tastelesse, to conceive the reasons of *Sebond*. As for the rest, they thinke to have faire play offered them, if they have free liberty to combate our religion with meere worldly weapons; which they durst not charge, did they behold hir in hir Majesty, full of authority and commandement. The meanes I vse to suppress this frenzy, and which seemeth the fittest for my purpose, is to crush and trample this humane pride and fiercenesse vnder-foote-to make them feele the emptinesse, vacuitie, and no worth of man: and violently to pull out of their hands, the silly weapons of their reason; to make them stoope, and bite and snarle at the ground, vnder the authority and reverence of Gods Majesty. Onely to hir belongeth science and wisdom, it is she alone can judge of hir selfe, and from hir we steale: whatsoever we repute, value, and count our selves to be.

[...]

[248] Of greater, better, wiser minde than he,  
God can abide no mortall man should be.

Let vs suppress this over-weening, the first foundation of the tyrannie of the wicked spirit: *Deus superbis resistit: humilibus autem dat gratiam. God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace* Pro. 3. 14. 4. 6. 1. Pet. 5. 5. *to the humble. Plato saith, That intelligence is in all the Gods, but little or nothing at all in men.* Meane-while it is a great comfort vnto a Christian man, to see our mortall implements, and fading tooles, 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 forcibly, nor more joyntlie appropriated vnto them. Let vs then

see whether man hath any other stronger reasons in his power, then *Sebondes*, 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 vpbraide them with their injustice, in that they hold the partes of our beliefe to be false, and that our reason faileth in establishing them. And to shew, that many things may be, and have beene, whereof our discourse can never ground the nature and the causes; He proposeth and setteth downe before them certaine knowen and vndoubted experiments, wherein man confesseth to see nothing; which he doth as all things else, with a curious and ingenious serch. More must be done, and they must be taught, that to convince the weakenesse of their reason; we neede not goe far to cull out rare examples: And that it is so defective and blinde, as there is no facility so cleare, that is cleare enough vnto hir; that easie and vneasie is all one to hir; that all subjects equally, and Nature in Generall disavoweth hir jurisdiction, and inter position. What preacheth truth vnto vs, when it biddeth vs flie and shun worldly Philosophy; when it so often telleth vs, that *all our wisdome is but folly before God; that of all vanities, man is the greatest; that man, who presumeth of his knowledge, doth not yet know what knowledge is: and that man, who is nothing, if he but thinke to be something, seduceth and deceiveth himselfe?* These sentences of the Holy Ghost, doe so lively and manifestly expresse, what I would maintaine, as I should neede no other prooffe against such as with all submission and obeysance would yeeld to his authority. But these will needes be whipt to their owne Cost, and cannot abide their reason to be combated, but by it selfe. Let vs now but consider man alone without other help, armed but with his owne weapons, and vnprovided of the grace and knowledge of God, which is all his honour, all his strength, and all the ground of his being. Let vs see what hold-fast, or free-hold he hath in this gorgeous, and goodly equipage. Let him with the vtmost power of his discourse make me vnderstand, vpon what foundation, he hath built those great advantages and ods, he supposeth to have over other creatures. Who hath perswaded him, that this admirable mooving of heavens-vaults; that the eternal light of these lampes so fiercely rowling over his head; that the horror-moving and continuall motion of this infinite vaste Ocean, were established, and continue so many 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 maister of himselfe, exposed and subject to [...]ffences of all things, and yet dareth call himselfe Maister and Emperour of this Vniverse? In whose power it is not to know the least part of it much lesse to command the same. And the priviledge, which he so fondly challengeth, to be the onely absolute creature in this huge worlds-frame, perfectly able to know the absolute beautie, and severall partes thereof, and that he is only of power to yeeld the great Architect thereof, due thanks for it, and to keepe account both of the receipts and layings out of the world. Who hath sealed him this patent? Let him shew vs his letters of priviledge, for so noble and so great a charge. Have they beene granted onely in favour of the wise? Then concerne they but a few. Are the foolish and wicked worthy of so extraordinary a favour? Who being the worst part of the world, should they be preferred before the rest? Shall we beleeve him; *Quorum igitur causa quis dixeri [...] effectum Cic. nat. Deo. l. 2 esse mundum? Eorum scilicet animantium, quaerantione [...]tuntur. Hisunt dij & homines, quibus profectò nihil est melius. For whose cause then shall a man say, that the world was made? In sooth, for those creatures sake, which have the vse of reason: Those are Gods and men, then whom assuredly nothing is better.* We shall never sufficiently baffle the impudency of this conjoyning. But silly wretch, what hath he in him worthy such an advantage? To consider the incorruptible life of the celestial bodies, their beauty, greatnesse, and agitation, continued with so just and regular a course:

— *cum suspicimus magni coelestia mundi* Lucr. l. 5. 1214.

[249] *Templa super, stellisque micantibus Aethera fixum,  
Et venit in mentem Lune Solisque viarum.*

When we of this great world the heavenly-temple see  
Above vs, and the skies with shine-starres fixt to be,  
And marke in our discourse,  
Of Sunne and Moone the course.

To consider the power and domination, these bodies have, not onely vpon our lives, and condition of our fortune;

Facta et [...]nim & vitas hominum suspendit ab astris. Manil. astron. lib. 3 58.

For on the stars he doth suspend  
Of men, the deedes, the lives, and end.

But also over our dispositions and inclinations, our discourses and wils, which they rule, provoke, and moove at the pleasure of their influences, as our reason findes and teacheth vs.

—*speculat [...]que longé* Manil. astron. lib. 1. 62.  
[...]prendi: tacit is dominantia legibus astra.  
Et totum alterna mundum ratione m [...]veri.  
Fatorúmque vices cersis discern [...]re signis.

By speculation it from far discern's,  
How star's by secret lawes do guide our sterns,  
And this whole world is moov'd by entercourse  
And by sure signes of fates to know the course.

Seeing that not a man alone, nor a King only. But Monarchies and Empires, yea, and all this world below is mooved at the shaking of one of the least heavenly motions.

Quantaque quàm par vifaciant discrimina motus: Manil. astron. lib. 4. 93.  
Tantum est hoc regnum quod regibus imper at ipsis.

How little motions make, how different affection:  
So great this kingdome is, that hath Kings in subjection.

If our vertue, vices, sufficiency and knowledge; and the same discourse we make of the power of the starres, and the comparison betweene them and vs, commeth as our reason judgeth by their meane and through their favour.

—*furit alter amore*, Manil. astron. lib. 4. 178.  
Et pontu [...]s tranare potest & vertere Troiam,  
Alteriussors est scribendis legibus apta:  
Ecce patrem nati perimunt, nat òs [...] parentes,  
Mutuá (que) armati coeunt in vulnere fratres,  
Non nostrum hoc bellum est, coguntur tanta mov [...]re,  
Inque suas f [...]rri poenas, lacer and áque membra: 118.  
Hoc quoque fatale est sic ipsum expendere fatum.

One with love madd'd, his love to enjoy,  
Can crosse the seas, and over-terne all *Troy*:  
Anothers lot is to set lawes severe.  
Loesonne kill fathers, fathers sonnes destroy,  
Brothers for mutuall wounds their armes doe beare,  
Such war is not our owne, forc't are we to it,  
Drawne to our owne paines, our owne limbes to teare;  
Fates so t'observe t'is fatall, we must doe it,

If we hold that portion of reason, which we have, from the distribution of heaven, how can she make vs equall vnto it? How can she submit his essence and conditions vnto our knowledge? Whatsoever we behold in those huge bodies, doth affright vs: *Quae molitio*, Cie. Nat. Deo. lib. 1. *quae ferrament [...], qui victes, quae machinae, qui ministri tant i operis fuerunt? What workemanship? What yron-braces? What maine beames, what engines? What Masons and Carpenters, were to so great a worke?* Why doe we then deprive them of soule, of life, and of discourse? Have we discovered or knowen any vnmoueable or insensible stupidity in them? We, who have no commerce but of obedience with them? Shall we say we have seene the vse of a reasonable soule, in no other creature, but in man? What? Have we seene any thing comparable to the Sunne? Leaveth he to be, because we have seene nothing semblable vnto it? And doth he [250]leav his moving, because his equall is no where to be found? If that which we have not seene, is not, our knowledge is wonderfull abridged? *Quae sunt tanta animi angustia? What narrownes of my heart is such?* Be they not dreames 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, erect their colonies for our vse. And to make of our knowne earth a bright shining planet? *Inter caetera mortalitatis incommoda, & hoc est caligo* Sen ir [...]. lib. 2. cap. 9. *mentium: nec tantum necessitas errandi, sed errorum amor. Among other discommodities of our mortality this is one, there is darknesse in our minds, and in vs not onely necessity of erring, but a love of errors. Corruptibile corpus aggrauat animam, & deprimit terrena inhabitatio sensum* Sen. epist. 95. *multa cogitantem. Our corruptible body doth over lode our soule, and our dwelling on earth weighet downe our sence, that is set to thinke of many matters.* Presumption is our naturall and originall infirmitie. *Of all creatures man is the most miserable and fraile, and therewithall the proudest and disdainfullest.* Who perceiueth and seeth himselfe placed here, amidst their filth and mire of the world, fast tied and nailed to the worst, most senceles, and drooping part of the world, in the vilest corner of the house, and farthest from heavens-coape, with those creatures, that are the worst of the three conditions; and yet dareth imaginarily place himselfe above the circle of the Moone, and reduce heaven vnder his feete. It is through the vanity of the same imagination, that he dare equall himselfe to God, that he ascribeth divine conditions vnto himselfe, that he selecteth and separateth himselfe from out the ranke of other creatures; to which his fellow-brethren and compeers, he cuts out and shareth their parts, and allotteth them what portions of meanes or forces he thinkes good. How knoweth he by the vertue of his vnderstanding the inward and secret motions of beasts? By what comparison from them to vs doth he conclude the brutishnesse, he ascribeth vnto them? When I am playing with my Cat, who knowes whether she have more sport in dallying with me, then I have in gaming with hir? We entertaine one another with mutuall apish trickes, If I have my houre to begin or to refuse, so hath she hers. *Plato* in setting forth the golden age vnder *Saturne*, amongst the chiefe advantages that man had then, reporteth the communication he had with beasts, of whom enquiring and taking instruction, he knew the true qualities, and differences of every one of them: by, and from whom he got an absolute vnderstanding and perfect wisdom, whereby he led a happier life, then we can doe. Can we have a better prooffe to judge of mans impudency, touching beasts? This notable Author was of opinion, that in the greatest part of the corporall forme, which nature hath bestowed on them, [...].he hath onely respected the vse of the Prognostications, which in his daies were thereby 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 vnderstand not one another. For, we vnderstand them no more then they vs. By the same reason, may they as well esteeme vs beasts, as we them. It is no great marvell if we vnderstand them not: no more doe we the cornish, the Welch, or Irish. Yet have some boasted that they vnderstood them, as *Apollonius Thyaneus, Melampus, Tiresias, Thales* and others. And if it be (as Cosmographers report) that there are Nations, who receive and admit a Dogge to be their King, it must necessarily follow, that they give a certaine interpretation to

his voice and moving. We must note the parity that is between vs. We have some meane vnderstanding of their senses, so have beasts of ours, about the same measure. They flatter and faune vpon vs, they threat, and entreate vs, so doe we them. Touching other matters, we manifestly perceive, that there is a full and perfect communication amongst them, and that not onely those of one same kinde vnderstand one another, but even such as are of different kinds

Et mutae pecudes, & denique secla ferarum Lucr. l. 5. 1069.  
Dissimiles suerunt voces variasque cluere  
Cùm metus aut dolor est, aut cùm iam gaudia gliscunt.

Whole heard's (though dombe) of beasts, both wilde and tame  
Vse diuers voices, diffrent sounds to frame,  
As joy, or grieffe, or feare,  
Vpspringing passions beare.

By one kinde of barking of a Dogge, the Horse knoweth he his angrie; by another voice of his, he is nothing dismaide. Even in beasts, that have no voice at all, by the reciprocall [251]kindenes, which we see in them, we easily inferre, there is some other meane of entercommunication: their jestures treat, and their motions discourse.

Non alia longè ratione atque ipsa videtur Ib. 1040.  
Protrahere ad gestum ■ pu [...]ros infantia linguae.

No otherwise, then, for they cannot speake,  
Children are drawne by signes their mindes to breake.

And why not, as well as our dombe-men dispute, argue, and tell histories by signes? I have seene some so ready, and so excellent in it, that (in good sooth) they wanted nothing to have their meaning perfectly vnderstood. 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, assigne meetings, and expresse any passion?

E'l silentio ancor suole  
Hauer prieghi & parole.

Silence also hath a way,  
Words and praiers to conuay.

What doe we with our hands? Doe we not sue and entreate, promise and performe, call men vnto vs, and discharge them, bid them farwell, and be gone, threaten, pray, beseech, deny, refuse, demaund, admire, number, confesse, repent, feare, be ashamed, doubt, instruct, command, encite, encourage, sweare, witnes, accuse, condemne, absolve, injurie, despise, defie, despight, flatter, applaude, blesse, humble, mocke, reconcile, recommend, exalt, shewgladnes, reioyce, complaine, waile, sorrowe, discomfort, dispaire, cry-out, forbid, declare silence and astonishment? And what not? With so great variation, and amplifying, as if they would contend with the tongue. And with our head, doe we not envite and call to-vs, discharge and send away, avowe, disavowe, be-lie, welcome, honour, worship, disdaine, demaund, direct, reioyce, affirme, deny, complaine, cherish, blandish, chide, yeeld, submit, brag, boast, threaten, exhort, warrant, assure, and enquire? What doe we with our eye-lids? And with our shoulders? To conclude, there is no motion, nor jesture, that doth nor speake, and speakes in a language, very easie, and without any teaching to be vnderstood: nay, which is more, it is a language common and publike to all: whereby it followeth (seeing the varietie, and severall vse it hath from others) that this must rather be deemed the proper and peculiar speech of humane nature. I omit that, which necessitie in time of neede; doth

particularly instruct and sodainely teach such as neede it; and the alphabets vpon fingers, and grammars by jestures; and the sciences, which are onely exercised and expressed by them: and the nations *Plinie* reporteth to have no other speech. An Ambassador of the Citie of *Abdera*, after he had talked a long time vnto *Agis* King of *Sparta*, said thus vnto him: O King, what answere wilt thou that I beare 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 one word. Is not this a kinde of speaking silence, and easie to be vnderstoode? And as for other matters; what sufficiencie is there in vs, that we must not acknowledge from the industrie and labors of beasts? Can there be a more formall, and better ordred policie, divided into so severall charges and offices, more constantly entertained, and better maintained, then that of Bees? Shall we imagine, their so orderly disposing of their actions, and mannaging of their vacations, have so proporcioned and formall a conduct without discourse, reason and forecast?

His quidam signis atque haec exempla sequuti, Virg. Georg. lib. 4. 219.  
Esse apibus partem divinae mentis, & haustus  
Aethereos dixere.

Some by these signes, by these examples moved,  
Said that in Bees there is and may be proved  
Some taste of heav'nly kinde,  
Part of celestiall minde.

The Swallows, which at the approach of spring-time, we see to prie, to search, and ferret all the corners of our houses; is it without judgement they seeke, or without discretion they chuse from out a thousand places, that which is fittest for them, to build their nests and lodgeing? And in that pretie-cunning contexture, and admirable framing of their houses, would birds rather fit themselves with a round, then a square figure with an obtuse, then a right [252]angle, except they knew both the commodities and effects of them? Would they (suppose you) first take water, and then clay, vnlesse they guessed that the hardnes of the one is softned by the moistnes of the other; Would they floore their palace with mosse or downe, except they fore-saw, that the tender parts of their yong-ons, shall thereby lie more soft and easie? Would they shroud and shelter themselves from stormie weather, and builde their cabbins toward the East, vnlesse they knew the different conditions of windes, and considered that some are more healthfull and safe for them, then some others? Why doth the Spider spin hir artificiall webbe thicke in one place, and thin in another? And now vseth one, and then another knot, except she had an imaginarie kinde of deliberation, fore-thought and conclusion? We perceive by the greater part of their workes, what excellencie beasts have overvs, and how weake our-arte and short our cunning-is, if we goe about to imitate them. We see notwithstanding, even in our grosest workes, what faculties we employ in them, and how our minde employeth the vttermost of hir skill and forces in them: why should we not thinke as much of them? Wherefore doe we attribute the workes, which excell what ever we can performe, either by nature or by arte, vnto a kinde of vnknowen, naturall and servill inclination? Wherein vnawars, we give them a great advantage over-vs, to inferre, that nature, led by a certaine loving kindnes, leadeth and accompanieth them (as it were by the hand) vnto all the actions and commodities of their life; and that she forsaketh and leaveth vs to the hazard of fortune; And by arte to quest, and finde-out those things, that are beho [...]uefull and necessarie for our preservation: and therewithall denieth vs the meanes, to attaine by any institution and contention of spirit, to the naturall sufficiencie of brute beasts: So that their brutish stupiditie, doth in all commodities exceede, whatsoever our divine intelligence can effect. Verely, by this accoumpt, we might have just cause and great reason, to terme hir a most unjust and partiall stepdame: But there is no such thing, our policy is not so deformed and disordered. *Nature hath generally imbraced all hir creatures:* And there is not any, but she hath amply stored with all necessary meanes for the preservation of their



being. For, the daily complaints, which I often heare men make (when the licence of their conceits, doth sometimes raise them above the clouds, and then head-long tumbling them downe even to the *Antipodes*) exclaing, that man is the onely forsaken, and out cast creature, naked on the bare earth, fast bound and swathed, having nothing to cover and arme himself withall, but the spoile of others; whereas Nature hath clad and mantled all other creatures, some with shels, some with huskes, with [...]ndes, with haire, with wooll, with stings, with bristles, with hides, with mosse, with fethers, with skales, with fle [...]ces, and with [...]ke, according as their quality might neede, or their condition require: And hath fenced and a [...]ed them, with clawes, with nailes, with talents, with hoofes, with teeth, with stings, and with hornes, both to assaile 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 creepe, to flie, to roare, to bellow, and to sing: where as man onely (Oh silly-wretched man) can neither goe, nor speake, nor shift, nor feed himselefe, vnlesse it be to whine and weepe onely, except he be taught.

Tum porro, puer vt saevis proiectus ab vndis Lucr. li. 5. 222  
 Navita, nudus humi iacet infans, indigus omni  
 Vitali auxilio, cum primùm in luminis oras  
 Nexibus ex alvo matris natura profudit,  
 Vagituque locum lugubri complet, vt aequum est  
 Cui tantùm in vita restet transire malorum:  
 At variae crescunt pecudes, armenta, feraeque,  
 Nec crepitacula eis opus est, nec cuiquam adhibenda est  
 Alma nutricis blanda atque infracta loquela:  
 Nec varias quaerunt vestes pro tempore caeli:  
 Denique non armis opus est, non moenibus altis  
 Queis sua tutentur, quando omnibus omnia large  
 Tellus ipsa parit, natur àque daedalarerum.

An infant, like a shipwracke ship-boy cast from seas,  
 Lies naked on the ground, and speechlesse, wanting all  
 The helpe of vitall spirit, when nature with small ease  
 [253] Of throw's, to see first light, from hir wombe lets him fall,  
 Then, as is meete, with morn'full cries he fills the place,  
 For whom so many ills remaine in his lives race.  
 But divers heards of tame and wilde beasts foreward spring,  
 Nor neede they rattles, nor of Nurces cockring-kinde  
 The flattering broken speech their lulluby neede sing.  
 Nor seeke they divers coates, as divers seasons binde.  
 Lastly no armour neede they, nor high-reared wall  
 Whereby to guard their owne, since all things vnto all  
 Worke-mastres nature doth produce,  
 And the earth largely to their vse.

Such complaints are false: There is a greater equality, and more vniforme relation in the policy of the world. Our skin is as sufficiently provided with hardnesse against the injuries of the wether, as theirs: Witnesse divers Nations, which yet never knew the vse of clothes. Our ancient Gaules were but slightly apparelled, no more are the Irish-men, our neighbours, in so cold a climate: Which we may better judge by our selves; for, all those parts of our bodie, we are pleased to leave bare to winde and wether, are by experience found able to endure it: If there be any weake part in vs, which in likely-hood should seeme to feare cold, it ought to be the stomake, where digestion is made: Our forefathers vsed to have it bare, and our Ladies (as dainty-nice as they be) are many times seene to goe open-breasted, as low as their navill. The bandes and swathes about our children are no more necessary: And the mothers of *Lacedemonia*, brought vp theirs in all liberty and loosenesse of moving their limmes without swathing or binding. Our whining, our puling and our weeping is common to most creatures, and divers of them are often seene to waile and grone along time after their birth, forsomuch

as it is a countenance fitting the weaknesse wherein they feele themselves, As for the vse of eating, and feeding, it is in vs, as in them, naturall and without teaching.

Sentit enim vim quisque suam quam possit abuti. Ibid. 104.

For every one soone-vnderstanding is  
Of his owne strength, which he may vse amisse.

Who will make question, that a child having attained the strength to feed himselfe, could not quest for his meate, and shift for his drinke? The earth without labour or tilling doth sufficiently produce and offer him as much as he shall neede. And if not at all times, no more doth she 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 plenteously stored with all maner of naturall meate and drinke, without care or labor, teach vs, that bread is not our onely foode: And that without toying, our common mother nature, hath with great plentie stored vs with whatsoever should be needfull for vs, yea, as it is most likely, more richly and amply, then now adaies she doth, that we have added so much art vnto it:

Et tellus nitidas fruges vinetáque [...]eta Lucr. l. 2. 1166.  
Sponte sua primùm mortalibus ipsa creauit,  
Ipsa dedit dulces foetus, & pabula laeta,  
Quae nunc vix nostro grandescunt aucta labore,  
Conterimúsque boves & vires agrorum:

The earth it selfe at first of th'owne accord  
Did men rich Vineyards, and cleane fruite affoord.  
It gave sweet of springs foode from sweeter soyle  
Which yet scarce greater grow for all our toyle,  
Yet tire therein we doe,  
Both Plough-mens strength and Oxen too.

The gluttonous excesse, and intemperate lavishnesse of our appetite exceeding all the inventions, we endeavour to finde out, wherewith to glut and cloy the same. As for armes and weapons, we have more, that be naturall vnto vs, then the greatest part of other beasts: We have more severall motions of limbs, and naturally, without teaching: We reape more serviceable vse of them, then they do: Those which are trained vp to fight naked, are seene head long to cast themselves into the same hazards and dangers, as we doe. If some beasts excell vs [254]in this advantage, we exceede many others: And the industrie to enable, the skill to fortifie, and the wit to shelter and cover our body by artificiall meanes, we have it by a kind of naturall instinct and teaching. Which to prove; the Elephant doth whet and sharpen histeeth, he vseth in warre (for he hath some he onely vseth for that purpose) which he heed fully spareth, and never puts them to other service: When Buls prepare themselves to fight, they raise, scatter, and with their feet, cast the dust about them: The wilde Boare whets his tuskes; when the *Ichneumon* is to grapple with the Crocodile, he walloweth his body in the mire, then lets the same drie and harden vpon him, which he doth so often, that at last the same becomes as hard and tough as any well compact crust, which serveth him in stead of a Cuirace. Why shall we not say, that it is as naturall for vs to arme our selves with wood and yron? As for speech, sure it is, that if it be not naturall it is not necessary. I beleeve neverthesse, that if a childe, bred in some vncouth solitarinesse, farre from haunt of people (though it were a hard matter to make triall of it) would no doubt have some kind of words to expresse, and speech to vtter 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 faculty, we see in them, when they seeme to complaine, to rejoyce, to call one vnto another for helpe, and bid one another to loving

copulation (as commonly they doe) by the vse of their voice, but a kind of speech? And shall not they speake among themselves, that speake and vtter their minde vnto vs, and we to them? How many waies speake we vnto our Dogges, and they seeme to vnderstand and answer vs? With another language, and with other names speake we vnto, and call them, then we doe our Birds, our Hogges, our Oxen, our Horses, and such like; and according to their different kindes we change our Idiome.

Cosi per entro loro schiera bruna  
S'ammusa i'vna con l'altra formica,  
Forse â spiar lor via, & lor fortuna.

So Ants amidst their sable-colored band  
One with another mouth to mouth confer,  
Hap'ly their way, or state to vnderstand.

Me seemeth that *Lactantius* doth not onely attribute speech vnto beasts, but also laughing. And the same difference of tongues, which according to the diversity of Countries is found amongst vs, is also found amongst beasts of one same kinde. *Aristotle* to that purpose alleageth the divers calles or pures of Partridges, according to the situation of their place of breeding:

—*variaeque volucres* Lucr. l. 5. 10 [...].  
Longè alias alio iaciunt in tempore voces,  
Et partim mutant cum tempestatibus vnâ  
Raucisones cantus.

And divers birds, send-forth much divers sounds  
At divers times, and partly change the grounds,  
Of their hoarse-sounding song,  
As seasons change along.

But it would be knowen, what language such a childe should speake: and what some report by divination, hath no great likely-hood. And if against this opinion, a man would alleage vnto me, that such as are naturally deafe, speake not at all: I answer, that it is not onely because they could not receive the instruction of the world by their eares, but rather in asmuch as the sense of hearing, whereof they are deprived, hath some affinity with that of speaking, both which with a naturall kinde of ligament or seame, hold and are fastned together: In such sort, as what we speake, we must first speake it vnto our selves, and before we vtter and send the same forth to strangers, we make it inwardly to sound vnto our eares. I haue said all this, to maintaine the coherency and resemblance, that is in all humane things, and to bring vs vnto the generall throng. We are neither aboue nor vnder the rest: what ever is vnder the coape of heaven (saith the wise man) runneth one law and followeth one fortune.

Indupedita suis fatalibus omnia vinclis. Ibid. 885.

All things enfolded are,  
In fatall bonds as fits their share.

[255]

Some difference there is, there are orders and degrees; but all is vnder the visage of one same nature.

—*res quaeque suo rit* [...] *procedit, & omnes* Ibid 932. *Foedere naturae cert* [...] *discrimina servant.*

All things proceed in their course, natures all  
Keepe difference, as in their league dothe fall.

Man must be forced, and marshalled within the listes of this policie. Miserable man with all his wit cannot in effect goe beyond it: he is embraced, and engaged, and as other creatures of his ranke are, he is subjected in like bondes, and without any prerogative or essentiall pre-excellencie, what ever Priviledge he assume vnto himselfe, he is of very meane condition. That which is given by opinion or fantasie 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 represent vnto him, both what is and what is not and what him pleaseth, false-hood and truth; it is an advantage bought at a very high rate, and whereof he hath litle reason to glorie: For thence springs the chieffest source of al the mischiefs that oppressehim, as sinne, sicknesse, irresolution, trouble and despaire. But to come to my purpose, I say therefore, there is no likely-hood, we should imagine, the beasts doe the very same things by a naturall inclination and forced genuitie, which we doe of our owne free-wil and industrie. Of the very same effects we must conclude alike faculties; and by the richest effects inferr the noblest faculties, and consequently acknowledge, that the same discourse and way, we hold in working, the very same, or perhaps some other better, doe beasts 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 naturall and vnavoideable condition, and most approaching to Divinitie, then regularly to worke and act, by, and through a casuall and rash libertie, and it is safer to leave the reignes of our conduct vnto nature, then vnto our selves. The vanitie of our presumption maketh vs rather to be beholding, and as it were endebted vnto our owne strength, for our sufficiency, then vnto hir liberalitie; and enrich other creatures with natural giftes, and yeeld those vnto them, that so we may en-noble and honour our selves with gifts purchased: as me thinketh, by a very simple humour: For, I would prize graces, and value gifts, that were altogether mine owne, and naturall vnto me, as much as I would those, I had begged, and with a long prentishippe, 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* vse when they will attempt to march vpon the yce of some frozen river, and to that end let hir go loose afore them, should we see hir running alongst the river side, approach hir eare close to the yce, to listen whether by any farre or neere distance, she may heare the noyse or roaring of the water, running vnder the same, and according as she perceiveth the ice thereby to be thicke or thinne, to goe either forward or backward; might not we lawfully judge, that the same discourse possesseth hir head, as in like case it would ours? And that it is a kinde of debating-reason and consequence, drawn from naturall sense ■ *Whatsoever maketh a noyse moveth ■ whatsoever mooveth, is not frozen, whatsoever is not frozen, is liquide; whatsoever is liquide, yeelds vnder any weight?* For to impute that only to a quicknes of the sense of hearing, without discourse or consequence, is but a fond conceipt, and cannot enter into my imagination. The like must be judged of so many wiles, and inventions, wherewith beasts save themselves from the snares, and scape the ba [...]ts 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 seize vpon them, to employ them to our service, and to vse them at our pleasure; it is but the same oddes we have one vpon another. To which purpose wee have our slaves or bond-men; and were not the Climacides, certaine women in *Syria*, which creeping on al foure, vpon the ground, served the Ladies in steed of footstoles or ladders to get vp into their coches? Where the greater part of free men for very slight 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 shalbe chosen, to bee slaine over hir husbands or lovers tombe. Have tyrants ever failed to find many men vowed to their devotion? Where some for an over-plusse, or superergation have added this necessity, that they must necessarily accompany them, as well in death, as in life. Whole hostes of men have thus tyed themselves vnto their Captaines. The tenor of the

oath ministred vnto [256]the schollers, that entered and were admitted the rude schoole of Roman Gladiators, emplied 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 fenser ought to endure for his maister: most religiously engaging both our bodie and soule to the vse of his service:

Ure meum si vis flamma caput, & pete ferr [...]Tibul. l. 1. el 9. 21.

Corpus, & intorto verbere [...]Iergaseca.

Burnetyrant (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 yeares ten thousand found, that entered and lost themselves in those schooles. When the Scithians buried their King, they, strangled over his dead body, first, the chiefest and best beloved of his Concubines, then his Cup-bearer, the Master of his horse, his Chamberlaine, the Vsher of his Chamber, and his master Cooke. And in his anniversary killed fiftie horse, mounted with fifty Pages, whom before, they had slaine with thrusting sharpe stakes into their fundament, which going vp along their chine-bone, came out at their throte. Whom thus mounted; they set in orderly ranckes about the tombe. The men that serve-vs, doe it better cheape, and for a lesse curious, and favourable entreating, then wee vse vnto birdes, vnto horses, and vnto dogges. What carke and toyle, apply we not our selves vnto for their sakes? Me thinks, the vilest and basest servants, will never doe that so willingly for their Masters, which Princes are glad to doe for their beastes. *Diogenes* seeing his kinsfolkes, to take care how they might redeeme him out of thraldome; they are fooles (said he) for, it is my Master, that governeth, keepeth feedeth and serveth mee: And such as keepe or entertaine beasts, may rather say they serve them, than that they are served of them. And if they have that naturall greater magnanimity, that never Lyon was seene to subject himselfe vnto another Lyon, nor one Horse vnto another Horse, for want of heart. As wee hunt after beastes, so Tygers and Lyons hunt after men, and have a like exercise one vpon another: Hounds over the Hare; the Pike or Luce over the Tench; the Swallowes over the Grasse-hoppers, and the Sparrow-hawkes over Blacke-birds and Larkes.

serpente ciconia pullos I [...]e▪ sat. 14. 74  
Nutrit, & inventâ per devia rura lacertâ,  
Et leporem aut capream famulae Iovis, & generosae  
In saltu venantur aves.

The storke hir yong-ones feedes with serpents pray,  
And lyzerts found some where out of the way.  
Ioves servants-Eagles, hawkes of nobler kinde,  
In forrests hunt, a hare or kidde to finde.

We share the fruits of our prey with our dogges and hawkes, as a meede of their paine and reward of their industry. As about *Amphipolis* in *Thrace*, faulkners, and wilde hawks divide their game equally: And as about the *Maeotide-fennes*, if fishers doe not very honestly leave behind them an even share of their fishings for the Woolves that range about those coasts, they presently runne and teare their nets. And, as we have a kinde of fishing, rather managed by sleight, then strength, as that of hooke and line about our Angling-rods, so haue beasts amongst themselves. *Aristotle* reporteth, that the Cuttle-Fish, casteth along got out of hir throte, which like a line she sendeth forth, and at her pleasure pulleth it in againe, according as she perceiveth some little fish come neere hir, who being close-hidden in the gravell or stronde, letteth him nibble or bite the end of it, and then by little and little drawes it

in vnto hir, vntill the Fish be so neere, that with a sodaine leape she may catch-it. Touching strength, there is no Creature in the world, open to so many wrongs and injuries as man: He neede not a Whale, an Elephant, nor a Crocodile, nor any such other wilde beast, of which one alone is of power to defeat a great number of men: seely lice are able to make *Silla* give over his Dictatorship: The hart and life of a mighty and triumphant Emperor, is but the breakfast of a seely little Worme. Why say we, that skill to discern, and knowledge to make choise (gotten by art, and acquired by discourse) of things good for this life, and availfull against sicknesse, and so distinguish of those which are hurtfull, and to know the vertue of Reubarbe, qualitie of Oake ferne, and operation of Polipodie, is only peculiar vnto man ■ [257]When we see the Goates of *Candia*, being shotte with an arrow, to choose from out a million of simples, the hearbe Dittamy or Garden-ginger, and therewith cure themselves; and the Tortoise having eaten of a Viper, immediatly to seek for Origan or wild Marjoram, to purge hirsselfe: the Dragon to run and cleare his eies with fenel: the Cranes with their bills to minister glisters of sea-water vnto themselves; the Elephants to pul out, not only from themselves and their fellowes, but also from their masters (witness that of King *Porus*, whom *Alexander* defeated) such j [...]v [...]lines or dartes, as in fight have beene thirled or shot at them ■ so nimbly and so cunningly, as our selves could never do it so easily, and with so little paine: Why say wee not likewise that that is science, and prudence in them? For, if to de pres [...]e them, some would alleadge, 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 vnto them, then to vs, for the honour of so assured a schoole-mistris. *Chrysippus*, albeit in other things as disdainful 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 severall wayes, in search or quest of his Master, whom he had lost, or in pursuite of some prey, that hath escaped him, goeth senting first one way, and then another, and having assured himself of two, because he findeth not the tracke of what he hunteth-for, without more adoe, furiously betakes himselfe to the third; he is enforced to confesse, that such a dogge must necessarily discourse thus with himselfe. *I have followed my Masters footing hit her to, hee must of necessity passe by one of these three wayes; it is neither this nor that, then consequently hee is gone this other.* And by this conclusion or discourse assuring himselfe, comming to the third path, hee vsetli his sense no more, nor soundes-it any longer, but by the power of reason suffers himselfe violently to be caried through-it. This meere logicall trick, and this vse of divided and conjoynd propositions, and of the sufficient numbring of parts: Is it not as good, that the dog know it by himselfe, as by *Trapezuntius* his logicke? Yet are not beastes altogether vnapt to be instructed after our maner. We teach Blacke-birds, Starlines, Ravens, Plots, and Pasots to chat; and that facilitie we perceive in them, to lend vs their voyce so supple, and th [...] wind so tractable, that so wee may frame and bring-it to a certaine number of letters and silables, witnesseth, they have a kind of inward reason, which makes them so docile, and willing to learne. I thinke every man is cloid and wearied [...], with seeing so many apish and mimike trickes, that juglers teach their Dogges, as the dances, where they misse not one eadence of the sounds or notes they heare: Marke but the divers turnings, and severall kinds of motions, which by the commandement of their bare wordes they make them performe: But I wonder not a little at the effect, which is ordinary amongst vs; and that is, the dogs which blinde men vse, both in Cittie and Country: I have observed how sodainly they will stoppe when they come before some dores, where they are wont to receive almes; how carefully they will avoyde the shocke of Cartes and Coaches, even when they have roume enough to passe by them selves. I have seene some, going along a Towne-ditch, leave a plaine and even path, and take a worse, that so they might draw-their Master from the ditch. How could a man make the dog conceive, his charge was only to looke to his masters safetie, and for his service [...]o despise his owne commoditie and good? And how should he have the knowledge, that such a path would be broad enough for him, but not for a blinde man? Can all this be conceived without reason? We must not forget what

*Plutarke* affirmeth to have seene a dog in *Rome* doe, before the Emperour *Vespasian* the father, in the Theatre of *Marcellus*. This Dogge served a jugler, who was to play a fiction of many faces, and sundry countenances, there he also was to act a part. Amongst other things, he was for a long while to counterfet and faine himselfe dead, because he had eaten of a certaine drugges: having swallowed a peece of bread, which was supposed to be the drug, he began sodainly to stagger and shake, as if he had beene giddie, then stretching and laying himselfe along, as stiffe as if hee were starke-dead, suffered himselfe to be dragged and haled from one place to another, according to the subject and plot of the play, and when he knew his time, first he began faire and softly to stirre, as if he were rouzed out of a dead slumber, then lifting vp his head, hee looked and stared so gastly, that all the by-standers were amazed. The Oxen, which in the Kings gardens of *Susa* were taught to water them, and to draw water out of deepe Welles, turned certaine great wheeles, to which were fastned great buckets (as in many places of *Languedoke* is commonly seene) and being every one appoynted to draw just a hundred turnes a day, they [258] were so accustomed to that number, as it was impossible by any compulsion to make them draw one more, which taske ended they would suddenly stop. We are growne striplings before we can tell a hundred; and many Nations have lately beene discovered, that never knew what numbers meant. More discourse is required to teach others, then to be taught. And omitting what *Democritus* judged and proved, which is, that beastes have instructed vs in most of our Artes: As the Spider to weave and sew, the Swallow to build, the Swan, and the Nightingale musicke, and divers beastes, by imitating them, the Arte of Physicke: *Aristotle* is of opinion, that Nightingales teach their yoong-ons to sing, wherein they employ both long time and much care: whence it followeth, that those which we keepe tame in Cages and have not had leasure to goe to their Parents schoole, lose much grace in their singing. Whereby we may conclude, they are much amended by discipline and study. And amongst those that run wilde, their song is not all one, nor alike. Each one hath learnt either better or worse, according to his capacity. And so jealous are they in their prentise-ship, that to excell one another, they will so stoutly contend for the mastery, that many times, such as are vanquished die; their wind and strength sooner failing then their voice. The yoong-ones wil very sadly sit recording their lesson, and are often seene labouring how to imitate certain songnotes: The Scholler listneth attentively to his Masters Lesson, and carefully yeeldeth account of it; now one and then another shall hold his peace: Marke but how they endeavour to amend their faults, and how the elder striveth to reprove the yoongest. *Arrius* protesteth to have seene an Elephant, who on every thigh having a Cimball hanging, and one fastned to his truncke, at the found of which, all other Elephants danced in a round, now rising aloft, then lowting full low at certaine cadences, even as the instrument directed them, and was much delighted with the harmony. In the great shewes of *Rome*, Elephants were ordinarily seene, taught to moove and dance at the sound of a voice, certaine dances, wherein were many strange shifts, enter-changes, caprings, and cadences, very hard to be learned. Some have beene noted to konne and practise their lessons, vsing much study and care, as being loath to be chidden and beaten of their masters. But the tale of the Piot is very strange, which *Plutarke* confidently witnesseth to have seene: This Iay was in a Barbers shop of *Rome*, and was admirable in counterfaiting with hir voice whatsoever she heard: It fortun'd one day, that certaine Trumpeters staid before this shop, and there sounded a good while; and being gone, all that day, and the next after, the Piot began to be very sad, silent, and melancholy, whereat all men marvelled, and surmized that the noise or clang of the Trumpets had thus affrighted and dizzied hir, and that with hir hearing she had also lost hir voice. But at last they found, she was but in a deepe study, and dumpish retracting into hir selfe, exercising hir minde, and preparing hir voice, to represent the sound, and expresse the noise of the Trumpets she had heard: And the first voice she vttered was that, wherein she perfectly expressed their straines, their closes, and their changes: having by hir new Prentiship altogether quit, and as it were, scorned what ever shee could prattle before. I will not omit to alleadge another example of a Dogge, which *Plutarke* also saith to have seene (as

for any order or methode, I know very well I doe but confound it, which I observe no more in ranging these examples, than I doe in all the rest of my businesse) who being in a ship, noted that this Dogge was in great perplexity how to get some Oyle out of a deepe Pitcher, which by reason of it's narrow mouth, he could not reach with his tongue, got him presently some Pibble-stones, and put so many into the Iarre, that he made the Oyle come vp so neare the brimme, as he could easily reach and licke some. And what is that but the effect of a very substill spirit? It is reported, that the Ravens of *Barbary* will doe the like, when the water they would drinke is too low. This action doth somewhat resemble that, which *Iuba* a King of that Nation relateth of their Elephants; that when through the wiles of those who chase them, any one chanceth to fall into certaine deepe pittes, which they prepare for them, and to deceive them, they cover over with reedes, shrubs, and boughes, his fellowes will speedily with all diligence bring great store of stones and peeces of timber, that so they may helpe to recover him out againe. But this beast hath in many other effects, such affinity with mans sufficiency, that would I particularly trace out what experience hath taught, I should easily get an affirmation of what I so ordinarily maintaine, which is, that there is more difference found betweene such and such a man, than betweene such a beast and such a man. An Elephants keeper in a private house of *Syria*, was wont every meale [259]to steale away halfe of the allowance which was allotted him; it fortun'd on a day, his master would needes feede him himselfe, and having poured that just measure of barley, which for his allowance hee had prescribed him, into his manger: the Elephant sternely eying his master, with his trunk divided the provender in two equall partes, and laide the one a side, by which he declared the wrong his keeper did him. An other 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 meat in it for his keepers dinner was seething over the fire, and filled it vp with asnes. These are but particular effects: But that which all the world hath seene, and all men know, 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, farre greater effects, than now adaiies we do by our great Ordonance, which in a maner holds their place in a ranged battell (such as have any knowledge in ancient Histories may easily guesse it to be true)

—*si quidem Tyrio servire solebant* [...]. sat. 12. 107  
 Anibalt, & nostris ducibus, regi (que) Molosso  
 Horum maiores, & dorso ferre cohortes,  
 Partem aliquam belli, & euntem in praelia turmam.

Their elders vsde great *Hannibal* to steede  
 Our Leaders, and *Molossian* Kings at neede,  
 And on their backe to beare strong-guarding Knights,  
 Part of the warre, and troupes addrest to fights.

A man must needes rest assured of the confidence they had in these beasts, and of their discourse, yeelding the front of a battell vnto them; where the least stay they could have made, by reason of the hugenesse and weight of their bodies, and the least amazement that might have made them turne head vpon their owne men, had bin sufficient to lose all. And few examples have been noted, that ever it fortun'd they turned vpon their owne troupes, whereas we head-long throng one vpon another, and so are put to rowt: They had charge given them, not onely of one simple mooving, but of many and severall parts in the combate: As the Spaniards did to their dogges in their new conquest of the *Iudias*; 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 earnestnesse and eagernes: 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 neerely checke, what we ordinarily see in those beasts that live amongst vs, shall in them



finde as wonderful effects, as those, which with so much toile are collected in far countries and passed ages. It is one same nature, which stil doth keep 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, whose language, because we could in no wise vnderstand, and that their fashions, their countenance, and their clothes did altogether differ from ours; who of vs did not deeme them brutish and savage? who did not impute their mutenesse vnto stupiditie or beastlines, and to see them ignorant of the French tongue, of our kissing the handes, of our low-lowting courtesies, of our behaviour and carriage, by which, without contradiction, humane nature ought to take her patterne? Whatsoever seemeth strange vnto vs, and we vnderstand not, we blame and condemne. The like befalleth vs in our judging of beasts. They have diverse qualities, which somewhat simbolize with ours: from which, we may comparatively draw some conjecture, but of such as are peculiar vnto them, what know wee what they are? Horses, Dogges, Oxen, Sheepe, Birdes, and the greater number of sensitive cratures that live amongst vs, knowe our voyce, and by it suffer themselves to be directed. So did the Lamprey which *Crassus* had, and came to him when he called it; so do the Eeles that breed in *Arethusaes* fontaine. And my selfe have seene some fish-pondes, where, at a certaine crie of those that kept them, the fish would presently come to shoare, where they were wont to be fed.

—nomen habent, & ad magistri Mart. [...]. 4. epig. 30. 6. Uocem quisque sui venit citatus.

They have their proper names, and every one  
Comes at his masters voyce, as call'd vpon

[260]

By which we may judge, and conclude, that Elephants have some apprehension of religion, forsomuch as after diverse washings and purifications, they are seene to lift vp their truncke, as we doe our armes, and at certaine hours of the day, without any instruction, of their owne accorde, holding their eies fixed towardes the Sunne-rising, fall into a long meditating contemplation: yet, because wee see no such apparance in other beasts, may wee rightly conclude, that they are altogether voide of religion, and may not take that in payment, which is hidden from vs. As we perceive something in that action, which the Phylosopher *Cleanthes* well observed, because it somewhat drawes neere vnto ours. He saw (as himselfe reporteth) a company of Emmets goe from their nest, bearing amongst them the body of a dead Ant, toward another Emmets nest, from which many other Ants came, as it were to meete them by the way to parly with them, who after they had continued together a while, they which came last, returned backe, to consult (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 come, brought vnto the other a worme from their habitation, as for a ransome of the dead, which worme the first company tooke vpon their backs, and carried it home, leaving the dead body vnto the other. Loe heere the interpretation that *Cleanthes* gave it: Witnessing thereby, that those creatures which have no voice at all, have neverthelesse mutual commerce, and enterchangeable communication, whereof if we be not partakers, it is onely our fault; and therefore doe we fondly to censure it. And they yet produce divers other effects, farre surpassing our capacity, and so farre out of the reach of our imitation, that even our thoughts are vnable to conceive them. Many hold opinion, that in the last and famous sea-fight, which *Antonie* lost against *Augustus*, his Admirall-gally was in hir course staid by that little fish, the Latines call *Remora*, and the English a Sucke-stone, whose property is, to stay any ship he can fasten himselfe vnto. And the Emperour *Caligula*, sailing with a great fleete along the coast of *Romania*, his owne Gally was suddenly staid by such a fish, which he caused to be taken sticking fast to the

keele moodily raging, that so little a creature had the power to force both sea and winde, and the violence of all his oares, onely with hir bill sticking to his Gally (for it is a kinde of shell-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 *Cyzicum*, whilom purchased vnto himselfe the reputation to be an excellent Mathematician, because he had learn't the quality of the Hedge-hogge, whose property is to build his hole or denne, open diverse waies, and toward severall windes, and fore-seeing rising stormes, he presently stoppeth the holes that way; which thing the foresaid Citizen heedfully observing, would in the City foretell any future storme, and what winde should blow. The Cameleon taketh the colour of the place wherein he is. The fish called a Pourcontrell, or Manie-feete, changeth himselfe into what colour he lists, as occasion offereth it selfe; that so he may hide himselfe from what he feareth, and catch what he seeketh for. In the Camelion it is a change proceeding of passion, but in the Pourcontrell a change in action; we our selves doe often change our colour, and altar our countenance, through sudden feare, choler, shame, and such like violent passions, which are wont to alter the hew of our faces: but it is by the effect of sufferance, as in the Cameleon. The jaundise hath power to make vs yelow, but it is not in the disposition of our wils. The effects we perceive in other creatures, greater than ours, witnesse some more excellent faculty in them, which is concealed from vs; as it is to be supposed, diverse others of their conditions and forces are, whereof no apperance or knowledge commeth to vs. Of all former praedictions, the ancientest and most certaine were such as were drawn from the flight of birds: we have nothing equall vnto it, nor so admirable. The rule of fluttering, and order of shaking their wings, by which they conjecture the consequences of things to ensue, must necessarily be directed to so noble an operation by some excellent and supernaturall meane: For, it is a wresting of the letter, to attribute so wondrous effects, to any naturall decree, without the knowledge, consent, or discourse of him, that causeth and produceth them, and is a most false opinion: Which to proove, the Torpedo or Cramp-fish hath the property to benumme and astonish, not onely the limbes of those that touch it, but also theirs, that with any long pole or fishing line touch any part thereof, shee doth transmit and convey a kinde of heavie numming into the hands of those that stirre or handle the same: Moreover, it is averred, that if any matter be cast vpon them, the astonishment [261]is sensibly felt to gaine vpwrd vntill it come to the handes, and even through the water it astonisheth the feeling-sence. Is not this a wonderfull power? Yet is it not altogether vnprofitable for the Cramp-fish, she both knowes and makes vse of it: for to catch prey she pursueth, she is seene to hide herselfe vnder the mudde, that, other fishes swimming over hir, strucken and benumbed with hir exceeding coldnesse, may fall into hir clawes. The Cranes, Swallowes, and other wandering birdes, changing their abode, according to the seasons of the yeare, shew evidently the knowledge they have of their fore divining faculty, and often put the same in vse. Hunters assure vs, that to chuse the best dogge, and which they purpose to keepe from our a litter of other yoong whelpes, there is no better meane than the damme herselfe: for, if they be remooved from out their kennell, him that she first brings th [...]ther againe, shall alwaies proove the best; or if one but encomasse hir kennell with fire, looke which of hir whelpes she first seeketh to save, is vndoubtedly the best: whereby it appeareth, they have a certaine vse of Prognosticating, that we have not; or else some hidden vertue, to judge of their yoong ones, different and more lively then ours. The manner of all beasts breeding, engendering, nourishing, working, mooving, living and dying, being so neere to ours, what ever we abridge from their mooving causes, and adde to our condition above theirs, can no way depart from our reasons discourse. For a regiment of our health, Phisitious propose the example of beasts manner of life and proceeding vnto vs: for this common saying is alwaies in the peoples mouth:

Tenez chauds les pieds. & la teste, Ioub. err. p [...]p. pur. 2. pag. 140  
 Au demeurant vivez en beste.

Keepe warme (t'is meete) thy head and feete:  
In all the rest, live like a beast.

Generation is the chiefest naturall action: we have a certaine disposition of some members, fittest for that purpose; neverthelesse, they bid vs range our selves vnto a brutish situation and disposition, as most effectuall:

—*more ferarum*, Lucr. l. 4. 1256  
Quadrupedúm (que) magis ritu, plerúmque putantur  
Concipere vxores: quia sic loca sumere possunt,  
Pectoribus positis, sublati semina lumbis.

And reject those indiscreete and insolent motions, which women have so luxuriously found out, as hurtfull: conforming them to the example and vse of beastes of their sex, as more modest and considerate.

Nam mulier prohibet se concipere, at que repugnat, Ibed. 1260.  
Clunib [...] ipsa viri Venerem si laet a retractet,  
Atque exessat [...] ciet omni pectore fluctus,  
Eij [...] it enim sulci recta regione viáque  
Vomerem, atque locis avertit [...] jeminis ictum.

If it be justice to give every one his due, beastes which serve, love, and defend their benefactors, pursue and outrage strangers, and such as offend them, by so doing they represent some shew of our justice, as also in reserving a high kinde of equality in dispensing of what they have to their yoong-ones. Touching friendship, without all comparison, they professe it more lively and shew it more constantly, then men. *Hircanus* a dog of *Lysimachus* the king, his master being dead, without eating or drinking would never come from off his bed, and when the dead corpes was remooved thence, he followed it, and lastly flung himselfe into the fire, where his master was burned. As did also the dogge of one called *Pyrrhus*, who after he was dead, would never budge from his masters couch, and when he was remooved, suffered himselfe to be carried away with him, and at last flung himselfe into the fire wherein his master was consumed. There are certaine inclinations of affection, which without counsell of reason arise somtimes in vs, proceeding of a casuall temerity, which some call *Sympathic*: beastes as wel as men are capable of it. We see horses take a kinde of acquaintance one of another, so that often, travelling by the high-way, or feeding together, we have much ado to keep them asunder, wee see them bend and applie their affections to some of their fellowes colours, as if it were vpon a certaine visage; and when they meete with any such, with signes of joy, and demonstration of good will, to joine and accost them, and to hate aud shunne some other formes and colours. Beastes, as well as wee, have choise in their loves, and are [262]very nice in chusing of their mates. They are not altogether voide of our extreame and vnappesable jealousies. Lustful desires are either natural, and necessary, as eating and drinking; or else naturall and not necessary, as the acquaintance of males and females: or else neither necessary nor naturall: Of this last kinde are almost all mens: For, they are all superfluous and artificiall. It is wonderfull to see with how little, nature will be satisfied, and how little she hath left for vs to be desired. The preparations in our Kitchens, doe nothing at all concerne hir lawes. The Stoikes say, that a man might very well sustaine himselfe with one Olivea day. The delicacy of our wines, is no part of hir lesson, no more is the surcharge and relishing, which we adde vnto our lecherous appetites.

—neque illa Hor. ser. li 1. sar. 2 30. Magno prognatum deponit consule cunnum.

These strange lustfull longings, which the ignorance of good, and a false opinion have possest vs with, are in number so infinite, that in a maner they expell all those which are naturall: even as if there were so many strangers in a City, that should either banish and expell all the naturall inhabitants thereof, or vtterly suppress their ancient power and authority, and absolutely vsurping the same, take possession of it. Brute beasts are much more regulate then we; and with more moderation containe themselves within the compasse, which nature hath prescribed them: yet not so exactly, but that they have some coherency with our riotous licenciousnesse. And even as there have beene found certaine furious longings and vnnaturall desires, which have provoked men vnto the love of beastes, so have diverse times some of them beene drawne to love vs, and are possessed with monstrous affections from one kind to another: witness the Elephant, that in the love of an hearb-wife, in the city of *Alexandria*, was corivall with *Aristophanes*, the Grammarian; who in all offices pertayning to an earnest woer and passionate suter, yeelded nothing vnto him: For, walking thorow the Fruite-market, he would here and there snatch vp some with his truncke, and carry them vnto hir: as neere as might be he would never loose the sight of hir: and now and then over hir band put his truncke into hir bosome, and feele hir breasts. They also report of a Dragon, that was exceedingly in love with a yong maiden; and of a Goose in the City of *Asope*, which dearely loved a yong childe: also of a Ramme that belonged to the Musitian *Glausia*. Doe we not daily see Munkies ragingly in love with women, and furiously to pursue them? And certaine other beastes given to love the males of their owne sex? *Oppianus* and others report some examples, to shew the reverence and manifest the awe, some beasts in their marriages, beare vnto their kindred: but experience makes vs often see the contrary:

— — *nec habetur turpe iuvencae* Orid. *Metam.* lib. 10. 325.  
 Ferre patrem tergo: fit equo sua filia coniux:  
 Quàsq̄ creavit, init pecudes caper: ipsaque cuius  
 Semine concepta est, ex illo concipit ales

To beare hir Sire the Heifer shameth not:  
 The Horse takes his owne Fillies maiden-head:  
 The Goate gets them with yong, whom he begot:  
 Birds breed by them, by whom themselves were bred,

Touching a subtil pranke and witty tricke, is there any so famous as that of *Thales* the Philosophers Mule, which, laden with salt, passing through a River chanced to stumble, so that the sacks she carried were all wet, and perceiving the salt (because the water had melted it) to grow lighter, ceased not, assoone as she came neere any water, together with hir loade to plunge hirselfe therein, vntill hir master, being aware of hir craft, commanded hir to be laden with wooll, which being wet became heavier; the Mule finding hirselfe deceived, vsed hir former policy no more. There are many of them, that lively represent the visage of our avarice, who with a greedy kinde of desire endeavour to surprise whatsoever comes within their reach, and though they reape no commodity, nor have any vse of it, to hide the same very curiously. As for husbandry, they exceede vs, not only in fore-sight to spare, and gather together for times to come, but have also many parts of the skill belonging there vnto. As the Ants, when they perceive their corne to grow mustie, and graine to be sowre, for feare it should rot and putrifie, spread the same abroad before their neastes, that so it may aire and drie. But the caution they vse in gnawing, and prevention they employ in paring their [263]graines of wheate, is beyond all imagination of mans wit: Because wheat doth not alwaies 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 storehouse, for their sustenance, they part 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 vse it for an argument of some prerogative, or otherwise for a testimonie of our imbecilitie and imperfection, as in truth, the science wee vse to defeate and kill one another,

to spoile and vtterly to overthrow our owne kinde, it seemeth, it hath not much to make it selfe to be wished-for in beastes, that have it not.

—*quando leoni* Iuven. sat. 1 [...]. 160.  
Fortioreripuit vitam leo, quo nemore vnquam  
Expiravit aper maioris dentibus apri?

When hath a greater Lion damnifide  
A lions life? in what wood ever di'de,  
A bore by tusks and gore,  
Of any greater bore?

Yet are not they altogether exempted from it: witsse the furious encounters of Bees, and the hostile enterprises of the Princes and Leaders of the two contrary Armies.

—*saepe duobus* Virg. Georg. l. 4. 67.  
Regibus incessit magno discordia motu,  
Continuo (que) animos vulgi & trepidantia bello  
Corda licet longè praesciscere.—

Oft-times twixt two no great Kings great dissention  
With much adoe doth set them at contention;  
The vulgare mindes strait may you see from farre,  
And hearts that tremble at the thought of warre.

I nevr marke this diuine description, but mee thinkes I reade humane foolishnesse and wordly vanitie painted in it. For, these motions of warre, which out of their horror and astonishent breed this tempest of cries, and clang of sounds in vs:

Fulgur vbi ad caelumse tollit, tota (que) circum Iuer. l. 2. 326.  
Aere renidescit tellus, subter (que) virum vi  
Excitur pedibus sonitus, clamore (que) montes  
Icti reiectant voces ad sidera mundi:

Where lightning raiseth it selfe to the skies,  
The earth shines round with armour, soundes doe rise  
By mens force vnder feere, wounded with noyse  
The hilles to heav'n reverberate their voyce.

This horror-causing aray of so many thousands of armed men, so great furie, earnest fervor, and vndaunted courage, it would make one laugh to see by how many vaine occasions it is raised and set on fire, and by what light means it is againe suppressed and extinct.

—*Paridis propter narratur amorem* Hor. l. 1. epi. 2. [...]. Grae [...]ta Barbariediro  
collisa duello.

For *Paris* lustfull love (as Stories tell)  
All *Greece* to direfull warre with *Asia* fell:

The hatred of one man, a spight, a pleasure, a familiar suspect, or a jealousie; causes, which ought not to moove two scolding fish-wives to scratch one another, is the soule and motive of all this hurly-burly. Shall we beleeeve them that are the principall authors and causes therof? Let vs but hearken vnto the greatest and most victitorious Emperour, and the mightiest that ever was, how pleasantly he laughs, and wittily he plaies, at so many battells and bloody fights, hazarded both by sea and land, at the blood and lives of five hundred thousand soules which followed his fortune, and the strength and riches of twoo parts of the

world consumed and drawne drie for the service of his enterprise:

Quòd futuit Glaphyran Antonius, hanc mihi poenam Mart. l. 11. epig. 21.  
Fulvia constituit, se quoque vt futuam:  
Fulviam ego vt futuam? quid si me Manius oret  
Paedicem, faciam? non puto, si sapiam.  
[264] Aut futue, aut pugnemu [...]ait: quid si mihivita  
Charior est ipsa mentula? Signa canant.

(I vse my Latine somewhat boldly, but it is with that leave which yon have given mee,) This vaste huge bodie hath so many faces and severall motion, which seeme to threat both heauen and earth.

Quám multi Lybico volvuntur marmore fluctus Virg Ae [...] l. 7. 717.  
Saevus vbi Orion hyberu [...]s conditur vndis:  
Velcùm sole novo densae torrentur arist [...],  
Aùt Hermi campo, aut Lyciae flaventibus arvis,  
Scuta sonant, pulsus (que) pedum tremet excita tellus.

As many waves, as rowle in Affricke marble-soundes,  
When fierce *Oryon* hides in Winter waves his head:  
Or when thicke-eares of Corne are parch't by Sunne new-spredded.  
In *Hermus* fruitfull fields, or *Lycaees* yellow grounds,  
With noyse of shields and feete, the trembling earth so sounds.

*This many-headed, divers-armed, and furiously-raging-monster, is man; wretched weake and miserable man: whom if you consider well, what is he, but a crawling, and ever-moving Antes-neast [...]*

It nigrum campis agmen:— Virg. Aen. l. 4. 404.

The sable-coloured band,  
Marches along the Land.

A gust of contrarie winds, the croking of a flight of Ravens, the false palse of a Horse, the casual flight of an Eagle, a dreame, a sodaine voyce, a false signe, a mornings mist, an evening fogge, are enough to overthrow, sufficient to overwhelme and able to pul him to the ground. Let the Sunne but shine hote vpon his face, hee faintes and swelters with heate: Cast but a little dust in his eyes, as to the Bees mentioned by our Poet, all our ensignes, all our legions, yea great *Pompey* himselfe in the forefront of them is overthrowne and put to route (For as I remember it was he whom *Sertorius* vanquished in *Spaine*, with all those goodly armes.) This also served *Eumenes* against *Antigonus*, and *Surena* against *Crassus*:

Hi motus animorum, at (que) haec certamina tanta, Virg. Georg. li. 4 36.  
Pulveris exigui tactu compressa quiescent.

These stomake-motions, these contentions great,  
Clam'd with a little dust, strait loose their heate,

Let-vs but vncouple some of our ordinary flies, and let loose a few gnats amongst them, they shall have both the force to scatter, and courage to consume him. The Portugalls not long since beleagring the City of *Tamly*, in the territory of *Xiatine*, the inhabitants thereof, brought great store of Hives, )whereof they have plentie) vpon their walls: And with fire drove them so forcible vpon their enemies, who as vnable to abide their assaults, and endure their stingings, left their enterprize. Thus by this new kinde of helpe was the liberty of the Towne gained, and victory purchased; with so happy successe, that in their retreating, there

was not one townes-man found wanting. *The soules of Emperours and Coblers are all cast in one same mould.* Considering the importance of Princes actions, and their weight, wee perswade our selves, they are brought forth by some as weighty and important causes; wee are deceived: They are mooved, stirred and remooved in their motions, by the same springs and wardes, that wee are in ours. The same reason that makes vs chide and braule, and fall out with anie of our neighboures, causeth a warre to follow betweene Princes; The same reason that makes vs whip or beate a lackey, maketh a Prince (if hee apprehend it) to spoyle and waste a whole Province. *They have as easie a will as we, but they can doe much more.* Alike desires perturbe both a skinne-worme, and an Elephant. *Touching trust and faithfulnessse there is no creature in the worlde so treacherous as man.* Our histories report the earnest pursuite and sharpe chase, that some Dogges have made for the death of their masters. King *Pirrhus* finding a Dog, that watched a dead man, and vnderstanding he had done so three daies and nights together, commanded the corps to be enterred, and tooke the Dog along with him. It fortun'd one day (as *Pirrhus* was survaying the Generall Musters of his Army) the Dog perceiving in that multitude, the man who had murthered his maister, loud-barking, and with great rage ran furiously vpon him; by which signes he furthered and procured his maisters revenge, which by way of justice, was shortly executed. Even so did the Dogge belonging [265]to *Hesiodus*, surnamed the wise, having convicted the children of *Canister of Naupactus*, of the murther committed on his Masters person. Another Dogge being appointed to watch a Temple in *Athens*, having perceived a sacrelegious theefe, to carrie 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-soever he went; daie-light being come, he kept himselfe a loof-off, but never lost the sight of him: if he offered him meat, he vtterly refused it; but if any passenger chanced to come by, on them he fawned, with wagging his taile, and tooke whatever they offered him; If the theefe staid to rest himselfe, he also stayed in the same place: The newes of this Dogge being come to the Temple-keepers, they as they went along, enquiring of the Dogs haire and colour, pursued his tracke so long, that at last they found both the Dog and the theefe in the Citie of *Cromyon*, whom they brought backe to *Athens*, where for his offence he was severely punished. And the judges in acknowledgement of the Dogges good office, at the Cities charge appointed him for his sustenance a certaine daily measure of Corne, and enjoyned the Priests of the Temple, carefully to looke vnto him. *Plutarke* affirmeth this storie to be most true, and to have hapned in his time. Touching gratitude and thankfulnessse, (for me thinks we have need to further this word greatly) this onely example shall suffice, of which *Appion* reporteth to have been aspectator himselfe. One day (saith he) that the Senate of *Rome*, (to please and recreate the common people) caused a great number of wilde beasts to be baited, namely huge great Lions, it so fortun'd, that there was one amongst the rest, who by reason of his furious and stately carriage, of his vnmatched strength, of his great limmes, and of his loude, and terror-causing roaring, drew all by-standers eyes to gaze vpon him. Amongst other slaves, that in sight of all the people were presented to encounter with these beasts, there chanced to be one *Androdus of Dacia*, who belonged vnto a Roman Lord, who had been Consull. This huge Lion, having eyed him a far off, first made a suddaine stop, as stricken into a kind of admiration, then with a milde and gentle countenance, as if he would willingly have taken acquaintance of him, faire and softly approached vnto him: Which done, and resting, assured he was the man he tooke him for, begun fawningly to wagge his taile, as dogges doe that fawne vpon their new-sound masters, and licke the poore and miserable slaves hands and thighes, who through feare was almost out of his wits and halfe dead. *Androdus* at last taking hart of grace; and by reason of the Lions mildenesse having rouzed vp his spirits, and wishly fixing his eies vpon him, to see whether he could call him to remembrance; it was to all beholders a singular pleasure to observe the love, the joy, and blandishments, ech endeavored to enter-shew one another. Whereat the people raising a loud crie, and by their shouting and clapping of hands seeming to be much pleased; the Emperour willed the slave to be brought

before him, as desirous to vnderstand of him the cause of so strange and seld-seene an accident: Who related this new, and wonderfull storie vnto him.

My master (said he) being Proconsull in *Affrica*, forsomuch as he caused me every day to be most cruelly beaten, and held me in so rigorous bondage, I was constrained, as being wearie of my life, to run away: And safely to scape from so eminent a person, and who had so great authoritie in the Countrie, I thought it best to get me into the desert, and most vnfrequented wildernesses of that region, with a full resolution, if I could not compasse the meanes to sustaine my selfe, to finde one way or other, with violence to make my selfe away. One day, the Sunne about noone-tide being extreemly hote, and the scorching heat thereof intollerable, I fortun'd to come vnto a wilde vnhanted cave, hidden amongst crags, and almost inaccessible, and where I imagined no footing had ever been; therein I hid my selfe: I had not long been there, but in comes this Lion, with one of his pawes sore hurt, and bloody-goared, wailing for the smart, and groaning for the paine he felt; at whose arrivall, I was much dismaide, but he seeing me lie close-cowring in a corner of his den, gently made his approaches vnto me, holding forth his goared paw toward me, and seemed with shewing the same humbly to sue, and suppliantly 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 shakingoff all feare, first I wrung and crusht his sore, and caused the filth and matter, which therein was gathered, to come forth; then, as gently as for my hart I could, I cleansed, wiped, and dried the same. He feeling some ease in his griefe, and his paine to cease, still holding his foote betweene my hands, began to sleep and take some rest. Thence forward he and I lived [266]together, the full space of three years in his den, with such meat as he shifted-for: For, what beasts he killed, or what prey soever he tooke, he ever brought home the better part, 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 kinde of brutish life, the Lion being one day gone to purchase his wonted pray, I left the place, hoping to mend my fortunes, and having wandred vp and downe three dayes, I was at last taken by certaine Souldiers, which from *Africa* brought me into this Citie to my Master againe, who immediately condemned me to death, and to be deuoured by wilde beasts. And as I now perceiue, 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 meanes he recoued. Behold heer the historie, *Androdus* 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. *Appion* saith further, that *Androdus* was daily seen to leade the Lion vp and downe the streets of *Rome*, tied onely with a little twine, and walking from taverne to taverne, received such money as was given him, who would gently suffer himselfe to be handled, touched, decked, and strowed 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 weepe, for the losse of those beasts we love, so doe they many times for the losse of vs.

Post bellator equus positus insignibus Aethon. Virg. Aen. li. 11. 89.  
It lacrimans, guttisque humectat grandibus ora.

Next *Aethon* horse of warre, all ornaments laide downe,  
Goes weeping, with great drops bedewe's his cheekes a downe.

As some of our nations have wives in common, and some in severall, each man keeping himselfe to his owne; so have some beasts; yet some there are, that observe their marriages, with as great respect as we doe ours. Touching the mutuall societie, and reciprocall confederation, which they devise amongst themselves, that so they may be fast combined together, and in times of need help one another, it is apparant, that if Oxen, Hogs, and other



beasts being hurt by vs, chance to crie, all the heard runnes to aide him, and in his defense will joine all together. The fish, called of the Latines *Scarus*, having swallowed the fishers hooke, his fellowes will presently flocke about him, and nibble the line in sunder; and if any of them happen to be taken in a bow-net, some of his fellowes turning his head away, will put his taile in at 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 engaged, will set the line against their backes, and with a fin they have, toothed like a sharp saw, presently saw and fret the same asunder. Concerning particular offices, which we for the benefit of our life, draw one from an other, many like examples are found amongst them. It is assuredly beleevd, that the Whale never swimmeth, vnlesse she have a little fish going before her, as her vantgard, it is in shape like a Gudgeon, and both the Latines and we, call it the Whales-guide; for, she 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 sterne: for requitall of which good turne, whereas all things else, be it, beast, fish, or vessell, that comes within the horrible *Chaes* of this monstrous mouth, is presently lost and devoured, this little fish, doth safely retire himselfe therein, and there sleepe verie quietly, and as long as he sleepe, the Whale never stirs; but assoone as he awaketh and goeth his way, whereever he takes his course she alwaies followeth him, and if she fortune to loose him, she wanders here and there, and often striketh vpon the rocks, as a ship that hath nor mast nor rudder. This, *Plutarke* witnesseth to have seen in the Iland of *Anticyra*. There is such a like societie betweene the little bird called a Wren, and the Crocodill: For, the Wren serveth as a sentinell to so great a monster: And if the Ichneumon, which is his mortall enemie approach to fight with him, the little bird let, lest he might surprise him whilst he sleepe, 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 scraps, and feedeth vpon the leavings of that monster, who gently receiveth him into his mouth, and suffers him to pecke his jawes and teeth for such mammockes of flesh as sticke betweene them: and if he purpose to close his mouth, he doth first warne him to be gone, faire and easie closing it by little and little, without any whit crushing or hurting him. The [267]shell-fish called a Nacre, liveth even so with the Pinnotere, which is a little creature like vnto a Crabfish, and as his porter or vsher waites vpon him, attending the opening of the Nacre, which he continually keepe gaping, vntill he see some little fish enter in, fit for their turne, then he creepes into the Nacre, and leaves not pinching his quicke flesh, vntill 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 Mathematices. First for Astrologie, it may well be said that man doth learne it of them: For, wheresoever the winter Solstitium doth take them, there do they stay themselves, and never stir till the next Aequinoctium, and that is the reason why *Aristotle* doth so willingly ascribe that arte vnto them: Then for Geometrie and Arithmetike, they alwaies frame their shole of a Cubike figure, every way square: and so forme a solide, close and wel-ranged battailon, encompassed round about of sixe equall sides. Thus orderly marshaled, they take their course and swim whither their journey tends, as broad and wide behind as before: So that he that seeth and telleth but one ranke, may easily number all the troope, forsomuch as the number of the depth is equall vnto the bredth, and the bredth vnto the length. Touching magnanimitie and haughtie courage, it is hard to set it forth more lively, and to produce a rarer patterne, then that of the Dog, which from *India* was sent vnto *Alexander*: to whom was first presented a Stag, then a wilde Boare, and then a Beare, with each of which he should have foughten, but he seemed to make no accompt of them, and would not so much as remoove out of his place for them, but when he saw a Lion, he presently rouzed himselfe, shewing evidently he meant onely so noble a beast worthie to enter combate with him. Concerning repentance and acknowledging of faults committed, it is reported, that an Elephant having through rage of choller slaine his governour, conceived such an extreame inward grieve, that he would never afterward touch any food, and suffered himself to pine to death. Touching clemencie, it is

reported of a Tiger, (the fiercest and most inhumane beast of all) who having a Kid given her to feed vpon, endured the force of gnawing hunger, two daies together, rather then she would hurt him; the third day with maine strength she brake the cage, wherein she was kept-pent, and went elsewhere to shift for feeding; as one vnwilling to seize vpon the seelie Kid her familiar and guest. And concerning priuiledges of familiaritie and sympathie caused by conversation, is it not oft seen, how some make Cats, Dogs, and Hares so tame, so gentle, and 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 S [...]ilie, of the qualitie and condition of the Halcyon bird, or as some call it Alcedo or kings-fisher, exceeds all mens conceit. In what kinde of creature did ever nature so much prefer both their hatching, sitting, brooding, and birth? Poets faine, that the Iland of *Delos*, being before wandring and fleeting vp and downe, was for the delivery of *Latona* made firme and settled. But Gods decree hath been, that all the watrie wildernesse should be quiet and made calme, without raine, wind, or tempest, during the time the *Halcyon* sitteth and bringeth forth her yoong-ones, which is much about the Winter *Solstitium*, and shortest day in the yeare: By whose priuledge even in the hart & deadest time of Winter we have seven calme daies, and as many nights to saile without any danger. Their Hens know no other Cocke but their owne: They never forsake him all the daies of their life; and if the Cocke chance to be weake and crazed, the Hen will take him vpon her neck, and carrie him with her, wheresoever she goeth, and serve him even vntill death. Mans wit could neuer yet attaine to the full knowledge of that admirable kind of building or structure, which the *Halcion* vseth in contriving of her neast, no, nor devise what it is-of.

*Plutarke*, who hath seen and handled many of them, thinkes it to be made of certaine fish-bones, which she so compacts, and conjoyneth together, enterlasing some long, and some crosse-waies, adding some foldings and roundings to it, that in the end she frameth a round kind of vessell, readie to floate and swim vpon the water: which done, she carrieth the same where the Sea-waves beate most; there the Sea gently beating vpon it, snewes her how to daube and patch vp the parts not well closed, and how to strengthen those places, and fashion those ribs, that are not fast, but stir with the Sea-waves: And on 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 loosen, divide, or break the same, except with great violence; and what is most to be wondred at, is the proportion and figure of the concavtie [268]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 possible enter in: no, not so much as the Sea-water. Loe-heer a most plaine description of this building, or construction taken from a verie good Author: yet me thinks, it doth not fully and sufficiently resolve vs of the difficultie in this kinde of Architecture. Now *from what vanitie can it proceed, we should so willfully contemne, and disdaeinfully interpret those effects, which we can neither imitate nor conceive?* But to follow this equalitie or correspondencie betweene vs and beasts somewhat further; the priuledge whereof our soule wants to bring to her condition whatsoever it conceiveth, and to dispoile what of mortall and corporall qualities belongs vnto it, to marshall those things, which she deemed worthie her acquaintance, to disroabe and deprive their corruptible conditions, and to make them leave as superfluous and base garments, thickenesse, length, deapth, weight, colour, smell, roughnesse, smoothnesse, hardnesse, softnesse, and all sensible accidents else, to fit and appropriate them to her immortall and spirituall condition: so that *Rome* and *Paris*, which I have in my soule; *Paris* which I imagine; yea, I imagine and conceive the same without greatnesse and place, without stone and morter, and without wood: Then say I vnto my selfe, the same priuledge seemeth likewise to be in beasts: for, a Horse accustomed to heare the sound of trumpets, the noyse of shot, and the clattering of armes, whom we see to snort, to startle, and to neigh in his sleep, as he lies a long vpon his litter, even as he were in the hurly-burly; it is most certaine, that in his minde he apprehends the sound of a Drum without any noyse, and an

armie without armes or bodie.

Quippe videbis equos fortes, cùm membra iacebunt Luer. li. 4. 982.  
In somnis, sudare tamen, spirarèque saepe,  
Et quasi de palma summas contendere vires.

You shall see warlike Horses, when in sleep  
Their lims lie, yet sweat, and a snorting keep,  
And stretch their vtmost strength,  
As for a goale at length.

That Hare, which a grey-hound imagineth in his dreame, after whom as he sleepeth we see him bay, quest, yelp, and snort, stretch out his taile, shake his legs, and perfectly represent the motions of his course; the same is a Hare without bones, without haire.

Denantúmque canes in molli sepae quiete. Ibid. 986.  
Iactant crura tamen subitè, vocèsque repente  
Mittunt, & crebras redducunt naribus auras,  
Vt vestigia si teneant inventa ferarum:  
Expergefactive, sequuntur inania sepae  
Cervorum simulacra, fugae quasi dedita cernant:  
Donec discussis redeant erroribus ad se.

Oft times the hunters dogs in easie rest  
Stir their legs, suddainly, open, and quest,  
And send from nostrels thicke-thicke snuffing sent,  
As if on traile they were of game full-bent:  
And wakened so, they follow shaddowes vaine  
Of Deere in chase, as if they fled amaine:  
Till, their fault left, they turne to sense againe.

Those watching-Dogs, which in their sleep we sometimes see to grumble, and then barking to startle suddainly out of their slumber, as if they perceived some stranger to arive: that stranger which their minde seemeth to see, is but an imaginarie man, and not perceived; without any dimension, colour, or being:

—*Consueta domi catulorum blanda propago* Ibid. 993.  
Degere, saepe levem ex oculis volucrémque soporem  
Discutere, & corpus de terra corripere instant,  
Proinde quasi ignotas facies atque ora tuantur.

The fawning kinde of whelps, at home that liv's,  
From eyes to shake light-swift sleepe often striv's,  
And from the ground their starting bodies hie,  
[269] As if some vnknowne stranger they did spie.

Touching corporall beautie, before I goe any further, it were necessarie I knew whether we are yet agreed about her description. It is very likely that we know not well, what beautie either in nature, or in generall, since we give so many, and attribute so divers formes to humane beautie, yea, and to our beautie: Of which if there were any natural or lively description, we should generally know it, as we doe the heat of fire. We imagine and faine her formes, as our fantasies lead vs. Proper li. 2. el. 18. 26.

Turpis Romane Belgieus ore color.

A Dutch-froes colour hath no grace,  
Seen in a Romane Ladies face.

The Indians describe it blacke and swarthy, with blabberd-thicke lips, with a broad and flat nose, the inward gristle whereof they loade with great gold-rings, hanging downe to their mouth, and their neather lips with great circlets beset with precious stones, which cover all their chins, deeming it an especiall grace to shew their teeth to the rootes. In *Peru*, the greatest eares are ever esteemed the fairest, which with all art and industrie, they are continually stretching out; and a man (who yet liveth) sweareth to have seen in a province of the East-Indias the people so carefull to make them great, and so to load them with heavie jewels, that at ease he could have thrust his arme through one of their eare-holes. There are other Nations, who endeavour to make their teeth as blacke as Iet, and skorne to have them white; and in other places they die them red. Not onely in the province of *Baske*, 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 *Plinie* affirmeth. Those of *Mexico*, esteeme the littlenesse of their foreheads, as one of the chiefest beauties, and whereas they shave their haire over all their bodie besides, by artificiall meanes they labour to nourish and make it grow onely in their foreheads; and so love to have great dugs, that they strive to have their children sucke over their shoulders. So would we set forth ilfavordnesse. The Italians proportion-it big and plum; The Spaniards spynie and lanke, and amongst vs one would have her white, another browne, one soft and delicate, another strong and lustie: some desire wantonnessè and blithnesse, and other some sturdinesse and majestie to be joynd with it. Even as the preheminece in beautie, which *Plato* ascribeth vnto the Sphericall figure, the Epicurians refer the same vnto the Piramidall or Square; and say they cannot swallow a God made round like a bowle. But howsoever it is, nature hath no more priviledged vs in that, then in other things, concerning her common lawes. And if we imparcially enter into judgement with our selves, we shall finde, that if there be any creature or beast lesse favoured in that, then we, there are others (and that in great numbers) to whom nature hath been more favourable then to vs. *A multis animalibus decore vincimur. We are excelled in comel [...]*nesse, by many living creatures: Yea, of terrestriall 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 colour, in neatnesse, in smoothnesse, and in disposition, we must give place vnto them: which in all qualities we must likewise doe to the ayrie ones. And that prerogative, which Poets yeeld vnto our vpright stature, looking towards heaven whence her beginning is,

Pronáque cùm spectent animalia caetera terram, Ouid. *Metam.* lib. 1. 84.  
 Os homini sublime dedit, caelúmque videre  
 Iussit, & erectos ad sydera tollere vultus.

Where other creatures on earth looke and lie,  
 A loftie looke God gave man, bad him prie  
 On heav'n, rais'd his high count'nance to the skie.

is meerey poeticall, for, there are many little beasts, that have their sight directly fixed towards heaven: I finde the Camels and the Estridges necke much more raised and vpright, then ours. What beasts have not their face a loft and before, and looke not directly opposite, as we; and in their naturall posture descrie not as much of heaven and earth, as man doth? And what qualities of our corporall constitution, both in *Plato* and *Cicero* cannot fit and serve a thousand beasts? Such as most resemble man are the vilest and filthiest of all the rout: As for outward apparance and true shape of the visage, it is the Munkie or Ape: *Cic. Nat. deo.* lib. 1. Enmi.

Simia quàm similis, turpissima bestia, nobis!

[270] An Ape, a most il-favored beast,  
 How like to vs in all the rest?

as for inward and vitall parts, it is the Hog. Truely, when I consider man all naked (yea, be it in that sex, which seemeth to have and challenge the greatest share of eye-pleasing beautie, and view his defects, his naturall subjection, and manifold imperfections; I finde we have had much more reason to hide and cover our nakednesse, then any creature else. We may be excused for borrowing those which nature had therein favored more then vs, with their beauties to adorne vs, and vnder their spoiles of wooll, of haire, of feathers, and of silke to shroude vs. Let vs moreover observe, that man is the onely creature, whose wants offends his owne followes, and he alone that in naturall actions must withdraw and sequester himselfe from those of his owne kinde. Verely it is an effect worthie consideration, that the skilfullest masters of amorous dalliances appoint for a remedie of venerian passions, a free and full survey of the bodie, which one longeth and seeks-after: and that to coole the longing and aswage the heat of friendship, one need but perfectly view and throughly consider what he loveth.

Ille quòd obscoenas in aperto corpore partes O [...]id. rem. Am. lib. 2. 33.  
— *Viderat, in cursu qui fuit, haesit amor.*

The love stoode still, that ran in full carieere,  
When bare it saw parts that should not appeare

And although this remedie may happily proceed from a squeamish and cold humor: yet is it a wonderfull signe of our imbecilitie, that the vse and knowledge should so make vs to be cloyd one of an other. It is not bashfulnesse so much, as art and foresight makes our Ladies so circumspect and vnwilling to let vs come into their closets before they are fully readie, and throughly painted, to come abroad, and shew themselves:

Nec veneres nostras hoc fallit quòd magis ipse Luer. l. 4. 1176.  
Omnia summopere hos vitae postscenia celant,  
Quos retinere volunt adstrictoque esse in amore.

Our Mistresses know this, which mak's them not disclose  
Parts to be plaid within, especially from those  
Whom they would servants hold, and in their love-bands close.

Whereas in other creatures, there is nothing but we love, and pleaseth our senses: so that even from their excrements and ordure, we draw not only dainties to eat, but our richest ornaments and perfumes. This discourse of beautie toucheth only our common order, and is not so sac [...]ilegious as it intendeth or dareth to comprehend those divine, supernaturall, and extraordinarie beauties, which sometimes are seen to shine amongst-vs, even as starres vnder a corporall and terrestriall vaile. Moreover, that part of natures favours, which we impart vnto beasts, is by our owne confession much more advantageous vnto them. We assume vnto our selves imaginarie and fantasticall goods, future and absent goods, which humane capacitie can no way warrant vnto her selfe; or some other, which by the overweening of our owne opinion, we falsely ascribe vnto our selves; as reason, honour, and knowledge; and to them as their proper share we leave the essentiall, the maneagable, and palpable goods, as peace, rest, securitie, innocencie, and health: Health I say, which is the goodliest and richest present, nature can impart vnto vs. So that even Stoike Philosophie dareth to affirme, that if *Heracletus* and *Pherecydes* could have changed their wisdomes with health, and by that meanes, the one to have rid himselfe of the dropsie, and the other of the lowsieevill, which so sore tormented them, they would surely have done-it: whereby they also yeeld so much more honor vnto wisdomes, by comparing and counterpeizing the same vnto health, then they do in this other proposition of theirs, where they say, that if *Circes* had presented *Uhses* with two kinds of drinke, the one to turne a wiseman into a foole, the other to change a foole into a wiseman, he would rather have accepted that of folly, then have been pleased, that *Circes*

should transforme his humane shape into a beasts. And they say, that wisdom her selfe would thus have spoken vnto him: *Meddle not with me, but leave me rather then thou shouldst place me vnder the shape and bodie of an Asse.* What? This great and heavenly wisdom? Are Philosophers contented then, to quit-it for a corporall & earthly vaile? Why then it is not for reasons sake, nor by discourse, and for the soule, we so much excell beasts: it is for the love we beare vnto our beautie, vnto our faire hew, and goodly disposition [271]of limbs, that we reject, and set our vnderstanding at nought, our wisdom, and what else we have. Well, I allow of this ingenious and voluntarie confession: surely they knew those parts, we so much labour to pamper, to be meere fantazies. Suppose, beasts had all the vertue, the knowledge, the wisdom and sufficiencie of the Stoikes, they should still be beasts; nor might they ever be compared vnto a miserable, wretched, and senselesse 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-hardinesse, and selfe-presuming obstinacie, we prefer our selves before other creatures, and sequester our selves from their condition and societie. But to returne to our purpose, we have for our part inconstancie, irresolution, vncertaintie, sorrow, superstition, carefulnesse for future things (yea after our life) ambition, covetousnesse, jealousy, envie, inordiante, mad and vntamed appetites, warre, falsehood, disloyaltie, detraction, and curiositie. Surely we have strangely overpaid this worthie discourse, whereof we so much glorie, and this readinesse to judge, or capacitie to know, if we have purchased the same with the price of so infinit passions, to which we are vncessantly 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 seasons, and bounds for their naturall lust and voluptuousnesse, she hath given-vs at all howers and occasions the full reines of them. *Ut vinum Cic. Nat. d [...]. lib. 3. egrotis, quia prodest rarò, nocet saepissime, melius est non adhibere omnino, quàm, [...]pe dubiaesalutis in apertam perniciem incurrere: Sic, haud scio, an melius fuerit humano generi motum istum celerem, cogitationis a [...]jumen, solertiam, quem rationem vocamus, quoniam pestifera sint multis, admodum paucis salutaria, non dari omnino, quàm tam munificè & tam largè dari.* As it is better not to vse wine at all in sicke persons, because it seldome doth them good, but many times much hurt, then in hope of doubtfull health, to run into vndoubted danger; so doe I not know, whether it were better that this swift motion of the thought, this sharpnesse, this conceitednesse, which we call reason, should not at all be given to mankind (because it is pernicious vnto many, and healthfull to verie few) then that it should be given so plentifully and so largely. What good or commoditie may we imagine this far-vnderstanding 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 seelie labouring man? Could they ever draw any ease for the gout from Logike? And howbeit they knew the humour engendring the same to lodge in the joints, have they felt-it the lesse? Did they at any time make a covenant with death, although they knew full well that some nations rejoyce at her comming? as also of Cuckoldship, because they knew women to be common in some Countries? But contrariwise having both held the first ranke in knowledge, the one amongst the Romanes, the other among the Graecians, yea, and at such times wherein sciences flourished most, we could never learne, they had any speciall excellencie in their life. Wee see the Graecian hath been put to his plunges in seeking to discharge himselfe from some notable imputations in his life. Was it ever found that sensualitie, and health, are more pleasing vnto him that vnderstands Astrologie and Grammar?

( [...]litterati num minus nervi rigent? Hor. [...]pod. 8. 17.

As stiffe vnlearned sinnewes stand,  
As theirs that much more vnderstand.)

or shame and povertie lesse importunate and vexing?

Scilicet & morbis, & debilitate carebis, Iu [...]em. sat. 14. 156.  
Et luctum, & curam effugies, & tempora vita  
Longatibi posthaec fatomeliore dabuntur.

Thou shall be from disease and weaknesse free,  
From moane, from care, long time of life to thee  
Shall by more friendly fate afforded be.

I have in my daies seen a hundred Artificers, and as many labourers, more wise and more happie, then some Rectors in the Vniversitie, and whom I would rather resemble. Me thinks Learning hath a place amongst things necessarie for mans life, as glorie, noblenesse, dignitie, or at most as riches, and such other qualities, which indeed stead the same; but a far-off, and more in conceipt, than by Nature. We have not much more need of offices, of rules, and lawes how to live in our common-wealth, than the Cranes and Antes have in theirs. Which [272]notwithstanding, we see how orderly, and without instruction they maintaine themselves. *If man were wise he would value every thing according to it's worth, and as it is either more profitable, or more necessarie for life.* He that shall number vs by our actions and proceedings, shall doubt. lesse finde many more excellent-ones amongst the ignorant, then among the wiser sort: I meane in all kind of Vertues. My opinion is, that ancient *Rome* brought forth many men of much more valour and sufficiencie, both for peace and warre, then this late learned *Rome*, which with all her wisdom hath overthrowne her erst-flourishing estate. If all the rest were alike, then should honestie and innocencie at least belong to the ancient; for she was exceedingly well placed with simplicitie. But I will shorten this discourse, which happily would draw me further then I would willingly follow: yet this much I will say more, that *onely humilitie and submission is able to make a perfect honest man.* Every one must not have the knowledge of his dutie referred to his own judgement, but ought rather to have it prescribed vnto him, and not be allowed to chuse it at his pleasure and free-will: otherwise according to the imbecilitie of our reasons, and infinite varietie of our opinions, we might peradventure forge and devise such duties vnto our selves, as would induce vs (as *Epicurus* saith) to endeavour to destroy and devoure one another. *The first law that ever God gave vnto man, was a Law of pure obedience.* It was a bare & simple commandement, whereof man should enquire and know no further: forasmuch, as *to obey is the proper dutie of a reasonable soule, acknowledging a heavenly and superiour benefactor.* From obeying and yeelding vnto him proceed all other vertues; even as all sinnes derive from selfe-over-weening. Contrariwise, the first temptation that ever seized on humane Nature was disobedience, by the Divels instigation, whose first poison, so far insinuated it selfe into vs, by reason of the promises he made vs of wisdom and knowledge, *Eritis sicut Dij scientes bonum & malum. You shall be like Gods, knowing both good and evill.* And Genesis. ca. 3. 5. the Syrens, to deceive *Ulysses* and alluring him to fall into their dangerous & confounding snares, offer to give him the full fruition of Knowledge. *The opinion of Wisdom is the plague of man.* That is the occasion why ignorance is by our Religion recommended vnto vs, as an instrument fitting beleefe, and obedience. *Cavete, ne quis vos decipiat per Philosophiam & inanes Colloss.* ca. 2. 8. *seductiones, secundum elementa mundi. Take heed, lest any man deceive you by Philosophie and vaine seducements, according to the rudiments of the world.* All the Philosophers of all the sects that everwere, do generally agree in this point, that the chiefest felicitie, or *summum bonum*, consisteth in the peace and tranquillitie of the soule and bodie: but where shall we finde-it?

Ad summum sapiens vno minor est love, dives, Her. li. 1. epist. 1. Antepen.  
Liber, honoratus, pulcher, Rex denique Regum:  
Praecipue sanus, nisi cum pituita molesta est.

In summe, who wise is knowne,  
Is lesse then Iove alone,  
Rich, honorable, free, faire, King of Kings,  
Chiefely in health, but when fleagme trouble brings.

It seemeth verily, that Nature for the comfort of our miserable and wretched condition, hath allotted vs no other portion, but presumption. It is therefore (as *Epictetus* saith) that man hath nothing that is properly his owne, but the vse of his opinions. Our hereditarie portion is nothing but smoke and winde. The Gods (as saith Philosophie) have health in true essence, and sicknesse in concept. *Man cleane contrarie, possesseth goods in imagination, and evils essentially.* We have had reason to make the powers of our imagination to be of force: For, all our felicities are but in concept, and as it were in a dreame. Heare but this poore and miserable creature vaunt himselfe. There is nothing (saith *Cicero*) so delightfull and pleasant as the knowledge of Letters; of Letters I say, by whose meanes the infinitie of things, the incomprehensible greatnesse of nature, the heavens, the earth, and all the Seas of this vast vniverse, are made knowne vnto vs. They have taught vs Religion, moderation, stownesse of courage, and redeemed our soule out of darknesse, to make her see, and distinguish of all things, the high aswell as the lowe, the first as the last, and those betweene both. It is they that store and supplie 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 Almightyes and everliving Gods condition? And touching effects, a thousand poore seelie women in a countrie towne have lived, and live a life much more reposed, more peaceable, and more constant, then ever he did.

[273]

—*Deus ille fuit Deus, inclyte Memmi,*  
Qui princeps vitae rationem invenit eam, qua  
Nunc appellatur sapientia, quique per artem,  
Fluctibus è tantis vitam tantisque tenebris,  
In tam tranquillo & tam clara luce locavit.

Good sir, it was God, God it was, first found,  
That course of mans life, which now is renown'd  
By name of wisdom; who by arte reposde,  
Our life in so cleare light, calme so composde,  
From so great darknesse, so great waves opposde.

Observe what glorious and noble words these be: yet but a sleight accident brought this wisemans vnderstanding to a far worse condition, than that of a simple sheeheard: notwithstanding this divine Teacher, and this heavenly wisdom. Of like impudence is the promise of *Democritus* his Booke. *I will now speake of all things:* And that fond title which *Aristotle* gives vs of mortall gods, and that rash judgement of *Chrysippus*, that *Dion* was as vertuous as God: And my *Seneca* saith, he acknowledgeth that God hath given him life, but how to live well, that he hath of himselfe. Like vnto this other: *In virtute verè gloriamur*, Cic. N [...]t. de. lib. 3. *quod non contingeret, si ià donum à Deo, non à nobis haberemus.* We rightly vaunt vs of vertue, which we should not doe, if we had it of God, not of our selves. This also is *Senec* [...]es, that the wise man hath a fortitude like vnto Gods; but inhumane weaknesse, wherein he excelleth him. There is nothing more common, than to meet with such passages of temeritie: There is not any of vs that will be so much offended to see himselfe compared to God, as he will deeme himselfe wronged to be depressed in the ranke of other creatures. So much are we more jealous of our owne interest, than of our Creators. But we must tread this foolish vanitie vnder 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 meanes or power of himselfe, so long will he denie, and never



acknowledge what he oweth vnto his Master: he shall alwaies (as the common saying is) make shift with his owne: He must be stripped into his shirt. Let vs consider some notable example of the effect of Philosophie. *Possiaonius* having long time been grieved with a painfull-lingring disease, which with the smartingpaine made him to wring his hands, and gnash his teeth, thought to scorne grieffe, with exclayming and crying out against-it: *Doo what thou list, yet will I never say that thou arte evill or paine*. He feeleth the same passions that my lackey doth, but he boasteth himselfe, that at least he conteineth his tongue vnder the lawes of his sect. *Re succumbere non oportebat verbis gloriantem: It was not for him to yeeld in deeds, who had so braved it in words*. *Arcesilas* lying sicke of the gowt, *Carneades* comming to visite him, and seeing him to frowne, supposing he had been angrie, was going away againe, but he called him backe, and shewing him his feet and brest, said vnto him, there is nothing come from thence hither. This hath somewhat a better garbe; for he feeleth himselfe grieved with sicknesse, and would faine be rid of it, yet is not his heart vanquished or weakned thereby, the other stands vpon his stifnesse (as I feare) more verball then essentiall. And *Dionysius Heracleotes* being tormented with a violent smarting in his eies, was at last perswaded to quit these Stoicke resolutions.

Be it supposed that Learning and Knowledge should worke those effects they speake of, that is, to blunt and abate the sharpnesse of those accidents or mischances, that follow and attend vs; doth she any more than what ignorance effecteth much more evidently and simply? The Philosopher *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 unitate but the securitie of an Hog which was aboard, who nothing at all dismaide, seemed to behold and out-stare the tempest. Philosophie after all her precepts gives vs over to the examples of a Wrestler, or of a Muletier, in whom we ordinarilie perceive much lesse feeling of death, of paine, of grieffe, and other inconveniences, and more vndanted constancie, then ever Learning or Knowledge could store a man withall, vnlesse he were borne, and of himselfe through some naturall habitude, prepared vnto it. What is the cause, the tender members of a childe, or limbes of a horse are much more easie, and with lesse paine cut and incised then ours, if it be not ignorance? How many, onely through the power of imagination, [274]have falne into dangerous diseases? We ordinarily 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 essentiall and true maladies faile vs, then Science and knowledge lends-vs hirs: This colour or complexion (said she) presageth some rheumatike defluxion will ensue you: This soultring-hote season menaceth you with some febricant commotion; this cutting of the vitall line of your left hand warneth you of some notable and approaching indispolition. And at last she will roundly addresse her selfe vnto perfect health; saying, this youthly vigor and suddaine joy can not possibly stay in one place, her blood and strength must be abated, for feare it turne you to some mischiefe. Compare but the life of a man subject to these-like imaginations, vnto that of a day-labouring swaine, who followes his naturall appetites, who measureth all things onely by the present sense, and hath neither learning nor prognostications, who feeleth no disease but when he hath it: whereas the other hath often the stone imaginarily, before he have it in his reines: As if it were not time enough to endure the sicknesse when it shall come, he doth in his fansie prevent the same, and headlong runneth to meet with it. What I speake of Phisicke, the same may generally be applied and drawne to all maner of learning. Thence came this ancient opinion of those Philosophers, who placed chiefe felicitie in the acknowledging of our judgements weaknesse. My ignorance affords me as much cause of hope as of feare: and having no other regiment for my health, then that of other mens examples, and of the events, I see elsewhere in like occasions, whereof I find some of all sorts: And relie vpon the comparisons, that are most 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 lesse ordinarie and more rare vnto me: so far is it from me, that I with the bitternesse of some new and forced kind of life, trouble her rest, and molest her

ease. Beasts doe manifestly declare vnto vs, how many infirmities our mindes agitation brings vs. That which is told vs of those that inhabite *Bresill*, who die onely through age, which some impute to the clearenesse and calmenesse of their aire ■ I rather ascribe to the calmenesse and clearenesse of their minds, void and free from all passions, cares, toiling, and vnpleasant labours, as a people that passe their life in a wonderfull kind of simplicitie and ignorance, without letters, or lawes, and without Kings, or any Religion. Whence comes it (as we daily see by experience) that the rudest and grossest clownes, are more tough-strong, and more desired in amorous executions: And that the love of a Muletier is often more accepted, then that of a perfumed ■ quaint courtier? But because in the latter, the agitation of his minde doth so distract, trouble, and wearie the force of his bodie; as it also troubleth and wearieith it selfe, who doth belie, or more commonly cast the same downe even into madnesse, but her owne promptitude, her point, her agilitie, and to conclude her proper force? *Whence proceeds the subtilest follie, but from the subtilest wisdom?* As from the extreamest friendships proceed the extreamest enmities, and from the soundest healths, the mortallest diseases; so from the rarest and quickest agitations of our minds ensue the most distempered and outragious frenzies. There wants but halfe a pegs turne to passe from the one to the other. In mad mens actions, we see how fitly follie suteth and meets with the strongest operations, of our minde. Who knowes not how vnperceivable the neighbourhood betweene follie with the liveliest elevations of a free minde is; and the effects of a supreame and extraordinary vertue? *Plato* affirmeth, that melancholy minds are more excellent and disciplinable; So are there none more inclinable vnto follie. Diverse spirits are seene to be overthrowne by their owne force, and proper nimblenesse. What a start hath one of the most judicious, ingenious, and most fitted vnto the ayre of true ancient *Torquato Tasso*. poesie, lately gotten by his owne agitation and selfe ■ gladnesse, above all other Italian Poets that have been of a long time? Hath not he wherewith to be beholding vnto this his killing vivacitie? vnto this clearenesse, that hath so blinded him? vnto his exact and far-reaching apprehension of reason, which hath made him voide of reason? vnto the curious and laborious pursute of Sciences, that have brought him vnto sottishnesse? vnto this rare aptitude to the exercises of the minde, which hath made him without minde or exercise? I rather spited then pittied him, when I saw him at *Ferrara*, in so pitteous a plight, that he survived himselfe; misacknowledging both himselfe and his labours, which vnwitting to him, and even to his face, have been published both vncorrected and maimed. Will you have a man healthy, will you have him regular, and in constant and safe condition? overwhelme him in the darke [275]pit of idlenesse, and dulnesse. We must be besotted ere we can become wise, and dazled before we can be led. And if a man shall tell me, that the commoditie to have the appetite cold to griefes, and wallowish to evils, drawes this incommoditie after-it, it is also consequently the same, that makes vs lesse sharpe and greedie to the enjoying of good, and of pleasures: It is true, but the miserie of our condition beareth, that we have not so much to enjoy, as to shun, and that extreame voluptuousnesse doth not so much pinch vs, as a light smart: *Segnius homines bonam quàm mala sentiunt. Men have a duller feeling of a good turne, then of an ill, we have not so sensible a feeling of perfect health, as we have of the least sicknesse.*

— *pungit*

In cute vix summa violatum plagula corpus,  
 Quando valere nihil quemquam movet. Hoc invat vnum  
 Quod me non torquet latus aut pes; caetera quisquam  
 Dix queat aut sanum sese, aut sentire valentem.

A light stroke that dooth scarce the top-skin wound,  
 Greeves the gall'd bodie, when in health to be,  
 Doth scarce move any: onely ease is found,  
 That neither side nor foote tormenteth me:  
 Scarce any in the rest can feel he's sound.

*Our being in health, is but the privation of being ill.* See wherefore the sect of Philosophie, that hath most preferred sensualitie, hath also placed the same but to indolencie or vnfeeling of paine. To have no infirmitie at all is the chiefest possession of health, that man can hopefor (as *Ennius* said:)Ennius.

Nimium boni est, cui nihil est mali.

He hath but too much good,  
Whom no ill hath withstood.

For ■ the same tickling and pricking, which a man doth feel in some pleasures, and seemes beyond simple health, and indolencie, this active and moving sensualitie, or as I may terme it, itching and tickling pleasure aymes but to be free from paine, as her chiefest scope. The lust-full longing which allures vs to the acquaintance of women, seekes but to expell that paine, which an earnest and burning desire doth possesse-vs-with, and desireth but to allay-it, thereby to come to rest, and be exempted from this fever; And so of others. I say therefore, that if simplicitie directeth-vs to have no evill, it also addresseth vs, according to our condition to a most happie estate. Yet ought it not to be imagined so dull and heavie, that it be altogether senselesse. And *Crantor* had great reason to withstand the vnsensiblenesse of *Epicurus*, if it were so deeply rooted, that the approaching and birth of evils might gainsay-it. I commend not that vnsensiblenesse, which is neither possible nor to be desired. I am well pleased not to be sicke, but if I be, I will know that I am so; and if I be cautherized or cut, I will feel-it. Verily, *he that should roote out the knowledge of evill, should there with all extirp the Ci [...]. Tusc. qu. [...]. 3 knowledge of voluptuousnesse, and at last bring man to nothing. Istud nihil dolere, non sine magna mercede contingit immanit at is in animo, stuporis in corpore. This verie point, not to be offended or grieved with any thing, befals not freely to a man, without either inhumanitie in his minde, or senselesnesse in his bodie.* Sicknesse is not amisse vnto man, comming in hir turne: Nor is he alwaies to shun paine, nor ever to follow sensualitie. It is a great advantage for the honour of ignorance, that Science it selfe throwes-vs into hir armes, when she findes her selfe busie to make vs strong against the assaults of evils: she is forced to come to this composition; to yeeld-vs the bridle, and give-vs leave to shrowd our selves in hir lap, and submit our selves vnto hir favour, to shelter vs against the assaults and injuries of fortune. For, what meaneth she else, when she perswades vs to withdraw our thoughts from the evils that possesse-vs, and entertaine them with fore-gon pleasures, and stead-vs as a comfort of present evils with the remembrance of fore-past felicities, and call a vanished content to our help, for to oppose it against that which vexeth vs? *Levationes aegritudinum in avocatione à cogitanda molestia, & revocatione ad contemplandas voluptates ponit. Eases of griefes he reposeth either in calling from the thought of offence, or calling to the contemplations of some pleasures.* Vnlesse it be, that where force failes her, she will vse policie, and shew a tricke of nimblenesse and turne away, where the vigor both of her bodie and armes shall faile her. For, not onely to a strict Philosopher, but simply to any settled man, when he by experience feeleth the burning alteration of a hot fever, [276]what currant paiment is it to pay him with the remembrance of the sweetnesse of Greeke wine? It would rather empaire his bargaine.

Che ricordarsi il ben doppia la noia.

For to thinke of our joy,  
Redoubles our annoy.

Of that condition is this other counsell, which Philosophie giveth, onely to keepe forepast selicities in memorie, and thence blot out such griefes as we have felt; as if the skill to forget were in our power: and counsell, of which we have much lesse.

Suavis est laborum praeteritorum memoria.Ci [...]. Fin. li 2. [...]urip.

Of labours overpast,  
Remembrance hath sweet taste.

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 feet all humane adversities; will she so faint, as to make me like a fearfull cunnie creepe into some lurking-hole, and like a craven to tremble and yeeld? For, memorie representeth vnto vs, not what we chuse, but what pleaseth her. Nay, there is nothing so deeply imprinteth any thing in our remembrance, as the desire to forget the same: It is a good way to commend to the keeping, and imprint any thing in our minde, to sollicite her to loose the same. And that is false. *Est Ci [...]. fin. bon. li. 1. situm in nobis, vt & adversa, quasi perpetua oblivione obruamus, & secunda iucundè & suaviter meminimus. This is ingrafted in vs, or at least in our power, that we both burie in perpetuall oblivion things past against vs, and record with pleasure and delight whatsoever was for vs.*

And this is true, *Memini etiam quae nolo; oblivisci non possum quae volo. I remember even those Plu. in vita Them. things I would not; and can not forget what I would.* And whose counsell is this? his, *Qui se vnus sapientem profiteri sit ausus. Who onely durst professe himselve a wise man.*

Qui genus humanum ingenio superavit, & omnes Lucr. li. 3. 1086. Epicur.  
Praestrinxit stellas, exortus vti aetherius Sol.

Who from all mankind bare for wit the prize,  
And dimm'd the stars as when skies Sunne doth rise.

To emptie and diminish the memorie, is it not the readie and onely way to ignorance?

Iuers malorum remedium ignorantia est. Sen. Oed. act. 3. s [...]e. 1.

Of ills a remedie by chance,  
And verie dull is ignorance.

We see diverse like precepts, by which we are permitted to borrow frivolous apparances from the vulgar sort, where lively and strong reason is not of force sufficient: alwaies provided, they bring vs content and comfort. Where they can not cure a sore, they are pleased to stupifie and hide the same. I am perswaded they will not denie me this, that if they could possiblie adde any order or constancie to a mans life, that it might thereby be still maintained in pleasure and tranquillitie, by, or through any weaknesse or infirmitie of judgement, but they would accept-it.

—potare, & spargere flores Hor. li. 1. epist. 5. 14. Incipiam, patiárque vel  
inconsultus haberi.

I will begin to strew flowers, and drinke free,  
And suffer witlesse, thriftlesse, held to bee.

There should many Philosophers be found of *Lycas* his opinion: This man in all other things being verie temperate, and orderly in his demeanors, living quietly and contentedly with his familie, wanting of no dutie or office both toward his owne houshold and strangers, verie carefully preserving himselve from all hurtfull things: notwithstanding through some alteration of his senses or spirites, he was so possessed with this fantastickall conceipt or obstinate humour, that he ever and continually thought to be amongst the Theaters, where he

still saw all manner of spectacles, pastimes, sports, and the best Comedies of the world. But being at last by the skill of Physitions cured of this maladie, and his offending humour purged, he could hardly be held from putting them in sute, to the end they might restore him to the former pleasures and contents of his imagination.

—polme occidistis amici, Hor. li. 1. epist. 2. 138.  
Non servastis, ait, cui fic extorta voluptas,  
Et demptus per vim menti gratissimus error▪

[277]

You have not sav'd me, friends, but slaine me quite,  
(Quoth he) from whom so reft is my delight,  
And error purg'd, which best did please my spright.

Of a raving like vnto that of *Thr [...]*sylaus, sonne vnto *Pythodorus*, who verily believed, that all the ships that went out from the haven of *Pyraeum*, yea and all such as came into it, did only travell about his businesse, rejoycing when any of them had made a fortunate voyage, and welcommed them with great gladnesse: His brother *Crito*, having caused him to be cured, and restored to his better senses, he much bewailed and grieved the condition wherein he had formerly lived in such joy, and so voide of all care and griefe. It is that, which that ancient Greeke verse saith, That not to be so advised brings many commodities with it:

[...]Soph. Ala. flag.

The sweetest life I wis,  
In knowing nothing is.

And as *Ecclesiastes* witnesseth: *In much wisdom, much sorrow*: And who getteth knowledge, purchaseth sorrow and griefe. Even that, to which Philosophy doth in generall *Ecclesiast* [...]. tearmes allow this last remedy, which she ordaineth for all manner of necessities; that is, to make an end of that life, which we can not endure. *Placet? pare: Non placet? quacunqve vis exi. Pungit dolor? velfodiat sanè: si nudus es, da iugulum: sint ectus armis vulcanijs, id est fortitudine*, Cic. Tusc. que lib. 2. *resiste. Doth it like you? obey: doth it not like you? get out as you will: doth griefe pricke you? and let it perce you to: if you be naked, yeeld your throate: but if you be covered with the armour of Vulcan, that is, with fortitude, resist.* And that saying vsed of the Graecians in their banquets, which they apply vnto it, *Aut bibat, aut abeat: Either let him carouse, or carry him out of the Ci [...].* ib. lib. 5. *house*: which rather fitteth the mouth of a Gascoine, then that of *Cicero*, who very easily doth change the letter B into V,

Vivere si recte nescis, decede peritis: Hor. lib. 2. pist. 2. v1 [...].  
Lusisti satis, edisti satis, atque bibisti:  
Tempus abire tibi est, ne potum largiùs aequo  
Rideat, & pulset lasciva decentiùs aetas.

Live well you cannot, them that can give place;  
Well have you sported, eaten well, drunke well:  
'Tis time you part; least wanton youth with grace  
Laugh at, and knocke you that with swilling swell.

what is it but a confession of his insufficiency, and a sending one backe not only to ignorance, there to be shrowded, but vnto stupidity it selfe, vnto vnsensibleness and not being?

—Democritum post quàm matura vetustas Lucr. lib. 3. 1083.  
Admonuit memorem, motus languescere mentis:  
Sponte sua let ho caput obuius obtulit ipse.

When ripe age put *Democritus* in minde,  
That his mindes motions fainted, he to finde  
His death went willing, and his life resign'd.

It is that which *Anthistenes* said, that a man must provide himselfe either of wit to vnderstand, or of a halter to hange himselfe: And that which *Chrysippus* alleaged vpon the speech of the Poet *Tyrtaeus*,

De lavertu, ou de mort approcher.Plut. in Solo [...].s l. f [...].

Or vertue to approach,  
Or else let death incroch.

And *Crates* said, that love was cured with hunger, i [...] 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 study of Philosophy, seeing the progresse of his studies so tedious and slow, purposed to cast himselfe into the Sea; Ranne vnto death for want of knowledge: Reade here what the law, saith 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 leaking boate: for, it is feare to die, and not desire to live, which keepes a foole joynd to his body. As life through simplicity becommeth more pleasant, So (as I erewhile began to say (becommeth-it more innocent and better. The simple and the ignorant [278](saith S. Paul) raise themselves vp to heaven, and take possession of it; whereas we, withall the knowledge we have, plunge our selves downe to the pit of hell. I rely neither vpon *Valentinianus* (a professed enemy to knowledge and learning) nor vpon *Licinius* (both Roman Emperours) who named them the venime and plague of all politike estates: Nor on *Mahomet*, who (as I have heard) doth vtterly interdict all maner of learning to his subjects. But the example of that great *Lycurgus*, and his authority ought to beare chiefe sway, and thereverence of that divine Lacedemonian policy so great, so admirable, and so long time flourishing in all vertue and felicity without any institution or exercise at all of letters. Those who returne from that new world, which of late hath beene discovered by the Spaniards, can wnesse vnto vs, how those nations being without Magistrates or law, live much more regularly and formally then we, who have amongst vs more Officers and lawes, then men of other professions, or actions.

Di cit atorie piene & di libelli,  
D'essamine, di carte, & diprocure Aristo. can. 14. stanz. 84.  
Hanno le mani e'lseno, & granfastelli  
Di chiose, di consigli & di letture,  
Per cui le faculi â de'poverelli  
Non sono mai ne le citt à sicure,  
Hanno dietre & dinanzi & d'ambo i lati,  
Notai, procuratori, & advocati.

Their hands and bosoms with writs and citations,  
With papers, libels, proxjes, full they beare,  
And bundels great of strict examinations,  
Of glosses, counsels, readings here and there.  
Whereby in townes poore men of occupations  
Possesse not their small goods secure from feare,  
Before, behind, on each sides Aduocates,  
Proctors, and Notaries hold vp debates.

It was that, which a Roman Senatour said, that *their predecessors had their breath stinking of garlike, and their stomake perfumed with a good conscience:* and contrary, the men of his times, outwardly smelt of nothing but sweet odours, but inwardly they stunke of all vices: Which in mine opinion, is as much to say, they had much Knowledge and Sufficiency, but great want of honesty. In civility, ignorance, simplicity, and rudnesse, are commonly joynd with innocency: Curiosity, subtilty, and knowledge, are ever followed with malice: Humility, feare, obedience, and honesty (which are the principall instruments for the preservation of humane society) require a single docile soule and which presumeth little of hir selfe: Christians have a peculiar knowledge, *how curiosity is in a man a naturall, and originall infirmity.* The care to encrease in wisdom and knowledge was the first overthrow 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 waies; that makes him to embrace all newfangles, and rather chuse to be chiefe of a stragling troupe and in the path of perdition, and be regent of some erroneous sect, and a teacher of falsehood, then a disciple in the schoole of truth, and suffer himselfe to be led and directed by the hand of others in the ready beaten high way. It is happily that, which the ancient Greeke proverbe implieth; [...]. *Superstion obaieth pride as a father.* Oh overweening, how much doest thou hinder vs? *Socrates* being advertised, that the God of wisdom, had attributed the name of wise vnto him, was thereat much astonished, and diligently searching and rousing vp himself, & ransaking the very secrets of his hart found no foundation or ground for this divine sentence. He knew some that were as just, as temperate, as valiant and as wise as he and more eloquent, more faire and more profitable to their country. In fine he resolved, that he was distinguished from others, and reputed wise, only because he did not so esteeme himselfe: And that his God deemed the opinion of science and wisdom a singular sottishnes in man; and that his best doctrine was the doctrine of ignorance, and simplicitie his greatest wisdom. The sacred writ pronounceth them to be miserable in this world, that esteeme themselves. *Dust and ashes* (saith he) *what is there in thee, thou shouldest so much glory of?* And in an other place. God hath made man like vnto a shadowe, of which [279] who shall judge, when the light being gone, it shall vanish away? *Man is a thing of nothing.* So far are our faculties from conceiving that high Deitie, that of our Creators works, those beare his marke best, and are most his owne, which we vnderstand least. It is an occasion to induce Christians to beleeve, when they chance to meet 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 matched, it were no more singular. *Melius scitur Deus nesciendo. God is better knowen by our not knowing him.* Sa. *Augustine.* Saith *S. Augustine:* And *Tacitus, Sanctius est ac reverentius de actis deorum credere quàm scire: It is a course of more holinesse and neverence, to hold believe, then to have knowledge of Gods actions.* And *Plato* deemes it to be a vice of impiety, over-curiously to enquire after God, after *Tacitus* mor. German. the world, and after the first causes of things. *Atque illum quidem parentem huius vniversitatis invenire, difficile: & quum iam inveneris, indicare in vulgus, nescis.* Both it is difficult to finde out the father of this vniverse, and when you have found him, it is vnlawful to reveale him to the vulgar, saith *Cicero.* We easily pronounce puissance, truth and justice; they be words importing *Cic.* vnive [...] some great matter, but that thing we neither see nor conceive. We say that God feareth, that God will be angry, and that God loveth.

‘Immortalia mortali sermone notante [...], Luer. li 5. 122.’

Who with tearmes of mortality  
Note things of immortality.

They be all agitations and motions, which according to our forme can have no place in God, nor we imagine them according to his. *It only belongs to God to know himselfe, and interpret his owne workes;* and in our tongues he doth it improperly, to descend and come downe to vs, that are, and lie groveling on the ground. How can wisdom (which is the choise betweene good and evill) besee me him, seeing no evill doth touch him? How reason and intelligence, which we vse to come from obscure to apparant things, seeing there is no obscure thing in God? Justice which distributeth vnto every man, what belongs vnto him, created for the society and conversation of man, how is she in God? How temperance, which is the moderation of corporall sensualities, which have no place at all in his God-head? Fortitude patiently to endure sorrowes, and labours and dangers, appertaineth a little vnto him; these three things no way approaching him, having no accesse vnto him. And therefore *Aristotle Cic. Nat. Deor. lib. 1.* holdes him to be equally exempted from vertue and from vice. *Ne (que) gratiâ, ne (que) irâ teneri potest, quòd quae talia essent, imbecilla essent omnia. Nor can he be possessed with favor and anger; for all that is so, is but weake.* The participation which we have of the knowledge of truth, whatsoever she is, it is not by our owne strength we have gotten it; God hath sufficiently taught it vs in that he hath made choise of the simple, common and ignorant, to teach vs his wonderfull secrets. Our faith hath not been purchased by vs: it is a gift proceeding from the liberality of others. It is not by our discourse or vnderstanding, that we have received our religion, it is by a forraine authority, and commandement. The weaknesse of our judgement, helpes vs more than our strength to compasse the same and our blindness more then our cleare-sighted eies. It is more by the meanes of our ignorance, then of our skill, that we are wise in heavenly knowledge. It is no marvell if our natural and terrestriall meanes cannot conceive the supernaturall, or apprehend the celestial knowledge: Let vs adde nothing of our owne vnto it, but obedience and subjection: For (as it is written) *I will confound the wisdom of the wise and destroy* 1. Cor. 1. 19. 20. 21. *the vnderstanding of the prudent, where is the Wise? Where is the Scribe? Where is the disputer of this world.* Hath not God made the wisdom of this world foolishnesse? For seeing the world by wisdom knew not God in the wisdom of God, it hath pleased him, by the vanity of preaching, to save them that beleeve. Yet must I see at last, whether it be in mans power to finde what he seekes for: and if this long search, wherein he hath continued so many ages, hath enriched him with any new strength or solid truth: I am perswaded, if he speake in conscience, he will confesse, that all the benefit he hath gotten by so tedious a pursute, hath been, that he hath learned to know his owne weaknesse. That ignorance which in vs was naturall, we have with long study confirmed and averred. It hath happened vnto those that are truely learned, as it hapneth vnto eares of Corne, which as long as they are empty, grow and raise their head aloft, vpright and stout; but if they once become full and bigge, with ripe Corne, they begin to humble and droope downward. So men having tried, and [...]ounded all, and in all this Chaos, and huge heape of learning and provision of so infinite different things, and [280]found nothing that is substanciall firme and steadie, but all vanitie, have renounced their presumption, and too late knowen their naturall condition. It is that, which *Velleius* vpbraides *Cotta* and *Cicero* withall, that they have learnt of *Philo*, to have learned nothing. *Pherecydes*, one of the seaven wise, writing to *Thales* even as he was yeelding vp the Ghost; I have (saith he) appoynted my friends, as soone as I shalbe layed in my grave, to bring thee all my writings. If they please thee and the other Sages publish them; If not, conceale them. They containe no certaintie, nor doe they any whit satisfie mee. My profession is not to know the truth nor to attain it. I rather open, then discover things. *The wisest that ever was being demanded what he knew, answered, he knew that he knew nothing.* He verified what some say, that the greatest part of what we know, is the least part of what we know not: that is, that that which we thinke to know, is but a parcel, yea and a small particle of our ignorance. We know things in a dreame (saith *Plato*) and we are ignorant of them in truth. *Omnes penè veteres nihil cognosci, Cic. Acad. q. 1. 1 nihil percipi, nihil sciri posse dixerunt: angustos sensus, imbecilles animos, brevia curricula vitae. Almost all the ancients*



*affirmed nothing may be knowen, nothing perceived, nothing vnderstood: that our senses are narrow, our mindes are weake, and the race of our life is short. Cicero himselfe, who ought all he had vnto learning, Valerius saith, that in his age he began to disesteeme letters: And whil'st he practised them, it was without bond to any speciall body, following what seemed probable vnto him, now in the one, and now in the other Sect; ever holding himselfe vnder the Academies doubtfulness. Dicendum est, sed ita vt nihil affirmem: quaeram omnia, dubitans Cic. divin. 1. 1. plerum (que), & mihi diffide [...]. Speake I must, but so as I avouch nothing, question all things, for the most part in doubt and distrust of my selfe. I should have too much adoe, if I would consider man after his owne fashion, and in grose: which I might doe by his owne rule, who is wont to iudge of truth not by the weight or value of voices but by the number. But leave we the common people,*

Qui vigilans stertit,  
 Who snoare while they are awake.  
 Mortua cui vita est, propè iam vivo atque videnti: Lucr. 3. 1091.  
 Whose life is dead while yet they see,  
 And in a maner living be. Lucr. 1. 3. 108 [...]

Who feeleth not himselfe, who judgeth not himselfe, who leaves the greatest part of his naturall parts idle. I will take man even in his highest estate. Let vs consider him in this small number of excellent and choise men, who having naturally beene endowed with a peculiar and exquisite wit, have also fostred and sharpened the same with care, with study and with arte, and have brought and strained vnto the highest pitch of wisdom, it may possibly reach vnto. They have fitted their soule vnto all senses, and squared the same to all byases; they have strengthened and vnder-propped it with all forraine helpes, that might any way fit or steade hir, and have enriched and adorned hir with whatsoever they have beene able to borrow, either within or without the world for hir availe: It is in them, that the extreame height of humane Nature doth lodge. They have reformed the world with policies and lawes. They have instructed the same with artes and sciences, as also by example of their wonderful manners and life. I will but make accompt of such people, of their witness and of their experience. Let vs see how far they have gone, and what holdfast they have held by. The maladies and defects, which we shal finde in that Colledge, the world may boldly allow them to be his. Whosoever seekes for any thing, commeth at last to this conclusion and saith, that either he hath found it, or that it cannot be found, or that he is still in pursuit after it. All Philosophy is divided into these three kindes. Hir purpose is to seeke out the, truth the knowledge and the certainty. The Peripatetike, the Epicurians, the Stoickes and others have thought they had found it. These have established the Sciences that we have, and as of certaine knowledges have treated of them; *Clitomachus, Carneades* and the *Academikes*, have dispaired the finding of it, and judged that truth could not be conceived by our meanes. The end of these, is weakenesse and ignorance. The former had more followers, and the wortheist Sectaries. *Pyrrho* and other *Sceptikes*, or *Epochistes*, whose doctrine or manner of teaching, many auncient learned men have thought to have beene drawne, from *Homer*, from the seaven wise men, from *Archilochus* and *Euripides*, to whom they joyne *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 degree is over boldly vaine in affirming that mans power is altogether vnable to attaine vnto it. [281]for to stablish the measure of our strength to know and distinguish of the difficulty of things is a great, a notable and extreame science, which they doubt whether man be capable thereof or no.

Nil sciri quisquis put at, id quo (que) nescit, Lucr. 1. 4. 471.  
 An sciri possit, quo se nil scire fatetur.

Who think's nothing is knowne, knowes not that, whereby hee  
Grauntes he knowes nothing, if it knowne may bee.

That ignorance, which knoweth judgeth and condemneeth it selfe, is not an absolute ignorance: For, to be so, she must altogether be ignorant of her selfe. So that the profession of the Phyrionians is ever to waver, to doubt and to enquire; never to be assured of any thing, nor to take any warrant of himself. Of the three actions or faculties of the soule, that is to say, he imaginative, the concupiscible, and the consenting, they allow and conceive the two former; the last, they hold and defend to be ambiguous, without inclination or approbation, either of one or other side, be it never so light, *Zeno* in jesture painted forth his imagination vpon this division of the soules faculties: the open and out-stretched hand was apparence; the hand halfe-shutte, and fingers somewhat bending, consent: the fist close, comprehension: 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 consent, leades them vnto their 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, feare, avarice, envie, immoderate desires, ambition, pride, superstition, love of novelties, rebellion, disobedience, obstinacie, and the greatest number of corporall evils: yea by that meane they are exempted from the jealousie of their owne discipline, for they contend but faintly: They feare nor revenge, nor contradiction in the disputations. When they say, that heavy things descend downward, they would be loath to be believed, but desire to be contradicted, therby to engender doubt, and suspence of judgement, which is their end and drift. They put forth their propositions, but to contend with those, they imagine wee holde in out conceipt. If you take theirs, then will they vndertake to maintaine the contrary: all is one to them, nor will they give a penny to chuse. If you propose that snow is blacke, they wil 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 swear that you stande 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 extreamitie of doubt, which staggreth it-selfe, they seperat and devide themselves from many opinions, yea from those, which divers wayes have maintained both the doubt and the ignorance. Why shall it not be graunted then (say they) as to Dogmatists or Doctrine-teachers, for one to say greene, and another yellow, so for them to doubt? *Is there any thing can be proposed vnto you, eyther to allow or refuse, which may not lawfully be considered as ambiguous and doubtful?* And whereas others be carryed either by the custome of their Countrie, or by the institution of their Parents, or by chance, as by a Tempest, without choyse or judgement, yea sometimes before the age of descretion, to such or such another opinion, to the Stoike or Epicurian Sect, to which they finde themselves more engaged, subjected or fast tyed, as to a prize they cannot let goe: *Ad quamcum (que) disciplinam, velut Tempestate, delat [...], ad eam tanquam Cic. academ. qu. lib. 10. ad saxum, adhaerescunt. Being carryed as it were by a Tempest, to any kinde of doctrine, they sticke close to it, as it were to a rocke.* Why shall not these likewise be permitted, to maintaineIbid. their liberty, and consider of things without dutie or compulsion? *Hoc liberiores, & solutiores, quod integra illis est iudicandi potestas. They are so much the freer and at liberty, for that their power of iudgement is kept entire.* Is it not some advantage for one to finde himselfe disengaged from necessitie, which brideleth others? Is it not better to remaine in suspence, then to entangle himselfe in so many errorrs, that humane fantasie hath brought forth? Is it not better for a man to suspend his owne perswasion, than to meddle with these sedicious and quarellous devisions? What shall I chuse? Mary, what you list, so you chuse. A very foolish answer: to which it seemeth neverthelesse, that all Dogmatisme arriveth; 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 combate a hundred and a hundred sides? Is it not better to keepe out of this

confusion? You are suffered [282]to embrace as your honour and life *Aristotles* opinion, vpon the eternitie of the soule, and to belie and contradict whatsoever *Plato* saith concerning that; and shal they be interdicted to doubt of it? If it be lawfull for *Panaeci [...]*s to maintaine his judgement about Aruspices, Dreames, Oracles and Prophecies, whereof the Stoickes makes 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 Masters? Confirmed and established by the general consent of the Schoole wherof he is a Sectary and a Professor? If it be a Childe that judgeth, he wo [...]*s* not what it is; if a learned man, he is fore-stalled. They have reserved a great advantage for themselves in the combat, having discharged themselves of the care how to shroud 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 halteth; if you, theirs is lame; if they faile they verifie ignorance, if you, she is verified by you; if they proove that nothing is knowen, it is very well: If they cannot proove it, it is good alike: *Vt quum in eadem re paria contrarijs in partibus momenta Cic. ibid. inveniuntur, facilius ab vtra (que) parte asser [...]*o sustineatur. So as when the same matter the like weight and moment is found on divers parts, we may the more e [...]*s [...]*y with hold avouching on both parts. And they suppose to find 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 maner of speech is, *I confirme nothing*: It is 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 Sacramentall word is, [...], which is as much to say, as I hold and stir not. Behold the burdons of their songs and other such like. Their effects is, a pure, entire and absolute surceasing and suspence of judgement. They vse their reason, to enquire and to debate; and not to stay and choose. Whosoever shall imagine a perpetuall confession of ignorance, and a judgement vpright and without staggering, to what occasion soever may chance; That man conceives the true Phyrhonisme. I expound this fanrazy as plaine as I can, because many deeme it hard to be conceived: And the Authors themselves represent it somewhat obscurely and diversly. Touching the actions of life, in that they are after the common sort. They are lent and applied to naturall inclinations, to the impulsion and constraint of passions, to the constitutions of lawes, and customes and to the tradition of arts: *Non enim nos Deus Cic. diuin. l. 1. ista scire, sed tantumodo v [...]*i voluit. For God would not have vs know these things, but onely vse 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 sort vnto this discourse, what is said of *Pyrrro*. They faine him to be stup [...]*de* and vnmoovable, leading a kinde of wilde and vnsociable life, not shunning to be [...]*t* with Car [...]*es*, presenting himselfe vnto downefales, refusing to conforme himselfe to the lawes. It is an endearing of his discipline. Hee would not make himselfe a stone or a blocke, but a living, discoursing and reasoning man, enjoying all pleasures and naturall commodities, busying himselfe with, and vsing all his corporall and spirituall parts, in rule and right. The fantastickall and imaginary, and false priviledges, which man hath vsurped vnto himselfe, to sway, to appoint, and to establish, he hath absolutely renounced and quit them. Yet is there no Sect, but is enforced to allow hir wise Sectary, in chiefe to follow diverse things nor comprized nor perceived, nor allowed, if he will live. And if he take shipping, he followes his purpose, not knowing whether it shal be profitable or no; and yeeldes to this, that the shippe is good, that the pilote is skilfull, and that the season is fit; circumstances only probable; After which he is bound to goe, and suffer himselfe to be removed by apparances alwaies provided they have no expresse contrariety in them. Hee hath a body, he hath a soule, his senses vrge him forward, his mind mooveth him. Although he finde not this proper and singular marke of judging in himselfe, and that hee perceive hee should not engage his consent, seeing some falshood may be like vnto this truth: Hee ceaseth not to detect the offices of his life fully and commodiously. How many arts are there, which professe to consist more in conjecture, than in the science; That distinguish not betweene truth and falshood, but onely follow seeming?

There is both true and false (say they) and there are means in vs to seeke it out, but not to stay it when we touch it. It is better for vs to suffer the order of the world to manage vs without further inquisition. A mind warranted from prejudice; hath a marvellous preferment to tranquility. *Men that sensure and controule their iudges, doe never duely submit themselves vnto them.* How much more docile and [283]tractable are simple and vncurious mindes 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 mans invention, wherein is so much likelihood, possibilitie and profite. This representeth man bare and naked, acknowledging his naturall weakenesse, apt to receive from above some strange power, disfurnished of all humane knowledge, and so much the more fitte to harbour divine vnderstanding, disannulling his judgement, that so he may give more place vnto faith: Neither misbeleeving nor establishing any doctrine or opinion repugnant vnto common lawes and observances, humble, obedient, disciplinable and studious; a sworne enemy to Heresie, and by consequence exempting himselfe from all vaine and and irreligious opinions, invented and brought vp by false Sects. It is a white sheet prepared to take from the finger of God, what form soever it shal please him to imprint therein. *The more we addresse & commit our selves to God, and reiect our selves, the better it is for vs,* Accept (saith *Ecclesiastes*) in good part things both in shew and taste, as from day to day they are presented vnto thee, the rest is beyond thy knowledge. *Dominus novit cogitationes hominum,* Psal. 93. [...]1. *quoniam vanae sunt. The Lord knowes the thoughts of men, that they are vayne.* See how of three generall Sects of Philosophie, two make expresse profession of doubt and ignorance; and in the third, which is the Dogmatists, it is easie to be discerned, 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 farre they had waded in seeking out the truth, *Quam docti fingunt magis quàm norunt. Which the learned doe rather conceit, than know.*

*Tymaeus*, being to instruct *Socrates*, of what hee 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 mortall man; which one of his Sectaries hath thus imitated: *Ut potero, explicabo: nec tamen, vt Pythius Cic. Tusc. qu. 1. 1. Apollo, certa vt sint & fixa, quae dixero: sed, vt homunculus, probabilia coniecturâ sequens. As I can, I will explaine them; yet not as Apollo giving oracles, that all should bee certaine and sette donwe, that I say, but as a meane man, who followes likelihoode by his coniecture.* And that vpon the discourse of the contempt of death; a naturall and popular discourse. Elsewhere he hath translated it, vpon *Platoes* very words. *Si fortè, de Deorum naturâ ortuque mundi disserentes,* Cic. Vnivers. *minus quod habemus in animo consequimur, haud erit mirum. Aequum est enim meminisse, & me, qui disseram, hominem esse. & vos qui iudicetis: vt, si probabilia dicentur, nihil vltrâ requiratis.* It will be no marvell, if arguing of the nature of Gods and originall of the world, we scarsely reach to that which in our minde we comprehend; for it is meet we remember, that both I am a man, who am to argue, and you who are to iudge, so as you seeke no further, if I speake but things likely. *Aristotle* ordinarily hoardeth vs vp a number of other opinions, and other beliefes, that so he may compare his vnto it, and make vs see how farre he hath gone further, and how neere he comes vnto true-likelihood; For *truth is not iudged by authoritie, nor by others testimonie.* And therefore did *Epicurus* religiously avoyde to aleadge any in his compositions. He is the Prince of Dogmatists, and yet we learne of him, that, to know much, breedes an occasion to doubt more. He is often seene, seriously to shelter himselfe vnder so inextricable obscuritie that his meaning cannot be perceived. In effect, it is a Pyrrhonisme vnder a resolving forme. Listen to *Ciceroes* protestation, who doth declare vs others fantasies by his owne. *Qui requirunt,* Cic. Nat. deo. 1. 1. *quid de quaque re ipsi sentiamus; curiosiùs id faciunt, quàm necesse est. Haec in philosophiâ ratio, contra omnia disserendi, nullámque rem apertè iudicandi, profecta à Socrate, repetita ab Arcesila, confirmata à Carneade vsque*

*ad nostram viget aetatem. Hi sumus, qui omnibus veris falsa quaedam adiuncta esse dicamus, tantâ similitudine, vt in ijs nulla insit certè iudicandi & assentiendi nota. They that would know what we conceit of every thing, vse more curiosity than needes. This course in Philosophy to dispute against all things, to iudge expresly of nothing, derived from Socrates, renewed by Arcesilas, confirmed by Carneades, is in force till our time: we are those that aver some falshood entermixt with every trueth, and that with such likenesse, as there is no set note in those things for any assuredly to give iudgement or assent. Why hath not Aristotle alone, but the greatest number of Philosophers affected difficulty, vnlesse it be to make the vanity of the subject to preuaile, and to amuse the curiosity of our minde, seeking to feede it, by gnawing so raw and bare a bone? Clytomachus affirmed, that he could never vnderstand by the writings of Carneades, what opinion he was of. Why hath Epicurus interdited facility [284]vnto his Sectaries? And wherefore hath Heraclitus benee surnamed [...], a darke misty clouded fellow? Difficulty is a coine, that wisemen make vse of, as juglers doe with passe and repasse, because they will not display the vanity of their arte, and wherewith humane foolishnesse is easily apaide.*

Clarus ob obscurum linguam, magis interinanes. Lucr. l. 1. 656.  
 Omnia enim stolidi magis admirantur amântque,  
 Inversis quae sub verbis latitantia cernunt.

For his darke speech much prais'd, but of th'vnwise;  
 For fooles doe all still more admire and prize,  
 That vnder words turn'd topsie-turvie lies.

*Cicero* reproveth some of his friends, because they were wont to bestow more time about Astrology, Law, Logike, and Geometry, then such Artes could deserve; and diverted them from the devoirs of their life, more profitable and more honest. The *Cyrenaike* Philosophers equally contemned naturall Philosophy and Logicke. *Zeno* in the beginning of his bookes of the Common-wealth, declared all the liberall Sciences to be vnprofitable. *Chrysippus* said that which *Plato* and *Aristotle* had written of Logike, they had written the same in jest and for exercise sake; and could not beleve that ever they spake in good earnest of so vaine and idle a subject. *Plutarke* saith the same of the Metaphysikes; *Epicurus* would have said it of Rethorike, of Gramar, of Poesie, of the Mathematikes, and (except natural Philosophy) of all other sciences: And *Socrates* of all; but of the Arte of civill manners and life. Whatsoever 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 supererogation in regard of that. *Parum mihi placeant eae literaequae advirtutem doctoribus nihil profuerunt. That learning pleaseth me but a little, which nothing profiteth the teachers of it vnto vertue.* Most of the Artes have thus benee contemned by knowledge it selfe: For they thought it not amisse to exercise their mindes in matters, wherein was no profitable solidity. As for the rest, some have judged *Plato* a Dogmatist, others a Doubter, some a Dogmatist in one thing and some a Doubter, in another. *Socrates*, the fore-man of his Dialogues doth ever aske and propose his disputation; yet never concluding, nor ever satisfying: and saith, he hath no other Science, but that of opposing. Their author *Homer* hath equally grounded the foundations of all Sects of Philosophy, there by to shew, how indifferent he was which way we went. Some say, that of *Plato* arose ten diverse Sects. And as I thinke, never was instruction wavering and nothing avouching, if his be not. *Socrates* was wont to say, that when Midwives begin once to put in practise the trade to make other women bring forth children, themselves become barren. That he by the title of wise, which the gods had conferred vpon him, had also in his man-like and mentall love shaken off the faculty of begetting: Being well pleased to afford all helpe and savor to such as were engendrers; to open their nature, to suple their passages, to ease the issue of their child-bearing, to judge thereof, to baptise the same, to foster it, to strengthen it, to swath it,

and to circumsise it; exercising and handling his instrument at the perrill and fortune of others So i [...] it with most Authors of this third kinde, 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 heere and there, they enterlace their stile with dogmaticall cadences. And is not that as well seene in *Seneca*, and in *Plutarke*? How much doe they speake sometimes of one face, and sometimes 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 seeming) loved this manner of Philosophyng, Dialogue wise in good earnest, that therby he might more decently place in sundry mout [...]es the diversity and variation of his owne conceites. *Diversly to treat of matters is as good and better as to treat 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 resolving speech: yet see we, that those which our Parlements present vnto our people, as the most exemplare and fittest to nourish in them the reverence they owe vnto this dignitie, especialy 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 al judges as much as the debating of diverse, and agitations of contrary reasonings of law causes will [285]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 so entangled, either by intent to shew the wavering of mans minde aboue all matters, or ignorantly forced by the volubilitie and incomprehensiblenesse of all matters: What meaneth this burdon? *In a slippery and gliding place let vs suspend our beliefe*, For as *Euripides* saith,

Les oeuvres de Dieu en diverses Euripides.  
Facons, nous donnent des traverses.

Gods workes doe travers our imaginations,  
And crosse our workes in divers different fashions.

Like vnto that, which *Empedocles* was wont often to scatter amongst his bookes, as moved by a divine furie and forced by truth. No no, we feele nothing, we see nothing; all things are hid from vs: There is not one, that we may establish, how and what it is: But returning to this holy word. *Cogitationes mortalium timidae & incertae adinventiones nostrae, & providentiae*. *Wisd. c. 9. 14. The thoughts of mortal men are feareful, our devices and foresights are vncertaine*. It must not be thought strange if men disparing of the goale have yet taken pleasure in the chase of it; studie being in it selfe a pleasing occupation, yea so pleasing, that amid sensualities, the Stoikes forbid also that, which comes from the exercise of the minde, and require a bridle to it, and finde intemperance in over much knowledge. *Democritus* having at his table eaten some figges, that tasted of honny, began presently in his minde, to seeke out whence this vnusuall sweetnes in them might procede; and to be resolved, rose from the board, to view the place where those figges had beene gathered. His maide servant noting this alteration in her master, smilingly saide vnto him, that hee should no more busie himselfe about it; the reason was, she had laide them in a vessell, where honny had beene, whereat he seemed to be wroth in that shee had deprived him of the occasion of his intended search, and robbed his curiositie of matter to worke vpon. Away (quoth he) vnto her, thou hast much offended mee; yet will I not omit to finde out the cause, as if it were naturally so. Who perhaps would not have missed to finde some likely or true reason, for a false and supposed effect. This storie of a famous and great Philosopher dooth evidently represent vnto vs this studious passion, which so dooth amuse vs in pursuite of things, of whose obtaining wee dispaire. *Plutarke* reporteth a like example of one, who would not bee resolved of what hee doubted, because hee would not loose the pleasure hee had in seeking it: As another, that would not have his Phisitian remove the thirst hee felt

in his age, because hee would not loose the pleasure he tooke in quenching the same with drinking. *S [...]tius est supervacua* Sen. epi. 89 f. *discere, quàm nihil. It is better to learne more then wee neede, then nothing at all,* Even as in all feeding, pleasure is alwayes alone and single; and all wee 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 mindes, it raiseth and puffeth vs vp, it makes vs by the comparison 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 nought but thereverence and feare to iudge of them,* These are the very words of their profession. The vaine image of this crazed curiositie, is more manifestly seene in this other example, which they for honour-sake have so often in their mouths. *Eudoxus* wished, 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 vse and possession shall therewith bee taken from him; and for so sudden and fleeting knowledge, loose and forgoe all the knowledges he either now hath, or ever hereafter may have. I can not easily be perswaded, that *Epicurus*, *Plato*, or *Pithagoras* have sold vs their Atomes, their Ideas, and their Numbers for ready payment. They were overwise to establish their articles of faith vpon things so vncertaine and disputable. But in this obscuritie and ignorance of the world, each of these notable men hath endeavoured to bring some kinde of shew or image of light; and have busied their mindes about inventions, that might at least have a pleasing and wil [...]e apparance, provided (notwithstanding it were false) it might be maintained against contrary oppositions: *Unicuique ista pro ingento finguntur, non ex Scientiæ v [...]. These things are conceited by every man as his wit serves, not as his knowledge stretches and reaches.* An ancient Philosopher [286] being blamed for professing that Philosophie, whereof, in his judgement hee made no esteeme; answered, that that was true Philosophizing. They have gone about to consider all, to ballance all, and have found that it was an occupation fitting the naturall curiositie 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 vnfold common opinions, that so they might not breede trouble in the obedience of lawes and customes of their countries. *Plato* treateth this mysterie in a very manifest kinde of sport. For, where he writeth according to himselfe, he prescribeth nothing for certaintie: When he institutes a Law giuer, he borroweth a very swaying and avouching kinde of stile: Wherein he boldly entermingleth his most fantastical opinions; as profitable to perswade the common sorte, as ridiculous to perswade himselfe: Knowing how apt we are to receive all impressions, and chiefly the most wicked and enormous. And therefore is he very carefull in his lawes that nothing bee sung in publike but Poesies; the fabulous fictions of which tend to some profitable end: being so apt to imprint all manner of illusion in mans minde, that it is injustice not to feede them rather with commodious lies, then with lies either vnprofitable or damageable, He flatly saith in his Common-wealth, that for the benefit of men, it is often necessarie to deceive them. It is easie to distinguish, how some Sects have rather followed truth, and some profit; by which the latter have gained credit. It is the miserie of our condition, that often, what offers it selfe vnto onr imagination for the likely est: presents not it selfe vnto it for the most beneficiall vnto our life. The boldest sects, both *Epicurian*, *Pirrhonian* and new *Academike*, when they have cast their acoumpt, are compelled to stoope to the civill law. There are other subjects, which they have tossed, some on the left and some on the right hand, each one labouring and striving to give it some semblance, were it right or wrong: For, having found nothing so secret, 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 establish a truth, but for an exercise of their studie. *Non tam id sensisse, quod dicerent, quàm exercere ingenia materiae difficultate videntur voluisse.*

*They seeme not so much to have thought as they said, as rather willing to exercise their wits in the difficulty of the matter. And if it were not so taken, how should we cloke so great an inconstancie, varietie and vanity of opinions, which we see to have beene produced by these excellent and admirable spirits? As for example, What greater vanitie can there be, then to goe about by our proportions and coniectures to guesse at God? And to governe both him and the world according to our capacitie and lawes? And to vse this small scantlin of sufficiencie, which he hath pleased to impart vnto our naturall condition, at the cost and charges of divinitie? And because we cannot extend our sight so farre as his glorious throne, to haue removed him downe to our corruption and miseries? Of all-humane and ancient opinions concerning religion, I thinke that to have had more likelyhood and excuse, which knowledged and confessed God to be an incomprehensible power, chiefe beginning and preserver of all things; all goodnes, all perfection; accepting in good part the honour and reverence which mortall men did yeeld him, vnder what vsage, name and manner soever it was.*

Iupiter omnipotens rerum, regúmque, Deúmque,  
Progenitor, genitrixque.

Almightie Love, is parent said to be  
Of things, of Kings, of Gods, both he and sne.

This zeale hath vniversally beene regarded of heaven with a gentle and gracious eye. All Policies have reaped some fruite by their devotion: Men, and impious actions have every where had correspondent events. Heathen histories acknowledge dignitie, order, justice, prodigies, and oracles, employed for their benefite and instruction, in their fabulous religion: God of his mercy daining peradventure, to foster by his temporall blessings the budding and tender beginnings of such a brute knowledge, as naturall reason gave them of him, athwart the false images of their deluding dreames: Not only false, but impious and injurious are those, which man hath forged and devised by his owne invention. And of al religions Saint *Paul* found in credite at *Athens*, that which they had consecrated vnto a certaine hidden and vnknowne divinitie, seemed to be most excusable, *Pithagoras* shadowed the truth somewhat neerer, judgeing that the knowledge of this first cause and *Ens entium* must be vndefined, without any prescription or declaration. That it was nothing else but the extreame [287]indeavor of our imagination, toward perfection, every one amplifying the Idea thereof according to his capacitie. But if *Numa* vndertooke to conforme the devotion of his people to this project, to joyne the same to a religion meerly mentall, without any prefixt object, or materiall mixture; he vndertooke a matter to no vse. *Mans minde could never be maintained, if it were still floting vp and downe in this infinite deepe of shapeles conceits.* They must be framed vnto hir to some image, according to hir model. The majesty of God hath in some sort suffered it selfe to be circumscribed to corporall limits: *His supernaturall and celestiall Sacraments, beare signes of our terrestriall condition.* His adoration is exprest 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 beleeve, that the sight of our Crucifixes, and pictures of that pittiful torment, that the ornaments and ceremonious motions in our Churches, that the voices accomodated and suted to our thoughts-devotions, and this stirring of our senses, doth not greatly inflame the peoples soules, with a religious passion, of wonderous beneficiall good. Of those, to which they have given bodies, as necessity required amid this generall blindnesse; as for me, I should rather have taken part with those who worshiped the Sunne.

—*la lumiere commune,*  
L'oeil du monde: & si Dieu au chef porte des yeux,  
Les rayons du Solil sont ses yeux radieux  
Qui donnent vie à tous, nous maintiennent & gardent,



Et les faicts des humains en ce monde regardent:  
 Ce beau, ce grand Soleil, qui nous fait les saysons,  
 Selon qu'il entre ou sort de ses douze maysons:  
 Qui remplit l'vnivers de ses vertus cognues,  
 Qui d'vntraict de ses yeux nous dissipe les nues:  
 L'sprit, l'ame du monde, ardent & flamboyant,  
 En la couree d'un iour tout le Ciel tour noyand,  
 Plein d'immense geandeur, rond, vagabond & ferme:  
 Lequel tient dessoubs luy tout le monde pour terme,  
 Enrepos sans repos, oysif, & sans seiour,  
 Fils ainsè de nature, & le pere du iour.

The common light,  
 The worlds eye: and if God beare eyes in his cheefe head,  
 His most resplendent eyes, the Sunne-beames may be said,  
 Which vnto all give life, which vs maintaine and garde,  
 And in this world of men, the workes of men regarde,  
 This great, this beauteous Sunne, which vs our seasons makes,  
 As in twelve houses he, ingresse or egress takes;  
 Who with his Vertues knowne, doth fill this vniverse  
 With one cast of his eyes doth vs all clowdes disperse,  
 The spirit, and the soule of this world, flaming, burning,  
 Round about heav'n in course of one dayes journey turning.  
 Of endlesse greatnesse full, round, mooveable and fast:  
 Who all the world for boundes beneath himselfe hath pla'st:  
 In rest, without rest, and still more staide, without stay,  
 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 vaste-worldes-frame, which we perceive to be furthest from vs: And by that meane so little known, as they are pardonable, that entered into admiration, and reverence of it. *Thale* [...], who was the first to enquire and finde out this matter, esteemed God to bee a spirit, 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 be a God, which was created immense, and alwaies mooving. *Anaxagoras* was the first that held the description and manner of all things, to be directed by the power and reason of a spirit infinit. *Alcmaeon* hath ascribed Divinity vnto the Sunne, vnto the Moone, vnto Stars, and vnto the Soule. *Pithagoras* hath made God, a spirit dispersed through the Nature [288]of all things, whence our soules are derived. *Parmenides*, a Circle circumpassing the heavens, and by the heate of light maintaining the world. *Empedocles* said, the foure Natures, whereof all things are made, to be Gods. *Protagords*, 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 circutations were Gods, and othertimes this Nature, which disperseth these images; and then our knowledge and intelligence. *Plato* scattereth his beliefe after diverse semblances. In his *Tymeus*, he saith, that the worlds-father could not be named. In his *Lawes*, that his being must not be enquired-after. And else-where in the said bookes, he maketh the world, the heaven, the starres, the earth and our soules, to be Gods; and besides, admiteth those that by ancient institutions have beene received in every Common-wealth. *Xenophon* reporteth a like difference of *Socrates* his discipline. Sometimes that Gods forme ought not to be inquired after; then he makes him infer, that the Sunne is a God, and the Soule a God: othertimes, that there is but one, and then more. *Speusippus* Nephew vnto *Plato*, makes God to be a certaine power, governing all things, and having a soule. *Aristotle* saith sometimes that it is the spirit, and sometimes the world; othertimes he appoynteth another ruler over this world, and sometimes he makes God to be the heat of heaven. *Xenocrates* makes eight; five named amongst the planets, the sixth composed of all the fixed starres, as of his owne members; the seaventh and eight, the Sunne and the Moone. *Heraclides Ponticus* doth but roame among his opinions, and in fine depriveth God of sense, and maks him remoove and transchange

himselfe from one forme to another; and then saith, that it is both heaven and earth. *Theophrastus* in all his fantazies wandereth still in like irresolutions, attributing the worldes superintendency now to the intelligence, now to the heaven, and now to the starres. *Stratio*, that it is Nature having power to engender, to augment and to diminish, without forme or sense. *Zeno*, the naturall Lawe, commaunding the good, and prohibiting the evil; which Lawe is a breathing creature; and remooveth the accustomed Gods, *Iupiter, Iuno and Vesta. Diogenes Appolloniates*, that it is Age. *Xenophanes* makes God, round, seeing, hearing not breathing, and having nothing common with humane Nature. *Aristo* deemeth the forme of God to bee incomprehensible, and depriveth him of senses, and wotteth not certainly whether he bee a breathing soule or something else. *Cleanthes*, sometimes reason, othertimes the World, now the soule of Nature, and other-while the supreame heate, enfoulding and containing all. *Persaeus Zeno*es disciple hath beene of opinion, that they were surnamed Gods, who had brought some notable good or benefite vnto humane life, or had invented profitable things. *Chrysippus*, made a confused huddle of all the foresaide sentences, and amongst a thousand formes of the Gods, which he faineth, hee also accompteth those men, that are immortalized. *Diagoras* and *Theodorus*, flatly denyed, that there were anie Gods: *Epicurus* makes the Gods, bright-shining, transparent and perflable, placed as it were betweene two Forts, betweene two Worldes, safely sheltered from all blowes; invested with a humane shape, and with our members, which vnto them are of no vse.

Ego Deûm genus esse semper duxi, & dicam c [...]litum, E [...]. Cice. diu. l. 2.  
Sed eos non curare opinor, quid agat humanum genus.

I still thought and wil say, of Gods there is a kinde;  
But what our mankinde doth, I thinke they nothing minde.

Trust to your Phylosophie, boast to have hit the naile on the head; or to have found out the beane of this Cake, to see this coile and hurly-burly of so many Phylosophical wits. The trouble or confusion of worldly shapes and formes, hath gotten this of mee, that customes and conceipts differing from mine, doe not so much dislike me, as instruct me; and at what time I conferre or compare them together, they doe not so much puffe me vp with pride, as humble me with lowlinesse. And each other choyse, except that, which commeth from the expresse hand of God, seemeth to me a choyse of small prerogative or consequence. The worlds policies are no lesse contrary one to another in this subject, than the schooles: Whereby we may learne, that Fortune himselfe is no more divers, changing and variable, than our reason, nor more blinde and inconsiderat. Things most vnknowne are fittest to bee deified. Wherefore, to make gods of our selves (as antiquitie hath done,) it exceed the extreame weakensse of discourse. I would rather have folowed those that worshipped the Serpent, the Dogge and the Oxe, forsomuch as their Nature and being is least knowne to vs; and we may more lawfully imagine what we list of those beasts and ascribe extraordinarie faculties [289]vnto 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 jealousie, our limmes and our bones, our infirmities, our pleasures, our deathes and our Sepulchres vnto them, hath of necessity proceeded from a meere and egregious sottishnesse, or drunkennesse of mans wit.

Quae procul vsque adeo divino ab numine distant Lucr. l. 5. 123.  
Inque Deûm numero quae sint indigna videri.

Which from Divinity so distant are,  
To stand in rancke of Gods vnworthy farre.

*Forma, aetates, vestitus, ornatus noti sunt: genera, coniugia, cognationes, omniáque traducta ad similitudinem imbecillitatis humanae: nam & perturbatis animis inducuntur, accipimus enim Deorum cupiditates, agritudines, iracundias. Their shapes, their ages, their apparrell, their furnitures are known; their kindes, their marriages, their kindered, and all translated to the likenesse of mans weakenesse: For they are also brought in with mindes much troubled: for we reade of the lust fulnesse, the grievings, the angrinesse of the Gods. As to have ascribed Divinity, not only vnto faith, vertue, honour, concord, liberty, victory and piety; but also vnto voluptuousnesse, fraud; death envie, age and misery; yea vnto feare, vnto ague and vnto evill fortune and such other iniuries and wrongs to our fraile and transitory life.*

Quid invat hoc, templi [...]s nostros inducere mores? Pers. sat. 2. 62. 61.  
O curvae in terris animae & caelestium inanes!

What boots it, into Temples to bring manners of our kindes?  
O crooked soules on earth, and voide of heavenly mindes.

The Aegyptians with an impudent wisdom forbad vpon paine of hanging, that no man should dare to say; that *Serapis* and *Isis* their Gods, had whilom been but men, when all knew they had beene so. And their images or pictures drawne with a finger a crosse their mouthes imported (as *Varro* saith) this misterious rule vnto their priests, to conceale their mortall offspring, which by a necessary reason disanulled all their veneration. Since man desired so much to equall himselfe to God, it had beene better for him (saith *Cicero*) to draw 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 aright, he hath divers waies and with like vanitie of opinion, done both the one and other. When Philosophers blazon and display the Hierarchy of their gods and to the vtmost of their skil indevor to distinguish their aliances, their charges, and their powers. I cannot beleeve they speake in good earnest when *Plato* decifreth vnto vs the orchard of *Pluto*, and the commodities or corporall paines which even after the ruine and consumption of our bodie, waite for vs, and applyeth them to the apprehension or feeling we have in this life.

Secreti celant colles, & myrtia circùm Virg. Aen. 1. 6. 443.  
Sylva tegit, curae non ipsa in morte relinquunt.

Them paths aside conceale, a mirtle grove  
Shades them round; cares in death doe not remove.

When *Mahomet* promiseth vnto his followers aparadise all tapistred, adorned with gold and precious stones, peopled with exceeding beauteous damsels, stored with wines and singular cates. I well perceive they are but sooffers, which sute and applie themselves vnto our foolishnesse, thereby to enhonne and allure vs to these opinions and hopes fitting our mortall appetite. Even so are some of our men falne into like errours by promising vnto themselves after their resurection a terrestriall and temporall life, accompanied with al sorts of pleasures and worldly commodities. Shall we thinke that *Plato*, who had so heavenly conceptions, and was so well acquainted with Divinity, as of most he purchased the surname of Divine, was ever of opinion, that man (this seely and wretched creature man) had any one thing in him, which might in any sort be applied, and suted to this incomprehensible and vnspeakable power? or ever imagined, that our languishing hold fasts were capable, or the vertue of our vnderstanding of force, to participate or be partakers, either of the blessednesse, or eternall punishment? He ought in the behalfe of humane reason be answered: If the pleasures, thou promisest vs in the other life, are such as I have felt heere below, they have nothing in them common with infinity. If all my five naturall senses were even surcharged with joy and gladnesse, and my soule possessed with all the contents and, delights, it

[290]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 appertaine vnto this our present condition, it may not be accounted-of, *All mortall mens contentment is mortall*. 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 wee can but in any sorte conceive them, and so imagine them aright; they must be thought to be unimaginable, vnspeakeable and incomprehensible, and absolutely and perfectly other then those of our miserable experience. No eye can behold, (saith Sainte *Paul*) *The happy that God prepareth* 1. Cor. 2. 9. *for his elect, nor can it possibly enter the heart of man*. And if to make vs capable of it (as thou saith *Plato* by thy purifications) our being is reformed and essence changed, it must be by so extreame and vniversall a change, that according to Philosophicall doctrine, we shall be no more our selves:

Hector erat tunc cùm bello certabat, at ille Orid. Trist 1. 3. el. 11. 27.  
 Tr [...]ctus ab Aemonio non er at Hector equo.  
 Hector he was, when he in fight vs'd force;  
 Hector he was not, drawne by th'enemies horse.

it shall be some other thing, that shall receive these recompences.

—*quod mutatur, dissolvitur, interit ergo*: Lucr. 1. 3. 781.  
 Traijciuntur enim partes at que ordine migrant.  
 What is chang'd, is dissolved, therefore dies:  
 Translated parts in order fall and rise.

For, in the *Metempsychosis*, 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 abideth the soule of *Caesar*, doth wed the passions which concerned *Caesar*, or that it is hee? And if it were hee, those had some reason, who debating this opinion against *Plato*, object that the sonne might one day bee found committing with his mother vnder the shape of a Mules body, and such like absurdities. And shall wee imagine, that in the transmigrations which are made from the bodies of some creatures into others of the same kind, the new succeeding-ones are not other, then their predecessors were? Of a Phenix 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 seene to die and then to wither drie, and of that body breedeth a Butter-flie, and of that a worme, were it not ridiculous to thinke, the same to be the first Silkworm? what hath once lost his being, is no more.

Nec si materiam nostram collegerit aetas Ib. 890.  
 Post obitum, rursúmque redegerit, vt sita nunc est  
 Atque iterum nobis fuerint data lumina vitae,  
 Pertineat quidquam tamen ad nos id quoque factum,  
 Interrupta semel cùm sit repet entia nostra.  
 If time should recollect, when life is past,  
 Our stuffe, and it replace, as now tis plac't,  
 And light of life were granted vs againe,  
 Yet nothing would that deede to vs pertaine,  
 When interrupted were our turne againe.

And *Plato*, when in another place thou saist, that it shall be the spirituall part of man that shall enjoy the recompences of the other life, thou tellest of things of as small likely-hood.

Scilicet avulsis radicibus vt nequit vllam Ib. 580.  
 Displicere ipse oculus rem seorsum corpore toto.  
 Ev'n as no eye, by th'root's pull'd-out can see  
 Ought in whole body severall to bee.

For, by this reckoning, it shall no longer be man, nor consequently vs, to whom this enjoying shall appertain; for we are builte of two principall essentiall parts, the separation of which, is the death and consummation of our being.

Inter enim iacta est vitai causa vagèque Ib. 903.  
 D [...]rrarunt passim motus ab sensibus omnes.  
 [291] A pause of life is interpos'd; from sense  
 All motions straid are, farre wandring thence.

we doe not say, that man suffereth, when the wormes gnaw his body and limbes whereby he lived, and that the earth consumeth them.

Et nihil hoc ad nos, qui coitu coniugioque Ibid. 888.  
 Corporis atque animae consistimus vniter apti.  
 This nought concern's vs, who consist of vnion,  
 Of minde and body joyn'd in meete communion,

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 addressed and bred them in him? And wherefore are they offended, and revenge his vicious deedes, when themselves have created him with so defective a condition, and that but with one twinkling of their will, they may hinder him from sinning? Might not *Epicurus* with some shew of humane reason object that vnto *Plato*, if he did not often shrowd himselfe vnder this sentence; That it is vnpossible by mortall nature to establish any certainty of the immortall? Shee is ever straying, but especially when she medleth with divine matters. Who feesles it more evidently then we? For, although we have ascribed vnto hir, assured and infallible principles, albeit wee enlighten hir steps with the holy lampe of that truth, which God hath beene pleased to impart vnto vs, we notwithstanding see daily, how little soever she stray from the ordinary path, and that she start or stragle out of the way, traced and measured out by the Church, how soone she looseth, entangleth and confoundeth hir selfe; turning, tossing and floating vp and downe, in this vast, troublesome and tempestious sea of mans opinions, without restraint or scope. So soone as she looseth this high and common way, shee devideth and scattereth hir selfe a thousand diverse waies. Man can be no other then he is, nor imagine but according to his capacitie: It is greater presumption (sath *Plutarke*) in them that are but men, to attempt to reason and discourse of Gods, and of demie-Gods, then in a man meerly ignorant of musicke, 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, Antiquity imagined it did something for divine Majesty, when shee compared the same vnto man, attiring hir with his faculties, and enriching hir with his strange humours, and most shamefull necessities: offering hir some of our cates to feede vpon, and some of our dances, mummeries, and enterludes to make hir merry, with our clothes to apparrell hir; and our houses to lodge hir, cherishing hir with the sweet odors of incense, and sounds of musicke, adorning hir with garlands and flowers, and to draw her to our vicious passion, to flatter her justice with an in humane revenge, gladding her with the ruine and dissipation of things created and preserved by her. As *Tiberius Sempronius*, who for a sacrifice to *Vulcane*, caused the rich spoiles and armes, which he had gotten of his enemies in *Sardinia*, to be burned: And *Paulus Emilius*, those he had obtayned in *Macedonia*, to *Mars* and *Minerva*. And *Alexander* comming to the Ocean of India, cast in favour of *Thetis* many great rich vessels of gold into the Sea, replenishing moreover hir

Alters with a butcherly slaughter, not onely of innocent beasts, but of men, as diverse Nations, and amongst the rest, ours were wont to doe. And I thinke none hath beene exempted from shewing the like▪ Essayes.

—*Su [...]mone creatos* Virg. Aen. l. 10 517.  
Quatuor hic iuuenes, totidem, quos educat Vfens,  
Viventes rapit, inferias quos immolet vmbris.  
Foure yong-men borne of *Sulmo*, and foure more  
Whom *Vfens* bred, he living over-bore,  
Whom he to his dead friend  
A sacrifice might send.

The *Getes* deeme themselves immortall, and their death but the beginning of a journey to their God *Zamolxis*. 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 lottes; And the manner to dispatch him, after they have by word of mouth instructed him of his charge, is that amongst those which assist his election, three holde so many javelins vpriight, vpon which the others by meere strength of armes, throwe him, if he chance to sticke vpon [292]them in any mortall place, and that he die suddenly, 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. *Amestris* mother vnto *Xerxes*, being become aged, caused at one time 14. yong striplings of the noblest houses of *Persia* (following the religion of hir countrie) to be buried all alive, thereby to gratifie some God of vnder-earth. Even at this day the Idols of *Temixitan* are cimented with the blood of yong children, and love no sacrifice but of such infant and pure soules: Oh justice greedie of the blood of innocencie.

Tantum religio potuit su [...]dere malorum. L [...]c. l. 1. 102.  
Religion so much mischeefe could  
Perswade, where it much better should.

The Carthaginians were wont to sacrifice their owne children vnto *Saturne*, and who had none, was faine to buy some: and their fathers and mothers were enforced in their proper persons, with cheerefull and pleasant countenance to assist that office. It was a strange conceite, with our owne affliction to goe about to please and appay divine goodnes. As the Lacedemomans, who flattered and wantonized their *Diana*, by torturing of yong boyes, whom often in favor of hir they caused to be whipped to death. It was a savage kinde of humor, to thinke do gratifie the Architect with the subversion of his architecture: and to cancel the punishment due vnto the guiltie, by punishing the guiltles, and to imagine that poore *Iphigenia*, in the port of *Aulis*, should by hir death and sacrifice discharge and expiate, towards God, the Grecians armie of the offences, which they had committed.

Et casta inceste nubendi tempore in ipso Ibid. 99.  
Hostia concider et mactatu moest a parentis.  
She, a chast offering, griev'd incestuously  
By fathers stroke, when she should wed, to die.

And those two noble and generous soules of the *Decij*, father and sonne, to reconcile, and appease the favor of the Gods, towards the Romanes affaires, should head long cast their bodies athwart the thickest throng of their enemies. *Quae fuit tanta Deorum iniquitas, vt placari populo Romano non possint, nisi tales viri occidissent? What iniustice of the Gods was so great, as they could not be appeased, vnlesse such men perished?* Considering that it lies not in the offender to cause himselfe to be whipped, how and when he list, but in the judge, who accoumpteth nothing a right punishment, except the torture he appointeth; and cannot impute that vnto punishment, which is in the free choise of him that suffereth. The divine vengeance presupposeth our full dissent, for his justice and our paine. And ridiculous

was that humor of *Polycrates*, the Tyrant of *Samos*, who to interrupt the course of his continuall happines, and to recompence-it, cast the richest and most precious jewell he had into the Sea, deeming that by this purposed mishappe he should satisfie the revolution and vicissitude of fortune; which to deride his folly, caused the very same iewel, being found in a fishes-belly, to returne to his hands againe. And to what purpose are the manglings and dismembrings of the *Corybantes*, of the *Maenades*, and now a daies of the Mahumetans, who skarre, and gash their faces, their stomake and their limmes, to gratifie their prophet: seeing the offence consisteth in the will, not in the breast, nor eyes, nor in the genitories, health, shoulders, or throte? *Tantus est perturbatae mentis & sedibus suis pulsae furror, vt sic dij placentur, quemadmodum ne Aug. Civi. Dei l. 6. c. 10. homines quidem saeuiunt. 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 outragious.* This naturall contexture doth by hir vse not only respect vs, but also the service of God, and other mens: it is iniustice to make it miscarie at our pleasure, as vnder what pretence soever it be to kill our selves. It seemeth to be a great cowardise and manifest treason, to abuse the stupide and corrupt the servile functions of the body, to spare the diligence vnto the soule how to direct them according vnto reason. *Ubi iratos deos timent, qui sic propitios habere merentur. In regiae libidinis Ibid. e. Senec. voluptatem castrati sunt quidam; sed nemo [...]ibi, ne vir esset, in bente domino, manus intulit. Where are they afeard of Gods anger, who in such sort deserve to have his fauour; some have beene guelled for Princes lustfull pleasure: but no man at the Lords command, hath laid hands on himselfe, to be lesse then a man.* Thus did they replenish their religion and stuffe it with diuers bad effects.

—*saepius olim* Lucr. l. 1. 82.

*Religio peperit scelerosa atque impia facta.*

[293] Religion hath oft times in former times.

Bred execrable facts, vngodly crimes.

Now can nothing of ours, in what manner soever, be either compared or referred vnto divine nature, that doth not blemish or defile the same with as much imperfection. How can this infinit beauty, power and goodnesse admit any correspondency or similitude with a thing so base and abject as we are, without extreame interest and manifest derogation from his divine greatnesse? *Infirmum Dei fortius est hominibus; & stultum Dei sapientius est hominibus*, 1. Cor. 1. 25. *The weaknesse of God is stronger then men: and the foolishnesse of God is wiser then men.* *Stilpo* the Philosopher, being demanded, whether the Gods rejoyce at our honours and sacrifices; you are indiscreet (said he) let vs withdraw our selues a part, if you speake of such matters. Notwithstanding we prescribe him limits, we lay continuall siege vnto his power by our reasons. (I call our dreames and our vanities reason, with the dispensation of Philosophy, which saith, that both the foole and the wicked doe rave and dote by reason; but that it is a reason of severall and particular forme) we will subject him to the vaine and weake apparances of our vnderstanding; him who hath made both vs and our knowledge. Because nothing i [...] [...]ade 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 puissance? Hath he obliged himselfe not to exceed the boundes of our knowledge? Suppose, oh man, that herein thou hast 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 formes and *Ideas*, in this piece of worke? Thou seest but the order and policy of this little little Cell wherein thou art placed: The question is, whither thou seest it: His divinity hath an infinit iurisdiction far beyond that: This piece is nothing in respect of the whole.

—*omnia cùm caelo terraque marique*, Lucr. l. 6. 675.

*Nil sunt ad summam summai totius omnem.*

All things that are, with heav'n, with Sea, and land,

To th'whole summe of th'whole summe, as nothing stand.

This law thou a leagest is but a municipall law, and thou knowest not what the vniversall is. Tie thy selfe vnto that, whereto thou are subject, but tie not him; he is neither thy companion, nor thy brother, nor thy fellow Citizen, nor thy compesmate. If he in any sort have communicated himselfe vnto thee, it is not to debase himself, or stoope to thy smalnesse, nor to give thee the controulment of his power. Mans body cannot soare vp vnto the cloudes, this is for thee. The Sunne vncessantly goeth his ordinary course: The bounds of the Seas and of the earth can not be confounded: The water is ever fleeting, wavering, and without firmenesse: A wal without breach or flaw, impenetrable 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. It is for thee that he hath made these rules; it 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, wherefore should he have restrained his forces vnto a limited measure? In favour of whom should he have renounced his priviledge? Thy reason hath in no one other thing more likely-hood and foundation, then in that which perswadeth thee a plurality of worlds.

Terrámque & solem, lunam, mare, caetera quae sunt, Ib. 2. 1094.  
Non esse vnica, sed numero magis innumerali.  
The earth, the Sunne, the Moone, the Sea and all  
In number numberlesse, not one they call.

The famousest wits of former ages have beleevved it, yea and some of our moderne, as forced therevnto by the apparance of humane reason. For as much as whatsoever we see in this vast worlds frame, there is no one thing alone, single and one:

—*cùm in summa res nulla sit vna*, Ib. 1086.  
Unica quae gignatur, & vnica sol [...]que crescat:  
Whereas in generall summe, nothing is one,  
To be bred onely one, grow onely one.

and that all severall kindes are multiplied in some number: Wherby it seemeth vnlikely, that God hath framed this piece of worke alone without a fellow; and that the matter of this forme hath wholly beene spent in this onely *Individuum*;

[294]

Quare etiam atque etiam tales fateare necesse est, Ib. 1 [...]73.  
Esse alios alibi congressus materiaij,  
Qualis hic est avido complexu quem tenet Aether.  
Wherefore you must confesse, againe againe,  
Of matter such like meetings else where raigne  
As this, these skies in greedy gripe containe.

Namely if it be a breathing creature, as it's motions make it so likely, that *Plato* assureth it, and divers of ours eyther affirme it, or dare not impugne it; no more then this olde opinion, that the Heaven, the Starres and other members of the World, are Creatures composed both of body and soule; mortall in respect of their composition, but immortall by the creators decree. Now, if there be divers Worlde, as *Democritus*, *Epicurus* and well-neere all Phylosophie hath thought; what know wee, whether the principles and the rules of this one concerne or touch likewise the others? Happily they have another semblance and another policie. *Epicurus* imagineth them either like or vnlike. We see an infinite difference and varietie in this world, only by the distance of places. There is neyther Corne, nor Wine; no nor any of our beastes seene in that new Corner of the World, which our fathers have lately discovered:



All things differ from ours. And in the old time, marke but in how many parts of the world, they had never knowledge nor of *Bacchus* nor of *Ceres*. If any credit may be given vnto *Plinie* 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 mungrell and ambiguous shapes, betweene a humane and brutish Nature. Some Cuntries there are, where men are borne headlesse, with eyes and mouthes in their breasts; where al are Hermaphrodites; where they creep on all foure; Where they have but one eie in their forehead, and heads more like vnto a dog than ours; Where from the Navill downwards they are halfe fish, and live in the water; Where women are brought a bed at five yeares of age, and live but eight; Where their heads and the skinne of their browes are so hard, that no yron can pierce them, but wil rather turne edge; Where men never have beardes. Other Nations there are, that never have vse of fire? Others whose sperme is of a blacke colour. What shall we speake of them, who naturally change themselves into Woolves, into Coultts, and then into Men againe? And if it bee (as *Plutark* saith) that in some part of the Indiaes, there are men without mouthes, and who live only by the smell of certaine sweete odours; how many of our descriptions be then false? Hee is no more ri [...]ible; nor perhappes 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 oppugne these goodly rules, which we have allotted and prescribed vnto Nature? And we vndertake to joyne GOD himselfe vnto hir. How manie 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 quintessences doe we dayly discover? For vs to goe according to Nature, is but to follow according to our vnderstanding, as farre as it can follow, and asmuch as we can perceive in it. Whatsoever is beyond it, is monstrous and disordred. By this accoumpt 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 snow to be white: And *Anaxagoras* said, it was blacke; Whether there be any thing or nothing; Whether there be knowledge or ignorance; Which *Metrodorus Chius* 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:

[...], Pla [...]. Gerg [...]x Eurip.  
 [...];  
 Who knowes if thus to live, be called death,  
 And if it be to die, thus to draw breath?

And not without apparance. For, wherefore doe we from that instant take a title of being, which is but a twinkling in the infinit course of an eternall night, and so short an interruption of our perpetuall and naturall condition? Death possessing what-ever is before and behind this moment, and also a good part of this moment. Some others affirme, there is no motion, and that nothing stirreth; namely those which follow *Melissus*. For if there be but [...] this sphericall motion serve him, nor the mooving from one place to another, [295]as *Plato* prooveth, that there is neither generation nor corruption in nature. *Protagoras* saith, there is nothing in Nature, but doubt: That a man may equally dispute of all things: and of that also, whether all things may equally be disputed of: *Mansiphanes* said, that of things which seeme to be, no one thing, is no more, then it is not. That nothing is certaine, but vncertainty. *Parmenides*, that of that which seemeth, there is no one thing in Generall. That there is but one *Zeno*, that one selfe same is not: And that there is nothing. If one were he should either be in another, or in himselfe: if 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 doctrines, the Nature of things is but a false or vaine shadow. I have ever thought, this manner of speech in a Christian, is full of indiscretion and irreverence; God cannot die, God cannot gaine-say himselfe, God cannot doe this or that. I cannot allow, a man should so bound Gods heavenly

power vnder the Lawes of our word. And that apparence, which in these propositions offers it selfe vnto vs, ought to be represented more reverently and more religiously. Our speech hath his infirmities and defects, as all things else have. Most of the occasions of this worlds troubles are Grammaticall. Our sutes and processes proceed but from the canvassing and debating the interpretation of the Lawes, and most of our warres from the want of knowledge in State-counsellors, that could not cleerely distinguish and fully expresse the Covenants, and Conditions of accords, betweene Prince and Prince. How many weighty strifes, and important quarrels, bath the doubt of this one silable, *Hoc*, brought forth in the world? examine the plainest sentence, that Logike it selfe can present vnto vs. If you say, it is faire Weather, and in so saying, say true; it is faire Weather then. Is not thie a certaine forme of speech? Yet will it deceive vs: That it is so; Let vs follow the example: If you say, I lie, and that you should say true, you lie then. The Arte, the reason, the force of the conclusion of this last, are like vnto the other; notwithstanding we are entangled. I see the Pyrhonian Phylosophers, who can by no manner of speech expresse their General conceit: for, they had neede of a new language. Ours is altogether composed of affirmative propositions, which are directly against them. So that, when they say, I doubt, you have them fast by the throte to make them a vow, that at least you are assured and know, that they doubt. So have they been compelled to save themselves by this comparison of Physicke, without which their conceite would be inexplicable and intricate. When they pronounce, I know not, or I doubt, they say, that this proposition transportes it selfe together with the rest, even as the Rewbarbe doeth, which scowred ill humours away, and therewith is carryed away himselfe. This conceit is more certainly conceived by an interrogation: What can I tell? As I beare it in an Imprese of a paire of ballances. Note how some prevaile with this kinde of vnreverent and vnhallowed speach. In the disputation, that are now-adayes in our religion, if you overmuch vrge the adversaries, 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 skoffer made profitable vse of it. Atleast (saith he) it is no small comfort vnto man, to see that God cannot doe all things; for he cannot kill himselfe if he would, which is the greatest benefite we have in our condition; he cannot make mortall men immortall, nor raise the dead to life againe, nor make him that hath lived, never to have lived, and him, who hath had honours, not to have had them, having no other right over what is past, but of sorgetfulnesse. And that this society betweene God and Man; may also be combined with some pleasant examples, he cannot make twise ten not to be twenty. See what he saith and which a Christian ought to abhor, that ever such and so profane words should passe his mouth: Whereas on the contrary part, it seemeth that fond men endeavour to finde out this foolish-boldnesse of speech, that so they may turne and winde God almighty according to their measure.

—*cras vel atra* Hor. car. l. 3. od. 29. 43.

Nube polum pater occupato,  
 Uel sole puro, non tamen irritum  
 Quodeúmque retro est efficiet, neque  
 Diffinget infectúmque reddet  
 Quod fugiens semel hora vexit.  
 To morrow let our father fill the skie,  
 With darke clowde, or with cleare Sunne, he thereby  
 [296] Shall not'make voyde what once is overpast:  
 Nor shall he vndoe, or in new molde cast,  
 What time hath once caught; that flyes hence so fast.

When we say, that the infinitie of ages, as well past as to come, is but one instant with God; that his wisdome, goodnesse and power, are one selfe-same thing with his essence; our tongue speakes-it, but our vnderstanding can no whit apprehend it. Yet will our selfe-overweening sift his divinitie through our searce: whence are engendred all the vanities and

errors wherewith the world is so full-fraught, reducing and weighing with his vncertaine balance, a thing so farre from his reach, and so distant from his weight. *Mirum Pli [...]. nat. hist. l. 2. c. 23. quò procedat improbitas cordis humani, parvulo aliquo invitata successu. It is a wonder, whether the perverse wickednesse of mans heart will proceede, if it be but called-on with any little successe.* How insolently doe the Stoikes charge *Epicurus*, because he holds, that to be perfectly good and absolutely happy, belongs but onely vnto God; and that the wiseman hath but a shadow and similitude thereof? How rashly have they joynd God vnto destiny? (Which at my request, let none that beareth the surname of a Christian, doe at this day) And *Thales, Plato, and Pithagoras* have subjected him vnto necessitie. This overboldnesse, or rather bold-fiercensse, to seeke to discover God, by and with our eyes, hath bene the cause, that a notable man of our times hath attributed a corporall forme vnto divinitie and is the cause of that which dayly hapneth vnto vs, which is, by a particular assignation, to impute 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 slight and ordinary vnto vs. *Magna dij curant, parva negligunt. The Gods take some care for great things, but none* Cic. Nat. D [...].r. lib. 2. Cic. ib. lib. 3. *for litle.* Note his example; he wil enlighten you with his reason. *Nec inregnis quidem reges omnia minima curant. Nor doe Kings in their Kingdomes much care for the least matters.* As if it were all one to that King, either to remove an Empire, or a leafe of a tree: and if his providence were otherwise exercised, inclining or regarding no more the successe of a battel, then the skip of a flea. The hand of his government affords it selfe to all things after a like tenure, fashion and order; our interest addeth nothing vnto it: our motions and our measures concerne him nothing and move him no whit. *Deus it a artifex magnus in magnis, vt minor non sit in parvis. God is so great a workeman in great things, as he is no lesse in small things.* Our arrogancie, setteth ever before vs this blasphemous equality; because our occupations charge-vs. *State* hath presented the Gods with all immunitie of offices, as are their Priests. He maketh nature to produce and preserve all things, and by hir weights and motions to compact all parts of the world, discharging humane nature from the feare of divine judgements. Cic. ib. lib. 1. *Quod beatum aeternumque sit, id nec habere, negotij quicquam, ne [...] exhibere alteri. That which is blessed and eternall, nor is troubled it selfe, nor troubleth others.* Nature willeth that in all things alike, there be also like relation. Then the infinite number of mortall men, concludeth a like number of immortall.: The infinite things that kill and destroy, presuppose as many that preserve and profit. As the soules of the Gods, sanse tongues, sanse eyes and sanse eares, have each one in themselves a feeling of that which the other feele, and judge of our thoughts; so mens soules, when they are free and severed from the body, either by sleepe or any distraction; divine, prognosticate and see things, which being conjoynd to their bodies, they could not see. Men (saith Saint *Paul*) when they professed themselves to bee Run. 1. 22. 23. wise, they became fooles, 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 Deifications. After the great, solemne and proud pompe of funeralls, when the fire began to burne the top of the *Pyramis*: and to take hold of the bed or hearce wherein the dead, corps lay, even at that instant, they let flie an Eagle, which taking her flight aloft vpward, signified that the soule went directly to Paradise. We have yet a thousand medailes and monuments, namely of that honest woman *Faustina*, wherein that Eagle is represented, carrying a cocke-horse vp towards heaven those Deified soules. It is pity we should so deceive our selves with our owne foolish devises and apish inventions,

Quod finxere timent— Lucan. l. 1. 484  
 Of that they stand in feare,  
 Which they in fancy beare.

as children will be afeard of their fellowes visage, which them selues have besmeared and [297]blackt. *Quasi quicquam infoelicus sit homine, cui sua figment a dominantur. As though any thing were more wretched then man over whom his owne imaginations beare sway and domineere.* To honour him whom we have made, is farre from honouring him that hath made vs. *Augustus* had as many Temples as *Iupiter*, and served with as much religion and opinion of myracles. The Thrasians, in requitall of the benefits they had received of *Agesilaus*, came to tell him how they had canonized him. Hath your Nation (said he) the power to make those whom it pleaseth, Gods: Then first (for example sake) make one of your selues, and when I shall have seene what good he shall have thereby, I will then thanke you for your offer. Oh sencelesse 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 heere arguments out of Philosophies schooles it selfe,

Noscere cui Divos & coelinumina soli, Lucan. lib. 1. 452.  
 Aut solinescire datum.  
 Only to whom heav'ns 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 sense; and if hee have sense, 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 hir helping hand vnto it. Were it not a sottish arrogancy, that wee should thinke our selves to be the perfectest thing of this Vniverse? Then sure there is some better thing, And that is God. When you see a rich and stately 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, greater then our selves? Is not the highest ever the most 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 vs forth, then the world hath both soule and reason. Each part of vs, is lesse then our selves, we are part of the world, then the world is stored with wisdom and with reason, and that more plenteously, 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 starres annoy vs not, then the starres are full of goodnesse. We have neede of nourishment, then so have the Gods, and feede themselves with the vapours arising here below. Worldly goods, are not goods vnto God. Then are not they goods vnto vs. To offend and to bee offended, are equall witnesses of imbecilitie; Then it is folly to feare God. God is good by his owne nature, man by his industry: which is more? Divine wisdom and mans wisdom, have no other distinction, but that the first is eternall. Now lastingnesse it not an accession vnto wisdom. Therefore are we fellowes. We have life, reason and libertie, we esteeme goodnesse, charitie and justice; these qualities are then in him. In conclusion the building and destroying the conditions of divinitie, are forged by man according to the relation to himselfe. Oh what a patterne, and what a modell! Let vs raise, and let vs amplifie humane qualities as much as we please. Puffe-vp thy selfe poore man, yea swell and swell againe.

—*non si te ruperis, inquit.* Hor. serm. lib. 2. sat. 3. 324.  
 Swell till you breake, you shall not be,  
 Equall to that great one, quoth he.

*Profectò non Deùm, quem cogitare non possunt, sed semetipsos pro illo cogitantes, nonillum; sed seipsos, non illis, sed sibi comparant. Of a truth, they conceiting, not God, whom they cannot conceive, but themselves instead of God, doe not compare him, but themselves, not to him, but themselves.* In naturall things the effects doe but halfe referre their causes. What this? It is above natures order it's condition is to high, to far out of reach, and overswaying to endure, that our conclusions should seize vpon, or fetter the same. It is not by our meanes we reach vnto it, this traine is too low. *We are no nerer heaven on the top of Sina mount, then in the bottome of the deepest Sea:* Consider of it, that you may see with your Astrolabe. They bring God even to the carnall acquaintance of women, to a prefixed number of times, and to how many generations. *Paulina*, wife vnto *Saturninus*, a matron of great reputation in *Rome*, supposing to lie [298]with the God *Serapis*, by the maquerelage of the Priests of that Temple, found hi [...] selfe in the armes of a wanton lover of hers. *Varro* the most subtill, and wisest Latine Author, in his bookes of divinitie writeth, that *Hercules* his Sextaine, with one hand casting lottes for himselfe, and with the other for *Hercules*, gaged a supper and a wench against him: if he won, at the charge of his offerings, but if he lost, at his owne cost. He lost and paid for a supper and a wench: Hir name was *Laurentina*: Who by night saw that God in hir armes, saying moreover vnto hir, that the next day, the first man she met withall, should heavenly pay hir hir wages. It fortunèd to be one *Taruncius*, a very rich yong-man, who tooke hir home with him, and in time left hir absolute heire of all he had. And she, 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 she divine honors attributed vnto hir. As if it were not sufficient for *Plato* to descend originally from the Gods; by a two-fold line, and to have *Neptune* for the common Author of his race. It was certainly beleevèd at *Athens*, that *Ariston* desiring to enjoy faire *Perictyone*, he could not, and that in his dreame he was warned by God *Apollo*, to leave hir vntouch't and vnpolluted, vntill such time as she were brought a bed. And these were the father and mother of *Plato*. How many such-like cuckoldries are there in histories, procure be the Gods against seely mortal men? And husbands most injuriously blazoned in favor of their children? In *Mah* [...]mets religion, by the easie beleefe of that people are many *Merlins* found; That is to say fatherles children: Spirituall children, conceived and borne divinely in the wombs of virgins, and that in their language beare names, importing 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 esteeme nothing above their kind) each thing referreth the qualities of all other things vnto hir owne conditions, which we may either amplifie 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 vnpossible it should exceede that, or goe beyond it: Whence arise 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 reason; And no reason can lodge but in a humane shape: God is then invested with a humane figure. *Ita est informatum anticipatum mentibus nostris, vt homini, quum de Deo* Cit. nat. Deo. lib. 1. *cogitet, forma occurrat humana.* The preiudice forestaled in our mindes is so framed, as the forme of man comes to mans mind, when he is thinking of God. Therefore *Xenophanes* said pleasantly, that if beasts frame any Gods vnto themselves, (as likely it is they doe) they surely frame them like vnto themseves, and glorifie themselves as we doe. For, why may not a Goose say thus? All parts of the world behold me, the earth serveth me to tread vpon, the Sunne to give me light, the starres to inspire we with influence: this commoditie I have of the windes, 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 keepeth me, lodgeth me, and serveth me? For me it is he soweth, reapeth and grindeth: If he eate me, so doth man feede on his fellow, and so doe I on the wormes, that consume and eate him. As much might a Crane say, yea and more boldly, by reason of hir flights-libertie, and the possession of this goodly and high-bownding region. *Tam blanda conciliatrix, & tam sui est* Cit. nat. Deo. ib *lena ipsa natura. So flattring*

*a broker, and bawd (as it were) is nature to it selfe,* Now by the same consequence, the destinies are for vs, the world is for vs; it shineth, and thundreth for vs: Both the creator and the creatures are for vs: It is the marke and point whereat the vniversitie of things aymeth. Survay but the register, which Philosophie hath kept these two thousand yeares and more, of heavenly affaires. The Gods never acted, and never spake, but for man: She ascribeth no other consultation, nor imputeth other vacation vnto them. Loe how they are vp in armes against vs.

—*domitósque Herculeâ manu* H [...]r. [...]r. 1. 2. [...]d. 12. 6.

Telluris iuvenes, vnde periculum

Fulgens contremuit domus

Saturni veteris.

And yong earth-gallants tamed by the hand

Of *Hercules*, whereby the habitation

Of old *Saturnus* did in peril stand,

And, shyn'd it ne're so bright, yet fear'd invasion.

[299]

See how they are partakers▪ of our troubles, that so they may be even with vs, forsomuch as so many times we are partakers of theirs.

Neptunus muros magnòque [...]mota trident [...]Virg. Ae [...]. lib. 2. 610.

Fundamenta quatit totàmque á sedibus vrbem

Eruit: hîc Iuno Scaeas saevissima portas

Prima tenet.—

*Neptunus* with his great thre [...]forked ma [...]

Shak's the weake wall, and t [...]ttering foundation,

And from the site the Cittie doth displace,

Fierce *Iuno* first holds-ope the gates t'invasion.

The *Caunians*, for the jelousie of their owne Gods domination, vpon their devotion-day arme themselves, and running vp and downe, brandi [...]hing and striking the ayre with their glaives, and in this earnest 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 scalde, some the cough, some one kinde of scabbe, and some another: *Adeo m [...]imis [...]t [...]jam rebus prava religio inserit Deos:* *This corrup [...] religion engageth and inferteth Gods even in the least matters:* Some make grapes to growe, and some garlike; Some have the charge of bawdrie and vncleannes, and Some of marchandise: To every kinde of trades-man a God. Some one hath his province and credit in the East, and some in the West:

—*hîc illius arma* Virg. Ae [...]. li [...] ▪ 1. 10.

Hîc currus fuit—

His armor heere

His char [...]orts there apeare.

O sancte Apollo▪ qui vmbilicum certum terrarum obtines. Cic. diu. lib. 2.

Sacred *Apollo*, who enfoldest,

The earths set n [...]vell, and it holdest.

Pallada Cecropidae, Minoya Creta Dianam, O [...]id. Fas [...]. lib. 3. 81.

Vulcanum tellus Hipsipil [...]a colit.

Iunonem Sparte, Pelopeiadèsque Mycenae,

Pinigerum Fauni M [...]nalis ora caput:

Mars Latio venerandus.—

Besmear'd with bloud and goare.

Th'Athenians *Pallas*; *Minos*-Candy cost

Diana; Lemnos *Vulcan* honor's most▪

Mycene and Sparta, Iuno thinke divine;  
The coast of *Maenalus Faune* crown'd with pine;  
Latium doth Mars adore.

Some hath but one borough or familie in his possession: Some lodgeth alone, and some in companie, either voluntarily or necessarily.

Iunctaque sunt magno templa nepotis avo. lib. 1. 294.  
To the great grand-sires shrine,  
The nephews temples doe combine.

Some there are so seely and popular (for their number amounteth to six and thirtie thousand) that five or six of them must be shuffled vp to gether to produce an eare of corne, and thereof they take their several names. Three to a doore; one to be the boardes, one to be the hinges, and the third to the threshold. Foure to a childe, as protectors of his bandels, of his drinke, of his meate and of his sucking. Some are certaine, others vncertane, some doubtfull; and some that come not yet into paradise.

Quos, quoniam caeli nondum dignamur honore, Ovid. M [...]tam. [...]b. 1. 194.  
Quas dedimus certè terras, habitare sinamus.  
Whom for as yet with heav'n we have not graced,  
Let them on earth by our good grant be placed.

There are some Philosophicall, some poeticall, and some civill, some of a meane condition, betweene divine and humane nature, mediators, and spokesmen betweene vs and God: worshipped in a kinde of second or diminutive order of adoration: infinite in titles and offices: [300]some good, some bad; some old and crazed, and some mortall. For *Chrysippus* thought, that in the last conflagration or burning of the world, all the Gods should have an end, except *Iupiter*. Man faineth a thousand pleasant societies betweene God and him. Nay is he not his councillman?

—*lovis incunabul [...] Creten*. Ovid Met. l. 8. 99.  
The Ile of famous *Crete*,  
For *love* a cradle meete.

Behold the excuse, that *Scaevola* chiefe Bishop, and *Varro*, a great Divine in their dayes, give vs vpon the consideration of this subject. It is necessary (say they) that man be altogether ignorant of true things, and beleeeve many false. *Quum veritatem quâ liberetur, inquirat: credatur ei exp [...]dire, quod fallitur*. Since they seeke the truth, whereby they may be free, let vs beleeeve it is expedient for them, to be deceived. Mans eie cannot perceiue things, but by the formes of his knowledge. And we remember not the downfall of miserable *Phaeton*, forsomuch as he vndertooke to guide the reins of his fathers steedes, with a mortall hand. Ou [...] minde doth still relaps into the same depth, and by hir owne temeritie doth dissipate and bruise it selfe. If you enquire of Philosophy, what matter the Sun is composed-of? What wil it answer, but of yron and stone, or other stuffe for his vse? Demand of *Zeno*, what Nature is? A fire (saith he) an Artist, fit to engender, and proceeding orderly. *Archimedes* master of this Science, and who in trueth and certaintie assumeth vnto him-selfe a precedencie aboue all others, saith, the Sunne is a God of enflamed-yron. Is not this a quaint imagination, produced by the inevitable necessitie of Geometricall demonstrations? Yet not so vnavoidable and beneficiall, but *Socrates* hath beene of opinion, that it sufficed to know so much of it as that a man might measure out the land, he either dem [...]sed or tooke to rent: and that *Polyaenus*, who therein had beene a famous and principall Docter, after he had tasted the sweet fruites of the lazie, idle and delicious gardens of *Epicurus*, did not contemne them, as full of falsehood and apparant vanitie. *Socrates* in *Xenophon*, vpon this

point of *Anaxagoras*, allowed and esteemed of antiquitie, well seene and expert above all others in heavenly and divine matters, saith, that he weakened his braines 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 forgot, that fire doth not tanne and blacke those he looketh vpon; that wee fixly looke vpon the fire, and that fire consumeth and killeth all plants and hearbs. According to the advise of *Socrates* and mine, *The wisest iudging of heaven, is not to iudge of it at all. Plato* in his *Timeus*, being to speake of Doemons and spirits, saith, it is an enterprise far exceeding my skill and abilitie: we must beleeeve what those ancient forefathers have said of them, who have said to have beene engendred by them. It is against reason not to give credite vnto the children of the Gods although their sayings be neither grounded vpon necessary, nor likely reasons, since they tell vs, that they speake of familiar and houshold matters. Let vs see, whether we have a little more insight in the knowledge of humane and naturall things. Is it not a fond enterprise, to those vnto which, by our owne confession, our learning cannot possible attaine, to devise and forge them another body, and of our owne invention to give them a false forme? as is seene in the planetary motions, vnto which because our minde cannot reach, nor imagine their naturall conduct, we lend them something of ours, that is to say, materiall, grose and corporall springs and wards:

—*temo aureus, aurea summ [...] Orid. Met. 1. 2. 107.*  
 Curvatura rotæ, radiatorum argenteus ordo.  
 The Axe-tree gold, the wheeles whole circle gold,  
 The ranke of raies did all of silver hold.

you would say, we have had Coach-makers, Carpenters, and Painters, who have gone vp thither, and there have placed engines with diverse motions, and ranged the wheelings, the windings, and enterlacements of the celestiall bodies d [...]apred in colours, according to *Plato*, about the spindle of necessity.

Mundus domus est maxi [...]a rerum,  
 Quam quinque altitonæ fragmine zon [...]  
 Cingunt, per quam li [...]bus pictus bis sex signis,  
 [301] Stellimicantibus, alius in obliquo aethere, Lunæ  
 Bigas acceptat.  
 The world, of things the greatest habitation,  
 Which five high-thundring Zones by separation  
 Engirde, through which a scarfe depainted faire  
 With twice six signes star-shining in the aire.  
 Obliquely raisde, the waine  
 O'th'Moone doth entertaine.

They are all dreames, and mad follies. Why will not nature one day be pleased to open her bosome 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 abuses, and what distractions should we finde in our poore vnderstanding, and weake knowledge ■ I am deceived, if she hold one thing directly in it's point; and I shall part hence more ignorant of all other things, then mine ignorance. Have I not seen this divine saying in *Plato*, that Nature is nothing but an aenigmaticall poesie? As a man might say, an overshadowed and darke picture, enter-shining with an infinite varietie of false lights, to exercise our conjectures. *Latent ista omnia Ci [...]. Acad. q. lib. 4. crassi [...] occultata & circumfusa tenebris vt nulla acies humani ingenij tanta sit, quæ penetrare in coelum, terram intrare possit. All these things lie hid so veiled and environed with mistie darknesse, as no edge of man is so piersant, as it can passe into heaven, or dive into the earth.* And truely, Philosophie is nothing else but a sophisticated



poesie: whence have these ancient Authors all their authorities, but from Poets? And the first were Poets themselves, and in their Art treated the same. *Plato* is but a loose Poet. All high and more then humane Sciences are decked and enrobed with a Poeticall stile. Even as women, when their naturall teeth faile them, vse some of yuorie, and in stead of a true beautie, or lively colour, lay-on some artificiall hew; and as they make trunk-sleeves of wyre and whale-bone bodies, backes of lathes, and stiffe bumbast [...]d verdugals, and to the open-view of all men paint and embellish themselves with counterfeit and borrowed beauties; so doth learning (and our law hath, as some say, certaine lawfull fictions, on which it groundeth the trueth of justice) which in lieu of currant payment and presupposition, delivereth vs those things, which she her selfe teacheth vs to be meere inventions: For, these *Epicycles*, *Excentriques*, and *Concentriques*, which Astrologie vseth to direct the state and motions of her starres, she giveth them vnto vs, as the best she could ever invent, to fit and sute vnto this subject: as in all things else, Philosophie presenteth vnto vs, not that which is, or she beleeveth, but what she inventeth, as having most apparence, likely hood, or comelynesse. *Plato* vpon the discourse of our bodies-estate, and of that of beasts: That what we have said, is true, we would be assured of it, had we but the confirmation of some oracle, to confirme-it. This onely we warrant, that it is the likeliest we could say. It is not to heaven alone, that she sendeth her cordages, her engines, and her wheeles: Let vs but somewhat consider, what she saith of our selves, and of our contexture. There is no more retorgradation, trepidation, augmentation, recoyling, and violence in the starres and celestiall bodies, then they have fained and devised in this poore seelie little bodie of man. Verily they have thence had reason to name it *Microcosmos*, or little world, so many severall parts and visages have they imploide to fashion and frame the same. To accommodate the motions which they see in man, the divers functions and faculties, that we feel in our selves; Into how many severall parts have they divided our soule? Into how many seats have they placed her? Into how many orders, stages, and stations have they divided this wretched man, beside the naturall and perceptible? and to how many distinct offices and vacation? They make a publike imaginarie thing of it. It is a subject, which they hold and handle: they have all power granted them, to rip him, to sever him, to range him, to joine and reunite him together againe, and to stuffe him, every one according to his fantasie, and yet they neither have not possesse him. They cannot so order or rule him, not in trueth onely, but in imagination, but still some cadence or sound is discovered, which escapeth their architecture, bad as it is, and bot [...]ht together with a thousand false patches, and fantasticall peeces. And they have no reason to be excused: For, to Painters, when they pourtray the heaven, the earth, the seas, the hills, the scattered Ilands, we pardon them, if they but represent vs with some slight apparence of them; and as of things vnknowne we are contented with such fained shadowes: But when they draw vs, or any other subject [312]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 lineaments, or colours; and scorne if they misse never so little. I commend the Milesian wench, who seeing *Thales* the Philosopher continually ammusing 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 warne and put him in minde, that he should not amuse his thoughts about matters above the clowds, before he had provided for, and well considered those at his feet. Verily she 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* saith,

Quod est ante pedes, nemo spectat: coeli scrutantur plagas, Cic. div. lib. 2.  
 No man lookes, what before his feet doth lie,  
 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 vs, is as far from vs and above the clouds, as that of the stars: As saith *Socrates in Plato*, That one may justly say to him who medleth with Philosophie, as the woman said 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 or men. These people who thinke *Sebondes* reasons to be weake and lame, who know nothing themselves, and yet will take vpon them to governe the world and know all:

Quae mare comescant causae, quid temperet annum, Hor. li. 1. epist. 12. 16.  
 Stellae sponte sua, iussaeve vagentur & errent:  
 Quid praemat obscurum Lunae, quid proferat orbem,  
 Quid velit & possit rerum concordia discors.  
 What cause doth calme the Sea, what cleares the yeare,  
 Whether Stars forc't, or of selfe-will appeare:  
 What makes the Moones darke Orbe towax or wane,  
 What friendly fewd of things both will and can.

Did they never sound amid their books, the difficulties that present themselves to them, to know their owne being? We see verie well, that our finger stirreth, and our foote moveth, that some parts of our bodie, move of themselves without our leave, and other some that stir but at our pleasure: and we see that certaine apprehensions engender a blushing-red colour, others a palenesse; that some imagination doth onely worke in the milt, another in the braine; some one enduceth vs to laugh, another causeth vs to weep; some astonisheth and stupifieth all our senses, and staieth the motion of all our limbs: at some object the stomake riseth, and at some other the lower parts. But how a spirituall impression causeth or worketh such a dent or flaw in a massie and solide bodie or subject, and the nature of the conjoyning, and compacting of these admirable springs and wards, man yet never knew: *Omnia incerta Plin. ratione, & in nature maiestate abdita. All vncertain in reason, and hid in the maiestie of nature*, Saith *Plinie* and *Saint Augustine*, *Modus, quo corporibus adhaerent spiritus, omnino mirus est, nec comprehendi Aug. de spir & anim. ab homine potest, & hoc ipse homo est. The meane is clearely wonderfull, whereby spirits cleave to our bodies, nor can it be comprehended by man, and that is verie man*. Yet is there no doubt made of him: For mens opinions are received after ancient beliefes, by authoritie and vpon credit; as if it were a religion and a law. What is commonly held of it, is received as a gibrish or fustian tongue. This trueth with all her framing of arguments, and proporcioning of proofes, is received as a firme and solid bodie, which is no more shaken, which is no more judged. On the other side, every one, the best he can, patcheth-vp and comforteth this received beliefe, 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 toyes, and overwhelmed in lies and leafings-* The reason that men doubt not much of things, is that common impressions are never thoroughly tride and sifted, their ground is not sounded, nor where the fault & weaknesse lieth: Men onely debate and question of the branch, not of the tree: They aske not whether a thing be true, but whether it was vnderstood or meant 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 liberty, and this tyrannie over our beliefes should extend it selfe even to schooles and arts. The God of scholasticall learning, [303] 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 soone, & as easie accept, either *Platoes Ideas*, or *Epicurus* his Atomes and indivisible things, or the fulnesse and emptinesse of *Leucippus* and *Democritus*, or the water of *Thales*, or of *Anaximanders* infinite of nature, or the aire of *Diogenes*, or the numbers or proportion of *Pythagoras*, or the infinite of *Parmenides*, or the single-one of *Musaeus*, or the water and fire of *Apollodorus*, or the similarie and resembling parts of

*Anaxagoras*, or the discord and concord of *Empedocles*, or the fire of *Heraclitus*, or any other opinion (of this infinit confusion of opinions and sentences, which this goodly humane reason, by her certaintie and cleare-sighted vigilancie brings forth in whatsoever it medleth withall) as I should of *Aristotles* conceit, touching this subject of the principles of naturall things; which he frameth of three parts, that is to say, *Matter*, *Forme*, and *Privation*. And what greater vanitie can there be, then to make inanitie it selfe the cause of the production of things? Privation is a negative: With what humovr could he make it the cause and beginning of things that are? Yet durst no man move that but for an exercise of Logike: Wherein nothing is disputed to put it in doubt, but to desend the Author of the Schoole from strange objections: His authoritie is the marke, beyond which it is not lawfull to enquire. It is easie to frame what one list vpon allowed foundations: For, according to the law and ordinance of this positive beginning, the other parts of the frame are easilie directed without crack 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 afore-hand as much place in our beliefe, as they need to conclude afterward what they please, as Geometricians doe by their graunted questions: The consent and approbation which we lend them, giving them wherewith to draw vs, either on the right or left hand, and at their pleasure to winde and turne vs. Whosoever is believed in his presuppositions, he is our master, and our god: He will lay the plot of his foundations so ample and easie, that, if he list, he will carrie vs vp, even vnto the clouds. In this practise or negotiation of learning, we have taken the saying of *Pythagoras* for currant payment; which is, that *every expert man ought to be believed in his owne trade*. The Logitian referreth himselfe to the Grammarian for the signification of words: The Rethoritian borroweth the places of arguments from the Logitian: The Poet his measures from the Musitian: The Geometrician his proportions from the Arithmetician: The Metaphisikes take the conjectures of the Phisikes for a ground. For, every art hath her presupposed principles, by which mans judgement is bridled on all parts. If you come to the shocke or front of this barre, in which consists the principall error, they immediatly pronounce this sentence; That *there is no disputing against such as denie principles*. There can be no principles in men, except divinitie hath revealed them vnto them: All the rest, both beginning, midle, and end, is but a dreame and a vapor. Those that argue by presupposition, we must presuppose against them, the verie same axiome, which is disputed of. For, each humane presupposition, and every invention, vnlesse reason make a difference of it, hath as much authoritie as another. So must they all be equally balanced, and first the generall & those that tyrannize vs. *A perswasion of certaintie, is a manifest testimonie of foolishnesse, and of extreame vncertaintie*. And no people are lesse Philosophers and more foolish, then *Platoes* Phylodoxes, or lovers of their owne opinions. We must know whether fire be hote, whether snow be white, whether in our knowledge there be any thing hard or soft. And touching the answeres, whereof they tell old tales, as to him who made a doubt of heat, to whom one replied, that to trie he should cast himselfe into the fire; to him that denied the yce to be cold, that he should put some in his bosome; they are most vnworthie the profession of a Philosopher. If they had left vs in our owne naturall estate, admitting of strange apparances, as they present themselves vnto vs by our senses, and had suffred vs to follow our naturall appetites, directed by the condition of our birth, they should then have reason to speake so. But from them it is that we have learn't to become judges of the world; it is from them we hold this conceit, that mans reason is the generall controuller of all that is, both without and within heavens-vault; which imbraceth all, and can doe all, by meanes whereof, all things are knowne and discerned. This answer were good among the Canibals, who without any of *Aristotles* precepts, or so much as knowing the name of naturall Philosophie, enjoy most happily, a long, a quiet, & a peaceable life. This answer might happily availe more, and be of more force, then all those they [304] can borrow from their reason and invention. All living creatures, yea, beasts and all, where the commaundement of the naturall law is yet pure and simple, might with vs be capable of this answer; but they have renounced it. They shall not

need 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 me, wherefore I feel it, and how and what: Let them tell me the name, the beginning, the tennons, and the abuttings 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 touch stone, to trie all kinds of Essayes. But surely it is a touchstone full of falsehood, errors, imperfection and weaknesse: which way can we better make triall of it, then by it selfe? If she may not be credited speaking of hir selfe, hardly can she be fit to judge of strange matters: If she know any thing, it can be but hir being and domicile. She is in the soule, and either a part or effect of the same. For, the true and essentiall reason (whose name we steal by false signes) lodgeth in Gods bosome: There is hir home, and there is hir retreat, thence she takes hir flight, when Gods pleasure is that we shall see some glimps of it: Even as *Pallas* issued out of hir fathers head, to communicate and impart hir selfe vnto the world. Now let vs see what mans reason hath taught vs of hir selfe and of the soule: Not of the soule in generall, whereof well nigh all Philosophie maketh both the celestially and first bodies partakers; nor of that which *Thales* attributed even vnto things, that are reputed without soule or life, drawne therevnto by the consideration of the Adamant stone: But of that which appertaineth to vs, and which we should know best.

Ignoratur enim quae sit natura animai, *Lucr. li. 1. 113.*

Nata sit, an contrá nascentibus insinuetur,  
 Et simul inter eat nobiscum morte dirempta,  
 An tenebr as orci visat, vastásque lacunas,  
 An pecudes alias divinitùs insinuet se.  
 What the soules nature is, we doe not know;  
 If it be bred, or put in those are bred,  
 Whether by death divorst with vs it goe,  
 Or see the darke vast lakes of hell be lowe,  
 Or into other creatures turne the head.

To *Crates* and *Dicaearchus* it seemed that there was none at all; but that the bodie stirred thus with and by a naturall motion: To *Plato*, that it was a substance moving of it selfe: To *Thales*, a Nature without rest; To *Asclepiades*, an exercitation of the senses: To *Hesiodus* and *Anaximander*, a thing composed of earth and water: To *Parmenides*, of earth and fire: To *Empedocles* of blood:

Sanguineam vomit ille animam— *Vir. Aen. li. 9. 349.*

His soule of purple-bloud he vomits out.

To *Possidonius*, *Cleanthes*, and *Galen*, a heat, or hote complexion:

Igneus est ollis vigor, & coelestis origo: *Lib. 6. 730.*

A fire vigor and celestially spring,  
 In their originall they strangely bring.

To *Hippocrates*, a spirite dispersed through the bodie: To *Varro*, an aire received-in at the mouth, heated in the lunges, tempered in the heart, and dispersed through all parts of the bodie: To *Zeno*, the quintessence of the foure Elements: To *Heraclides Ponticus*, the light: To *Xenocrates*, and to the Aegyptians, a mooving number: To the Chaldeans, a vertue without any determinate forme.—*Habitum quendam vitalem corporis esse,*

Harmoniam Graeci quam dicunt— *Lucr. li. 3. 100.*

There of the bodie is a vitall frame,  
 The which the Greeks a harmonie doe name.

And not forgetting *Aristotle*, that which naturally causeth the bodie to move, who calleth it Entelechy, or perfection mooving of it selfe (as cold an invention as any other) for he neither speaketh of the essence, nor of the beginning, nor of the soules nature; but onely noteth the effects of it: *Lactantius*, *Seneca*, and the better part amongst the Dogmatists, have confessed, they never vnderstood what it was: And after all this rable of opinions: *Harum Cic. Tus. qu. 1. 1. sententiarum quae vera sit, Deus aliquis viderit* ■ Which of these opinions is true, let some God looke vnto. [305] it, (saith *Cicero*.) I know by my selfe (quoth *Saint Bernard*) how God is incomprehensible, *Saint Bernard*. since I am not able to comprehend the parts of mine owne being: *Heraclitus*, who held that every place was full of Soules and Daemons, maintained neverthesse, that a man could never goe so far towards the knowledge of the soule, as that he could come vnto it; so deep and mysterious was hir essence. There is no lesse dissention nor disputing about the place, where she should be seated. *Hypocrates* and *Herophilus* place it in the ventricle of the braine: *Democritus* and *Aristotle*, through all the bodie: *Lucr. li. 3. 103.*

Ut bonasaepe valetudo cùm dicitur esse  
 Corporis, & non est tamen haec pars vlla valentis.  
 As health is of the bodie said to be,  
 Yet is no part of him, in health we see.

*Epicurus* in the stomacke.

Haec exultat enim pavor ac metus, haec loca circùm 142.  
 Laetitiae mulcent—  
 For in these places feare doth domineere,  
 And neere these places joy keepes merrie cheere.

The Stoickes, within and about the heart: *Erasistratus*, joyning the membrane of the Epicranium: *Empedocles*, in the bloud: as also *Mois [...]*s, which was the cause he forbad the eating of beasts bloud, vnto which their soule is commixed: *Galen* thought that every part of the bodie had his soule: *S [...]*rato hath placed it betweene the two vpper eye-lids: *Qua facie Cic. Tuse. qu. lib. 1. quidem sit animus aut vbi habitet, nec quaerendum quidem est. We must not so much as enquire, what face the min [...]*e beares, or where it dwels: Saith *Cicero*. I am well pleased to let this man vse his owne words: For, why should I alter the speech of eloquence it selfe? since there is small gaine in stealing matter from his inventions: They are both little vsed, not verie forcible, and little vnknowne. But the reason why *Chrysippus*, and those of his Sect, will proove the soule to be about the heart, is not to be forgotten. It is (saith he) because when we will affirme or sweare any thing, we lay our hand vpon the stomacke; And when we will pronounce, [...] which signifieth, my selfe, we put downe our chin toward the stomacke. This passage ought not to be past-over without noting the vanitie of so great a personage: For, besides that his considerations are of themselves verie slight, the latter prooveth but to the Graecians, that they have their soule in that place. *No humane iudgement is so vigilant or Argos-eied, but sometimes shall fall a sleep or s [...]*Jumber. What shall we feare to say? Behold the Stoickes, fathers of humane wisdom, who devise that the soule of man, overwhelmed with any ruine, laboureth and panteth a long time to get out, vnable to free hirselfe from that charge, even as a Mouse taken in a trap. Some are of opinion, that the world was made, to give a bodie 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 incorporeall. And that according as they have more or lesse remooved themselves from their spiritualtie, so are they more or lesse merilie and Giovially, or rudely & Saturnally incorporated: Whence proceedeth the infinite varietie of so much matter created. But the spirit, who for his chastizement was invested with the bodie of the Sunne, must of necessitie have a verie rare and particular measure of alteration. The extremitie of our curious search turne to a glimmering and all to a dazeling. As *Plutarke* saith, of the off-spring of Histories,

that after the manner of Cardes or Maps, the vtmost limits of knowne Countries, are set downe to be full of thicke marrish grounds, stadie forrests, desert and vncouth places. See heer wherefore the grosest and most Childish dotings, are more commonly found in these which treat of highest and furthest matters; even confounding & overwhelming themselves in their owne curiositie & presumption. The end and beginning of learning are equally accompted foolish. Marke but how *Plato* takethand raiseth his flight aloft in his Poeticall clouds, or cloudie Poesies. Behold & read in him the gibbrish of the Gods. But what dream'd or doted he on, when he defined man, to be a creature with two feet, and without feathers; giving them that were disposed to mocke at him, a pleasant and scopefull occasion to doe-it? For, having plucked-off the feathers of a live capon, they named him the man of *Plato*. And by what simplicitie did the Epicureans first imagine, that the Atomes or Motes, which they termed to be bodies, having some weight and a naturall mooving downward, had framed the world; vntill such time as they were advised by their adversaries, that by this description, it was not possible, they should joyne and [306]take hold one of another; their fall being so downe-right and perpendicular, and every way engendring Parallell lines? And therefore was it necessarie, they should afterward adde a casuall moving, sideling vnto them: And moreover to give their Atomes crooked and forked tailes, that so they might take hold of any thing and claspe themselves. And even then, those that pursue them with this other consideration, do they not much trouble them? If Atomes have by chance formed so many sorts 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 scattred in some open place, might one day meet and joine together to the contexture of th'Iliads? That which is capable of reason (saith *Zeno*) 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 Mathematician, and by this other arguing of *Zeno*, he makes him a Musition, and 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 infinit like examples seen, 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 disagreeings in their opinions and Sects. He that should fardle-vp a bundle or huddle of the fooleries of mans wisdome, might recount wonders. I willingly assemble some (as a shew or patterne) by some meanes or byase, no lesse profitable then the most moderate instructions. Let vs by that judge, what we are to esteeme of man, of his sense, and of his reason; since in these great men, and who have raised mans sufficiencie so high, there are found so grose errors, and so apparant defects. As for me, I would rather believe, that they have thus casually treated learning, even as a sporting childs babie, and have sported themselves with reason, as of a vaine and frivolous instrument, setting forth all sorts of inventions, devises, and fantasies, somtimes more outstretched, and somtimes more loose. The same *Plato*, who defineth man like vnto a Capon, saith elsewhere after *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 knowne. By this varictie of conceits & instabilitie of opinions, they (as it were) leade vs closely by the hand to this resolution of their irresolution. They make a profession not alwaies to present their advise manifest & vnmasked: they have oft concealed the same vnder the fabulous shadows of Poesie, and somtimes vnder other vizards. For our imperfection admitteth this also, that raw meats are not alwaies good for our stomacks: but they must be dried, altred and corrupted, and so do they, who somtimes shadow their simple opinions and judgements; And that they may the better sute themselves vnto common vse, they many times falsi [...]e them. They will not make open profession of ignorance, and of the imbecilitie 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 and vnconstant learning. I perswade some body in *Italy*, who laboured very much to speak Italian, that alwaies provided, he desired but to be vnderstood, and not to seek to excell others therein, he should

only employ & vse such words as came first to his mouth, whether they were Latine, French, Spanish, or Gascoine, and that adding the Italian terminations vnto them, he should never misse to fall vpon some idiome of the Countrie, either Tuscan, Roman, Venetian, Piemontoise, or Neapolitan; and amongst so many severall formes of speech to take hold of one. The verie same I say of Philosophie. She hath so many faces, and so much varietie, and hath said so much, that all our dreames and devises are found in hir. The fantasie of man can conceive or imagine nothing, be it good or evill, that is not to be found in hir: *Nihil tam absurdè dici potest, quod non dicatur* Cic. di [...]. lib. 2. *ab aliquo Phylosophorum. Nothing may be spoken so absurdlie, but that it is spoken by some of the Philosophers.* And therefore do I suffer my humours or caprices more freely to passe in publike; Forasmuch as though they are borne with, and of me, and without any patterne; well I wot, they will be found to have relation to some ancient humour, and some shall be found, that will both know and tell whence, and of whom I have borrowed them. My customes are naturall; when I contrived them, I called not for the help of any discipline: And weake and faint as they were, when I have had a desire to expresse them, & to make them appeare to the World a little more comely and decent, I have somewhat indeavored to aide them with discourse, & assist them with examples. I have wondred at my selfe, that by meere chance I have met with them, agreeing and sutable to so many ancient examples and Philosophicall discourses. What regiment my life was-of, I never knew nor learned but after it was much worne [307]and spent. A new figure: An vnpremeditated Philosopher and a casuall. But to returne vnto our soule, where *Plato* hath seated reason in the braine; anger in the heart; lust in the liver; it is verie likely, that it was rather an interpretation of the soules motions, then any division or separation he ment to make of it, as of a bodie into many members. And the likeliest of their opinion is, that it is alwaies a soule, which by hir rationall facultie, remembreth hir selfe, comprehendeth, judgeth, desireth, and exerciseth all hir other functions, by divers instruments of the bodie, as the Pilote ruleth and directeth his ship according to the experience he hath of it; now stretching, haling, or loosing a cable, sometimes ho [...]sing the Main-yard, removing an Oare, or stirring the Rudder, causing severall effects with one onely power: And that she abideth in the braine, appeareth by this, that the hurts and accidens, which touch that part, doe presently offend the faculties of the soule, whence she may without inconvenience descend and glide through other parts of the bodie:

—*medium non deserit vnquam* Claud. 6. Hon. cons. pan. 411.  
 Coeli Phebus iter: radijs tamen omnia lustrat.  
 Never the Sunne forsakes heav'ns middle waies,  
 Yet with his raies he light's all, all survaies.

as the Sunne spreadeth his light, and infuseth his power from heaven, and therewith filleth the whole World.

*Caetera pars animae per totum dissita corpus* Lucr. lib 3. 144.  
 Paret, & ad numen mentis noménque movetur.  
 Th'other part of the soule through all the bodie sent  
 Obayes, and moved is, by the mindes government.

Some have said, that there was a generall soule, like vnto a great bodie, from which all particular soules were extracted, and returned thither, alwaies reconjoyning and entermingling themselves vnto that Vniversall matter:

—*Deumnám (que) ire per omnes* Virg. Georg. lib. 4. Ge. 222.  
 Terrásque tractú [...] (que) maris coelúmque profundum:  
 Hinc pecudes; armenta, viros, genus omne ferarum,  
 Quem (que) sibi tenues nascentem arcessere vitas,  
 Scilicet huc red [...]i deinde, ac resoluta referri  
 Omnia: nec morti esse locum—

For God through all the earth to passe is found,  
 Through all Sea currents, through the heav'n profound,  
 Heer hence men, heards, and all wilde beasts that are,  
 Short life in birth each to themselves doe share.  
 All things resolved to this point restor'd  
 Returne, nor any place to death affoord.

others, that they did but reconjoyne and fasten themselves to it againe: others, that they were produced by the divine substance: others, by the Angels, of fire and aire: some from the beginning of the world; and some, even at the time of need: 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 naturall things are; arguing so by the resemblances, which are betweene Fathers and Children.

Instillata patris virtus tibi,—  
 Thy Fathers vertues be,  
 Instilled into thee.  
 Fortes creantur fortibus & bonis, Hor. car. lib. 4. [...].d. 4. 29.  
 Of valiant Sires and good,  
 There comes a valiant brood.

and that from fathers we see descend vnto children, not only the marks of their bodies, but also a resemblance of humours, of complexions, and inclinations of the soule.

Denique cur acrum violentia triste Leonum Luer. [...].i. 3. 766.  
 Seminium sequitur, dolus Vulpibus, & fuga Cervis  
 A patribus datur, & patrius pavor incitat Artus  
 Si non certa suo quia semine seminióque 77 [...]  
 [308] Vis animi pariter crescit cum corpore toto?  
 Why followes violence the savage Lyons race?  
 Why craft the Foxes? Why to Deere to flie a pace?  
 By parents is it given, when parents feare incites,  
 Vnlesse because a certaine force of inward spirits  
 With all the bodie growes,  
 As seed and seed-spring goes?

That divine justice is grounded therevpon, punishing the fathers offences vpon the children; forsomuch 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 bodie they should have been some other thing, they should have some remembrance of their first being: Considering the naturall faculties, which are proper vnto him, to discourse, to reason, and to remember.

—*si in corpus nascentibus insinuat*, Luer. li. 3. 692.  
 Cur super anteaetam aetatem meminisse nequimus,  
 Nec vestigia gestarum rerum vlla tenemus?  
 If our soule at our birth be in our bodie cast,  
 Why can we not remember ages over-past,  
 Nor any markes retaine of things done first or last?

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 naturall simplicitie and genuine puritie. So should they have been such, being freed from the corporall prison, aswell before they entred the same, as we hope they shall be, when they shall be out of it. And it were necessarie they should (being yet in the bodie) remember the said knowledge (as *Plato* said) that what we



learn't, was but a new remembring 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 precisely remember what we are taught, and that if memorie did meereley execute hir function, she would at least suggest vs with something besides our learning. Secondly, what she knew being in hir puritie, was a true vnderstanding, knowing things as they are, by hir divine intelligence: Whereas heer, if she be instructed, she is made to receive lies and apprehend vice, wherein she cannot imploy hir memorie; this image and conception, having never had place in hir. To say, that the corporall prison, doth so suppressse hir naturall faculties, that they are altogether extinct in hir: first, is cleane contrarie to this other beliefe, to knowledge hir forces so great, and the operations which men in this transitorie life feel of it, so wonderfull, as to have thereby concluded this divinitie, and fore-past eternitie, and the immortalitie to come:

Nam si tantopere est animi mutata pot est as,  
 Omnis vt actarum exciderit retinentia rerum, 695.  
 Non vt opinor ea ab let ho iam longior errat.  
 If of our minde the power be so much altered,  
 As of things done all hold, all memorie is fled,  
 Then (as I ghesse) it is not far 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 hir perfections, are vaine and vnprofitable vnto hir: it is by hir present condition, that all hir immortalitie must be rewarded and paide, and she is onely accomptable for the life of man: It were injustice to have abridged hir of hir meanes and faculties, and to have disarmed hir against the time of hir captivitie and prison, of hir weaknesse and sicknesse, of the time and season where she had been forced and compelled to draw the judgement and condemnation of infinite and endlesse continuance, and to relie vpon the consideration of so short a time, which is peradventure of one or two houres, or if the worst happen, of an age, (which have no more proportion with infinite, then a moment) definitively to appoint and establish of all hir being, by that instant of space. It were an impious disproportion to wrest an eternall reward in consequence of so 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 given [309]them temporall 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 been received, following these goodly apparances. That her birth was seen, when the bodie was capable of her; her vertue and strength was perceived as the corporall encreased; in her infancie might her weaknesse be discerned, and in time her vigor and ripenesse, then her decay and age, and in the end her decrepitude:

— *gigni pariter cum corpore, & vna* ■ Ib. 450.  
 Crescere seutimus, paritérque senescere mentem.  
 The minde is with the bodie bred, we doe behold,  
 It jointly growes with it, with it it waxeth old.

They perceived her to be capable of diverse passions, and agitated by many languishing and painfull motions, where through she fell into wearinesse and grieffe, capable of alteration and change, of joy, stupefaction and languishment, subject to her infirmities, diseases, and offences, even as the stomacke or the foote,

— *mentem sanari, corpus vt aegrum* Ib. 517.  
 Cernimus, & flecti medicinâ posse videmus:  
 We see as bodies sicke are cur'd, so is the minde,  
 We see, how Phisicke can it each way turne and winde.

dazled and troubled by the force of wine; removed from her seat by the vapors of a burning fever; drowzie and sleepe by the application of some medicaments, and rouzed vp againe by the vertue of some others.

—*corpoream naturam animi esse necesse est* ■ Ib. 176.  
Corporeis quoniam telis ictúque laborat.  
The nature of the minde must needs corporeall bee,  
For with corporeall darts and stroks it's griev'd we see.

She was seen to dismay and confound all her faculties by the onely biting of a sicke-dogge, and to containe no great constancie of discourse, no sufficiencie, no vertue, no philosophical resolution, no contention of her forces, that might exempt her from the subjection of these accidents: The spittle or slavering of a mastive dog shed vpon *Socrater* his hands, to trouble all his wisdom, to distemper his great and regular imaginations, and so to vanquish and annull them, that no signe or shew of his former knowledge was left in him:

—*vis animai* Ib. 501.  
Conturbatur,—& divisa seorsum  
Disiectatur eodem illo distracta veneno ■  
The soules force is disturbed, seperated,  
Distraught by that same poison, alienated.

And the said venome to finde no more resistance in his soule, then in that of a childe of foure yeares old, a venome able to make all Philosophie (were she incarnate) become furious and mad: So that *Cato*, who scorned both death and fortune, could not abide the sight of a looking glasse, or of water; overcome with horreur, and quelled with amazement, if by the contagion of a mad dog, he had falne into that sicknesse, which Phisitians call *Hydrophobia*, or feare of waters.

—*vis morbi distracta per artus* Ib. 495.  
Turbat agens animam, spumantes aequore also  
Ventorum vt validis ferveseunt viribus vndae.  
The force of the disease disperst through joints offends,  
Driving the soule, as in salt Seas the wave ascends,  
Foming by furious force which the winde raging lends.

Now concerning this point, Philosophie hath indeed armed man for the enduring of all other accidents, whether of patience, or if it be overcostly to be found, of an infallible defeat, in conveying her selfe, altogether from the sense: but they are meanes, which serve a soule, that is her owne, and in her proper force, capable of discourse and deliberation: not to this inconvenience, where with a Philosopher, a soule becommeth the soule of a soole troubled, vanquished and lost, which divers occasions may produce, as in an overviolent agitation, which by some vehement passion, the soule may beget in her selfe: or a hurt in some part of the bodie; or an exhalation from the stomach, casting vs into some astonishment, [310]dazleing, or giddinesse of the head:

—*morbis in corporis avius errat* Ib. 467.  
Saepe animus, dementit enim, deliráque fatur,  
Interdúmque gravi Let hargo fertur in altum  
Aeternúmque soporem, oculus nutúque cadenti.  
The minde in bodies sicknesse often wandring straves:  
For it enraged rave's, and idle talke outbraves:  
Brought by sharpe Lethargie sometime to more then deepe,  
While eyes and eye-lids fall into eternall sleepe.

Philosophers have in mine opinion but slightly harp't vpon this string, no more then an other of like consequence. They have ever this *Dilemma* in their mouth, to comfort our mortall condition. *The soule is either mortall or immortall: if mortall, she shall be without paine: if immortall, she shall mend.* They never touch the other branch: What, if she empaire 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 looseth the vse of that Stoicall chiefe felicitie, so constant and so firme. Our goodly wisdom must necessarilie in this place yeeld 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 inimaginable:

Quippe etenim mortale aeterno iungere, & vnà Ib. 831.  
 Consentire putare, & fungi mutua posse,  
 Desipere est. Quid enim diversius esse putandum est,  
 Aut magis inter se disiunctum discrepit ansque,  
 Quám mortale quod est, immortalis at (que) perenni  
 Iunctum in concilio saevas tolerare procillas?  
 For what immortall is, mortall to joyne vnto,  
 And thinke they can agree, and mutuall duties do,  
 Is to be foolish: For what thinke we stranger is,  
 More disagreeable, or more disjoyn'd, then this,  
 That mortall with immortall endlesse joy'n'd in vnion,  
 Can most outrageous stormes endure in their communion?

Moreover they felt their soule to be engaged in death, as well as the bodie;

—*simul aevo fessa fatiscit*, Ib. 463.  
 It joyntly faint's in one,  
 Wearied as age is gone.

Which thing (according to *Zeno*) the image of sleep doth manifestly shew vnto vs. For he esteemeth, that it is a fainting and declination of the soule, aswell as of the bodie. *Contrabii Cic. di [...]. lib. 2. animum, & quasi labi putat atque decidere. He thinks the minde is contracted, and doth as it were slide and fall downe.* And that (which is perceived in some) it's force and vigor maintaineth it selfe even in the end of life, they referred and imputed the same to the diversitie of diseases, as men are seen in that extremitie, to maintaine, some one sense, and some another, some their hearing, and some their smelling, without any alteration; and there is no weaknesse or decay seen so vniversall, but some entire and vigorous parts will remaine.

Non alio pacto quàm si pes cùm dolet aegri, *Lucr. lib. 111.*  
 In nullo caput interea sit fortè dolore.  
 No otherwise, then if, when sick-mans foote doth ake,  
 Meane time perhaps his head no fellow-feeling take.

Our judgements sight referreth it selfe vnto truth, as doth the Owles eyes vnto the shining of the Sunne, as saith *Aristotle*. How should we better convince him, then by so grosse blindnesse, in so apparant a light? For, the contrarie opinion of the soules immortallitie, which *Cicero* saith, to have first been brought in (at least by the testimonie of books) by *Pherecydes Syrius*, 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 sparingly and with more doubt. The most constant Dogmatists (namely in this point) are inforced to cast themselves vnder the shelter of the Academikes wings. No man knowes what *Aristotle* hath established vpon [321]this subject, no more then all the ancients in Generall, who handle the same with a verie

wavering believe: *Rem gratissimam promittentium magis quàm probantium. Who rather promise then approve a thing most acceptable.* He hath hidden himselfe vnder the clouds of intricate and ambiguous words, and vnintelligible senses, and hath left his Sectaries as much cause to dispute vpon his judgement, as vpon the matter. Two things made this his opinion plausible to them: the one, that without the immortalitie of soules, there should no meanes be left to ground or settle the vaine hopes of glorie; a consideration of wonderfull credite in the world: the other (as *Plato* saith) that it is a most profitable impression, that views, when they steal away from out the sight and knowledge of humane justice, remaine ever as a blancke before divine justice, which even after the death of the guiltie, will severely pursue them. *Man is ever possessed with an extreame destre to prolong his being, and hath to the vttermost of his skill provided for it,* Toombs and Monuments are for the preservation of his bodie, and glorie for the continuance of his name. He hath imployed all his wit to frame him selfe anew, (as impacient of his fortune) and to vnderprop or vphold himselfe by his inventions. The soule by reason of hir trouble and imbecilitie, as vnable to subsist of hir selfe, is ever, and in all places questing and searching comforts, hopes, foundations; and forraine circumstances, on which she may take hold and settle hir-selfe. And how light and fantasticall soever his invention doth frame them vnto him, he notwithstanding relieth more surely vpon them, and more willingly, than vpon himselfe: But it is a wonder to see how the most obstinat in this so just and manifest perswasion of our spirits immortalitie, have found themselves short and vnable to establish the same by their humane forces. *Somnia sunt non docentis, sed optantis. These are dreames not of one that teacheth, but wisheth what he would have:* said an ancient writer. Man may by his owne testimonie know, that the trueth he alone discovereth, the same he oweth vnto fortune and chance; since even when she is falne into his hands, he wanteth wherewith to lay hold on hir, and keep hir; and that this reason hath not the power to prevaile with it. *All things produced by our owne discourse and sufficiencie, as well true as false, are subiect to vncertaintie and disputation.* It is for the punishment of our temeritie, and instruction of our miserie and incapacitie, that God caused the trouble, downfall and confusion of *Babels* Tower. Whatsoever we attempt without his assistance, whatever we see without the lampe of his grace, is but vanitie and follie: With our weaknesse we corrupt and adulterate the verie essence of truth (which is vniforme and constant) when fortune giveth vs the possession of it. What course soever man taketh of himselfe, it is Gods permission that he ever commeth to that confusion, whose image he so lively representeth vnto vs, by the just punishment, wherewith he framed the presumptuous over-weening of *Nembroth*, and brought to nothing the frivolous enterprises of the building of his high-towring *Pyramis*, or Heaven-menacing tower. *Perdam sapientiam sapientium, & prudentiam prudentium* 1. Cor. 1. 19. *reprobabo. I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and reprove the providence of them that are most prudent.* The diversitie of tongues and languages, wherewith he disturbed that worke, and overthrew that proudly-raisd Pile; what else is it, but this infinit altercation, and perpetuall discordance of opinions and reasons, which accompanieth and entangleth the frivolous frame of mans learning, or vaine building of humane science? Which he doth most profitably. *Who might containe vs, had we but one graine of knowledge?* This Saint hath done me much pleasure: *Ipsa vtilitatis occultatio, aut humilitatis exercitatio est, aut elationis attritio. The verie concealing of the profit, is either an exercise of humilitie, or a beating downe of arrogancie.* Vnto what point of presumption and insolencie, doe we not carrie our blindnesse & foolishnesse? 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 believe, since from his liberalitie alone we receive the fruit of immortalitie, which consisteth in enjoying of eternall blessednesse. Let vs ingenuously confesse, that onely God and Faith, hath told it vs: For, it is no lesson of Nature, nor comming from our reason. And he that shall both within and without narrowly sift, and curiously sound his being and his forces without this divine priviledge; he that shall view and consider man, without flattering him, shall nor finde nor see either efficacie or facultie in him, that tasteth of any other thing

but death and earth. *The more we give, the more we owe; and the more we yeeld vnto God, the more Christian-like doe we.* That which the Stoicke Philosopher said, he held by the casuall consent of the peoples voice; had it not been better he had held it of God? *Cùm de animorum* Sen epist. 117. [312] *aeternitate disserimus, non leue momentum apud nos habet consensus hominum, aut timentium inferos, aut coleutium. Vtor hâc publicâ persuasione. When we discourse of the immortalitie of soules, in my conceit the consent of those men is of no small authoritie, who either feare or adore the infernall powers. This publike perswasion I make vse-of.* Now the weaknesse of humane Arguments vpon this subject, is verie manifestly knowne by the fabulous circumstances they have added vnto the traine of this opinion, to finde out what condition this our immortalitie was of. Let vs omit the Stoickes. *Usuram nobis largiuntur, tanquam cornicibus; di [...] mansures aiunt animos,* Cic. Tusc. qu. 1. 1. *semper, negant. They grant vs vse of life, as it vnto Ravens: they say, our soules shall long continue, but they deny, they shall last ever.* Who gives vnto soules a life beyond this, but finite. The most vniversall, and received fantasie, and which endureth to this day, hath been that, whereof *Pythagoras* is made Authour; not that he was the first inventor of it, but because it received much force and credite, by the authoritie of his approbation; Which is, that soules at their departure from vs, did but passe and roule from one to an other bodie, from a Lyon to a Horse, from a Horse to a King, vncessantly wandring vp and downe, from House to Mansion. And himselfe said, that he remembred to have been *Aethaledes*, then *Euphorbus*, afterward *Hermotimus*, at last from *Pyrrhus* to have passed into *Pythagoras*: having memorie of himselfe, the space of two hundred and six yeares: some added more, that the same soules do sometimes ascend vp to haven, and come downe againe:

O Pater áñne aliquas ad coelum hinc ire putandum est Virg. Ae [...]. lib. 6. 739.  
 Sublimes animas, iterum (que) ad tarda reverti  
 Corpora? Quae lucis miseris tam dira cupido?  
 Must we thinke (Father) some soules hence doe go,  
 Raized to heav'n, thence turne to bodies slow?  
 Whence doth so dyre desire of light on wretches grow?

*Origen* 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 foure hundred and fortie yeares, they reconjoine themselves vnto their first bodies. *Chrysippus*, that that must come to passe after a certaine space of time vnknowne, and not limited. *Plato* (who saith that he holds this opinion from *Pindarus*, and from ancient Poesie,) of infinite Vicissitudes of alteration, to which the soule is prepared, having no paines nor rewards in the other World, but temporall, as her life in this is but temporall, concludeth in her a singular knowledge of the affaires of Heaven, of Hell, and heer below, where she hath passed, repassed, and sojourned in many voyages; a matter in his remembrance. Behold her progresse else-where: He that hath lived well, reconjoineth himselfe vnto that Star or Planet, to which he is assigned: Who evill, passeth into a Woman: And if then he amend not himselfe, he transchangeth himselfe into a beast, of condition agreeing to his vicious customes, and shall never see an end of his Punishments, vntill he returne to his naturall condition, and by vertue of reason, he have deprived himselfe of those grosse, stupide, and elementarie qualities, that were in him. But I will not forget the objection, which the Epicureans make vnto this transmigration from one bodie to another: Which is verie pleasant. They demaund, what order there should be, if the throng of the dying, should be greater then that of such as be borne. For, the soules removed from their abode would throng and strive together, who should get the best seat in this new case: And demaund besides, what they would passe their time about, whilst they should stay, vntill any other mansion were made readie for them: Or contrary-wise, if more creatures were borne, then should die; they say, bodies should be in an ill taking, expecting the infusion of their soule, & it would come to passe, that some of them should die, before they had ever bin living.

Denique connubia ad veneris, partús (que) ferarum, L [...]cr. li. 3. 802.  
 Esse animas praesto deridiculum esse videtur,  
 Et spectare immortales mortalia membra  
 Innumero numero, certaréque praeproperanter  
 Inter se, quae prima potissimaque infinuetur.  
 Lastly, ridiculous it is, soules should be prest  
 To *Venus* meetings, and begetting of a beast:  
 That they to mortall lims immortall be adrest  
 In number numberlesse, and over-hastie strive,  
 Which of them first and chiefe should get in there to live.

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Others have staid the soule in the deceased bodies, therewith to animate serpents, wormes and other beasts, which are said to engender from the corrupttion of our members, yea and from our ashes: Others, devide it in two parts one mortall, another immortall: Others make it corporeall, and 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 *Plutarke* thinks, that Gods are made of those soules which are saved: For, there be few things that this authour doth more resolutely averre, then this; holding every where else an ambiguous and doubtfull kind of speech. It is to be imagined and firmlie believed (saith he) that the soules of men, vertuous both according vnto nature and divine Iustice, become of Men, Saints, and of Saints, Demi-Gods and after they are once perfectly, as in sacrifices of purgation, cleanged and purified, being delivered from all passibility and mortalitie, they become of Demy-Gods (not by any civill ordinance, but in good truth, and according to manifest reason) perfect and very-very Gods; receiving a most blessed and thrise glorious end. But whosoever shall see him, who is notwithstanding, one of the most sparing and moderate of that faction, so vndantedly to skirmish, and will heare him relate his wonders vpon this subject, him I refer to his discourse of the Moone, and of *Socrates* his Daemon; where as evidently as in any other place, may be averred, that the mysteries of Philosophy have many strange conceits, common with those of Poesie; mans vnderstanding loosing it selfe once goe about to sound and controule all things to the vtmost ende; as tired and troubled by a long and wearisome course of our life, we returne to a kind of doting childhood. Note here the goodly and certaine instructions, which concerning our soulesubject we drawe from humane knowledge. There is no lesse rashnesse in that which shee teacheth vs touching our corporall parts. Let vs make choyse but of one or two examples, else should we loose our selves in this troublesome and vaste Ocean of Phisicall errorrs. Let vs know whether they agree but in this one, that is to say, of what matter men are derived and produced one from another. For, touching their first production, it is no marvel if in a thing so high and so ancient, mans wit is troubled and confounded. *Archelaus* the Physition, to whom (as *Aristoxenus* affirmeth) *Socrates* was Disciple and Minion, assevered that both men and beastes had beene made of milkie slyme or mudde, expressed by the heate of the earth. *Pythagoras* saith, that our seed is the scumme or froth of our best blood. *Plato* the distilling of the marrow in the backe-bone, which he argueth thus, because that place feeleth first the wearinesse which followeth the sweete generall businesse.

*Alcmaeon*, a part of the braines-substance, which to prove, he saith, their eyes are euer most troubled, that over-intemperately addict themselvse to that exercise. *Democritus*, a substance extracted from all parts of this corporall Masse. *Epicurus* extracted from the last soule and the body: *Aristotle* an excrement drawne from the nourishment of the bloud, the last scattereth it selfe in our severall members; others, blood, concocted and digested by the heate of the genitories, which they judge, because in the extreame, earnest and forced labours many shed drops of pure blood; wherein some apparence seemeth to be, if from so infinite a confusion any likelihood may bee drawne. But to bring this seede to effect, how many contrary opinions make they of it? *Aristotle* and *Democritus* hold, that women have no

sperme, that it is but a sweate, which by reason of the pleasure, and frication they cast forth, and availeth nothing in generation.

*Galen*, and his adherents, contrariwise affirme, that there can bee no generation, except two seedes meete together. Behold the Phisitians, the Philosophers, the Lawyers, and the Divines pell-mell together by the eares with our women about the question and disputation 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 childe. The world is framed of this experience; there is no meane woman so simple, that cannot give her censure vpon all these contestations, although we could not agree. *This is sufficient to verifie, that in the corporall parte, man is no more instructed of himselfe, then in the spiritual.* We have proposed himselfe to himselfe, and his reason to his reason, to see what she can tell vs of it. Me thinkes I have sufficiently declared, how little vnderstanding she hath of herselfe. And hePlin. Nat. hist. lib. 2. cap. 1. who hath no vnderstanding of himselfe, what can he have vnderstanding of? *Quasi verò mensuram vllius rei possit agere, qui sui nesciat. As though he could take measure of any thing that knowes not his owne measure.* Truly *Protagoras* told vs prettie tales, when he makes man [314]the measure of all things, who never knew so much as his owne. If it be not he, his dignitie wil never suffer any other creature to have this advantage over him. Now he being so contrary in himselfe, and one judgement so vncessantly subverting another, this favourable proposition was but a jest, which induced vs necessarily to conclude the nullity of the Compasse and the Compasser. *When Thales iudgeth the knowledge of man very hard vnto man, he teacheth him the knowledge of all other things to be impossible vnto him.* You for whom I have taken the paines to enlarge so long a worke (against my custome) will not shun to maintaine your *Sebond*, with the ordinary forme of arguing, whereof you are daily instructed, and will therin exercise both your minde and study: For this last tricke of fence, must not be emploied but as an extreame remedy. It is a desperate thrust, gainst which you must forsake your weapons, to force your adversary to renounce his; and a secret slight, which must seldome and very sparingly be put in practise. *It is great fond-hardinesse to loose our selfe for the losse of another.* A man must not be willing to die to revenge himselfe, as *Gobrias* was: who being close by the eares with a Lord of *Persia*, *Darius* chanced to come in with his sword in hisJustin. 1. 1. hand, and fearing to strike, for feare he should hurt *Gobrias*, he called vnto him, and bade him smite boldly although he should smite through both. I have heard, armes, and conditions of single combates being desperate and in 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 vnlawfull. The *Portugals* tooke once certaine Turkes prisoners in the *Indian* seas, who impatient of their captivity, resolved with themselves (and their resolution succeeded) by rubbing of Ship-nailes one against another, and causing sparkles of fire to fall amongst the barrels of powder (which lay not far 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, wherein extremity, as well as in vertue, is vicious.* Keepe your selves in the common path, it is not good to be so subtile, and so curious. Remember what the Italian proverbe saith,

Chitroppos' assottiglia, siscavezza. Petr. p. 1. canz. 13. 48.  
Who makes himselfe too fine,  
Doth breake himselfe in fine.

*I perswade you in your opinions and discourses, as much as in your customes, and in every other thing, to vse moderation and temperance, and avoide all newfangled inventions and strangenesse.* All extravagant waies displease me. You who by the authority and preheminance, which your greatnesse hath laide vpon you, and more by the advantages, which the qualities that are most your owne, bestow on you, may with anod command whom

you please, should have laide this charge vpon some one, that had made profession of learning, who might otherwise have disposed and enriched this fantasie. Notwithstanding here have you enough to supply your wants of it. *Epicurus* said of the lawes, that the worst were so necessary vnto vs, that without them, men would enter-devoure one another. And *Plato* verifieth, that *without lawes we should live like beastes*. Our spirit is a vagabond, a dangerous, and fond-hardy implement; It is very hard to joyne order and measure to it. In my time, such as have any rare excellency above others, or extraordinary vivacity, we see them almost all so lavish and vnbridled in licence of opinions and maners, as it may be counted a wonder to finde any one settled and sociable. There is great reason why the spirit of man should be so strictly embarred. In his study, as in all things else he must have his steps numbered and ordered. The limites of his pursuite must be cut out by Arte. He is brideled and fettered with, and by religions, lawes, customes, knowledge, precepts, paines and recompences, both mortall and immortal; yet we see him, by meanes of his volubility and dissolution, escape all these bonds. It is a vaine body, that hath no way about him to be seized on, or cut off: a diverse and deformed body, on which neither knot nor hold may be fastened. Verily thereare few soules, so orderly, so constant, and so well borne, as may be trusted with their owne conduct, and may with moderation, and without rashnesse, saile in the liberty 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 glaive, yea even to his owne possessor, except he have the grace, very orderly and discretely to arme himselfe therewith*. And there is no beast, to whom one may more justly apply a blinding bord, to keepe her sight in, and force her looke to her footing and keepe from straying here and there, without the tracke which vse and lawes trace hir out. Therefore shall it bee better for you to close and bound your selves in the accustomed [315]path▪ howsoever it be, then to take your flight to this vnbridled licence. But if any one of these new Doctors shall vndertake, to play the wise or ingenious before you, at the charge of his and your health: to rid you of this dangerous plague, which daily more and more spreads it selle in your Courts, this preservative will in any extreame necessity be a let, that the contagion of this venome, shall neither offend you nor your assistance. The liberty then, and the joll [...]ty of their ancient spirits brought forth many different Sects of opinions, in Philosophy and humane Sciences: every one vndertaking to judge and chuse, so he might raise a faction. But now that men walke all one way: *Qui certis quibusdam destinatisque sententijs addict [...] Cic. T [...]sc. q [...]. 1. 2 & consecrati sunt, vt etiam, quae non probant, cogantur defendere: Who are addicted and consecrated to certaine set and fore-decreed opinions, so as they are enforced to maintaine those things which they prove or approve not*: And that we receive Artes by civill authority and appointment: So that schooles have but one patterne, alike circumscribed discipline and institution; no man regardeth more what coines weigh and are worth; but every man in his turne receiveth them according to the value, that common approbation and succession allotteth them: Men dispute no longer of the alloy, but of the vse. So are all things spent and vented alike. Physicke is received as Geometry: and juggling trickes, enchantments, bonds, the commerce of deceased spirits, prognostications, domifications, yea even this ridiculous, wit and wealthconsuming pursuite of the Philosophers stone, all is emloid and vttered without contradiction. It sufficeth to know, that *Mars* his place lodgeth in the middle of the hands triangle; that of *Venus* in the Thumme and *Mercuries* in the little finger: and when the table-line cutteth the teachers rising, it is a signe of cruelty: When it faileth vnder the middle finger, and that the naturall Median-line makes an angle with the vitall, vnder the same side, it is a signe of a miserable death: And when a womans naturall line is open, and closes not it angle with the vitall, it evidently denotes that she will not be very chast. I call your selfe to witness if with 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 sense, might judge of the causes of things, vnto a certain measure, but being come to the extreame and first causes, it must necessarily stay, and be blunted or abated; either by reason of it's weaknesse, or of the



things difficulty. It is an indifferent and pleasing kind 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 temerity to employ it. This opinion is plausible and brought in by way of composition: but it is hard to give our spirit any limites, being very curious and greedy, and not tied to stay rather at a thousand, then fifty 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 succeeding hath found out: and that Sciences and Artes are not cast in a mould, but rather by little and little formed and shaped by often handling and pollishing them over: even as beares fashion their yong whelps by often licking them: what my strength cannot discover, I cease not to sound and trie: and in handling and kneading this new matter and with removing and chafing it, I open some facultie for him that shal follow me, that with more ease he may inioy the same, and so make it more facile, more supple and more pliable:

—*vt hymettia sole* Ovid. *Metam.* lib. 10. 284.

Uertitur infacies, ipsóque fit vtilis vsu.

As the best Bees wax melteth by the Sun,  
And handled into many formes doth [...],  
And is made aptly fit,  
For vse by vsing it.

As much will the second doe for the thrid, which is a cause that difficultie doth not make me despaire, 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* saith) he avow the ignorance of the first causes and beginnings, let him hardly quit all the rest of his knowledge. If his foundation faile him, his discourse is overthrowne. *The dispute hath no other scope, and to enquire no other end but the principles:* If this end stay not his course, he casteth himselfe into an infinite irresolution. *Non potest aliud alio magis minúsque comprehendí, quoniam omnium rerum vna est definitio 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, she [316]first knew her selfe: and if she knew any without and besides her selfe, it must be her vaile and body before any thing else. If even at this day the Gods of Physicke are seene to wrangle about our Anatomie,

Mulciber in Troiam, pro Troia stabat Apollo, Ovid. *Trist.* li 1. [...]. 2. 5.

Apollo stoode for Troy,  
Uulcan Troy to destroy.

When shall we expect that they will be agreed? We are neerer vnto our selves, then is whitenesse vnto snow, or weight vnto a stone. *If man know not himselfe, 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, fashion and conduct, errours are received into our soule, she hath not wherewithall to distinguish them, nor whereby to chuse the truth from falshood. The Academikes received some inclination of judgement, and found it over raw, to say, it was no more likely, snow should be white then blacke, and that we should 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 difficulty and strangenesse, which in trueth can not but hardly lodge in our imagination, how beit they establish, that we were no way capable of knowledge, and that truth is engulfed in the deepest Abysses, where mans sight can no way enter; yet avowed they somethings to be more likely and possible then others, and received this faculty in their judgement, that they might rather encline to one apparance then to an other. They allowed hir this propension, interdicting hir all resolution. The Pyrrhonians advise is more hardy, and therewithall more likely. For this Academicall inclination, and this propension rather to one then another proposition, what else is it, then a reacknowledging of

some apparant truth, in this than in that? If our vnderstanding be capable of the forme, of the lineaments, of the behaviour and face of truth; it might as well see it all compleate, as but halfe, growing and imperfect. For this apparance of verisimilitude, which makes them rather take the left then the right hand, doe you augment it; this one ounce of likelihood, which turnes the ballance, doe you multiply it, by a hundred, nay by a thousand ounces; it will in the end come to passe, that the ballance will absolutely resolve and conclude one choise and perfect truth. But how do they suffer themselves to be made tractable by likelihood if they know not truth? *How know they the semblance of that, wherof they vnderstand not the essence?* Either we are able to judge absolutely, or absolutly we cannot. If our intellectual and sensible faculties are without ground or footing, if they but hull vp and downe and drive with the wind, for nothing suffer we our judgement to be caried away to any part of their operation, what apparance soever it seemeth to present vs with. And the surest and most happy situation of our vnderstanding should be that, where without any tottering or agitation it might maintaine it selfe settled, vpriight and inflexible. *Inter visa, vera, aut falsa, ad animi Cic. Acad. q. 1. 4. assensum ■ [...]hil [...]interest. There is no difference betwixt true and false visions, concerning the minds assent.* That things lodge not in vs in their proper forme and essence, and make not their entrance into vs, of their owne power and authority, we see it most evidently. For if it were so, we should receive them all alike: wine would be such in a sicke mans mouth, as in a healthy mans. He whose fingers are chopt through cold, and stiffe or benumbed with frost, should finde the same hardnesse in the wood or iron he might handle, which another doth. Then strange subjects yeeld vnto our mercy, and lodge with vs according to our pleasure. Now if on our part we receive any thing without alteration; if mans hold-fasts were capable and suficiently powerfull, by our proper meanes to seize on truth, those meanes being common to all; this truth would successively remove it selfe from one to an other. And of so many things as are in the world, at least one should be found, that by an vniversall consent should be believed of all. But that no proposition is feene, which is not controversied and debated amongst vs or that may not be, declareth plainly, that our judgment doth not absolutely and cleerely seize on that which it seizeth: for my judgement cannot make my fellowes judgement to receive the same: which is a signe, that I have seized vpon it by some other meane then by a naturall power in me or other men. Leave we aparte this infinite confusion of opinions, which is seene amongst Phylosophers themselves, and this vniversall and perpetuall disputation, in and concerning the knowledge of things.

For it is most truly presupposed, that men (I meane the wisest, the best borne, yea and the most sufficient) do never agree, no not so much that heaven is over our heads: For they who [317]doubt of all, doe also doubt of this: and such as affirme, that we cannot conceive any thing, say we have not conceived whether heaven be over 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 owne judgement layeth vpon our selves and the vncertainty which every man findes in himselfe, it may manifestly be perceived, that this situation is very vncertaine and vnstaid. How diversly judge we of things? How often change we our fantasies? What I hold and believe this day, I believe and hold with all my beleefe: all my implements, springs and motions, embrace and claspe this opinion, and to the vtmost of their power warrant the same: I could not possibly embrace any verity, nor with more assurance keepe 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 dayly, to have embraced some other thing, with the very same instruments and condition, which vpon better advise I have, afterward judged false? *A man should at least become wise, at his owne cost, and learne by others harmes.* If vnder this colour I have often found my selfe deceived, if my Touch-stone be commonly found false and my ballance vn-even 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 beguiled and couzened by one guide? Neverthelesse, let fortune remooove vs five hundered times from our place, let hir doe nothing but vncessantly empty and fill, as in a

vessell, other and other opinions in our minde, the present and last is alwaies supposed certaine and infallible. For this must a man leave goods, honour, life, state, health and all:

—*posterior res illa reperta*

Perdit; & immutat sensus ad pristina quaeque. [...]uer. 1. 5. 1424.

The later thing destroies all found before

And altars sense at all things lik't of yore.

Whatsoever is tould vs, and what ever we learne, 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. Onely things which come to vs from heaven, have right and authority of perswasion and markes of truth: Which we neither see with our eyes, nor receive by our meanes: this scred and great image would be of no force in so wretched a Mansion, except God prepare it to that vse and purpose, vnlesse God by his particular grace and supernaturall favor, reforme and strengthen the same. Our fraile-defective condition ought at least make vs demaene our selves more moderately, and more circumspectly in our changes. We should remember, that whatsoever we receive in our vnderstanding, we often receive false things, and that it is by the same instruments, which many times contradict and deceive themselves. And no marvell if they contradict themselves, being so easie to encline, and vpon very slight occasions subject to waver and turne. Certaine it is, that our apprehension, our judgement, and our soules faculties in generall, doe suffer according to the bodies motions and alterations, which are continuall. Have we not our spirits more vigilant, our memorie more ready, and our discourses more lively in time of health, then in sicknesse? Doth not joy and blithnesse make vs receive the subjects, that present themselves vnto our soule, with another kind of countenance, then lowring vexation, and drooping melancholy doth? Doe you imagine, that *Catullus* or *Saphoes* verses, delight and please an old covetous Chuff-penny wretch, as they doe a lusty and vigorous yong-man? *Cleomenes* the sonne of *Anaxandridas* being sicke, his friends reprov'd him, saying he had new strange humors, and vnvsuall fantasies: It is not vnlikely (answered he) for, I am not the man I was wont to be in time of health: But being other, so are my fantasies and my humors. In the rabble case-canvasing of our plea-cours, this by-word. *Gaudeat de bonafortuna, Let him ioy in his good fortune*, Is much in vse, and is spoken of criminall offenders, who happen to meete with judges in some milde temper, or well-pleased moode. For it is most certaine that in times of condemnation, the judges doome or sentence is some times perceived to be more sharpe, mercilesse and forward, and at other times more tractable, facile, and enclined to shadow or excuse 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 jelousie, or angry that his servant hath robbed him and whose mind is overcome with grieffe, and plunged with vexation, and distracted with anger, there is not 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 iudge and sentence [318] by night, for feare the sight of the suters [...]ight corrupt iustice*. The ayre it'selfe, and the clearenes of the firmament, doth forebode vs some change and alteration of weather, as saith that Greeke verse in *Cicero*,

Tales sunt hominum mentes, quali pater ipse Cic. exi [...]tert.

Iupiter, auctifer a lustravit lampade terras.

Such are mens mindes, as with increasefull light.

Our father *Iove* survayes the world in sight.

It is not onely fevers, drinkes and great accidents, that over-whelme our judgment: The least things in the world wil turne it topsiturvie. And although we feele it not, it is not to be doubted, if a continual ague may in the end suppress our minde, a tertiani will also (according to hir measure and proportion) breed some alteration in it. If an Apoplexie doth altogether stupifie, and extinguish the sight of our vnderstanding, it is not to be doubted but a

cold and rhume will likewise dazle 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 byase, our body being subiect to so many continuall alterations, and stuff with so divers sortes of ginnes and motions, that, giving credit to Phisitions, it is very hard to finde one in perfect plight, and that doth not alwaies mistake his marke and shute wide. As for the rest, this disease is not so easily discovered, except, it be altogether extreame and remedillesse; forasmuch as reason marcheth ever crooked, halting and broken-hipt; and with falsehood as with truth; And therefore it is very hard to discover hir mistaking, and disorder. I alwaies call reason, that apparence or shew of discourses, which every man deviseth or forgeth in himselfe: That reason, of whose condition, there may be a hundred, one contrary to another, about one selfe same subject: It is an instrument of Lead and Wax, stretching, pliable, and that may be fitted to all byases, and squared to all measures: There remaines nothing but the skil and sufficiency to know how to turne and winde the same. How well soever a judge meaneth and what good minde so ever he beareth, if diligent eare be not given vnto him (to which few amuse themselves) his inclination vnto friendship, vnto kindred, vnto beauty, and vnto revenge, and not onely matters of so weighty consequence, but this innated and casuall instinct▪ which makes vs to favour one thing more then another, and encline to one man more then to another, and which without any leave of reason, giveth vs the choise, in two like subjects, or some shadow of like vanity, may insensibly insinuate in his judgement the commendation and applause, or disfavour and disallowance of a cause, and give the ballance a twitch. I that nearest prie into my selfe and who have mine eyes vncessantly fixt vpon me, as one that hath much else to doe else where,

—*quis sub arct* [...]

Rex gelidae metuatur orae, H [...]. [...]ar. 1. 1. od 26. 3.

Quid Tyridatem terreat, vnicè

Securus,

Onely secure, who in cold coast

Vnder the North-pole rules the rost,

And there is feard; or what would fright,

And *Tyridates* put to flight.

dare very hardly report the vanity and weaknesse I feele in my selfe. My foot is so staggering and vnstable, and I finde it so ready to trip, and so easie to stumble; and my sight is so dimme and vncertaine, that fasting I finde my selfe other then full fed: If my health applaud me, or but the calmenesse of one faire day smile vpon me, then am I a lusly gallant; but if a corne wring my toe, then am I pouting, vnpleasant and hard to be pleased. One same pace of a horse is sometimes hard, and sometimes easie vnto mee; and one same way, onetime short, another time long and wearisome; and one same forme, now more, now lesse agreeable and pleasing to me: Sometimes I am apt to doe any thing, and other times fit to doe nothing: What now is pleasing to mee, within a while after will be painfull. There are a thousand indiscreet and casuall agitations in mee. Either a melancholy humour possesseth me, or a chollericke passion swaieth me, which having shaken off, sometimes forwardnesse and peevishnes hath predominancy, and other times gladnes and blithnes over rule me. If I chance to take a booke in hand, I shall in some passages perceive some excellent graces, and which ever wound me to the soule with delight; but let me lay it by, and reade him another [319]time; let me turne and tosse him as I list, let me apply and manage him as I will, I shall finde it an vnknowne and shapeles masse. Even in my writings, I shall 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 vexe and fret my selfe in correcting and giving a new sense to them, because I have peradventure forgotten or lost 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,

—*velut minut a magno* Cd [...]l. lyr. epig. 22. 12.  
 Deprensa navis in mari vesan [...]ente vento.  
 Much like a pettie skiffe, that's taken short  
 In a grand Sea, when winds doe make mad sport.

Many times (as commonly it is my hap to doe) having for exercise and sport-sake vndertaken to maintaine an opinion contrarie to mine, my minde applying and turning it selfe 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 encline, there I entertaine my selfe, howsoever it be, and am caried away by mine owne waight. Every man could neere-hand say as much of himselfe, would he but looke into himselfe as I doe. Preachers knowe, that the emotion, which surpriseth them, whilst they are in their earnest speech, doth animate them towards beliefe, and that being angrie we more violently give our selves to defend our proposition, emprint it in our selves, and embrace the same with more vohemencie and approbation, then we did, being in our temperate and reposed sense. You relate simply your case vnto a Lawyer, he answers faltring 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 baite or fee, to make him earnestly apprehend it, beginnes 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 vndoubted truth presents it selfe to his vnderstanding; wherein he discouers a new light, and beleeves it in good sooth, and so perswades himselfe. Shall I tell you? I wot not whether the heate of proceeding of spight and obstinacie, 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 beene moved, nor have ventred his fingers end. The motions and fittes which our soule receiveth by corporall passions, doe greatly prevaile in hir, but more hir owne; with which it is so fully possess, as happily it may be maintained, she hath no other way, or motion, then by the blast of hir windes, and that without their agitation, she should remaine without action, as a ship at Sea, which the winds have vtterly forsaken. And he who should maintain that, following the Peripatetike faction, should offer vs no great wrong, since it is knowne, that the greatest number of the soules-actions, proceede and have neede of this impulsion of passion; valor (say they) cannot be perfected without the assistance of choller,

Semper Ajax fortis, fortissimus tamen in furore. Cic. Tus. qu. l. 4.  
 Ajax ever valor had,  
 Most then, when he was most mad.

Nor doth any man runne violently enough vpon the wicked, or his enemies, except he be thoroughly angrie; and they are of opinion, that an Advocate or counsellor at the barre, to have the cause goe one his side, and to have justice at the judges hands doth first endeavor to provoke him to anger. Longing-desires mooved *Them [...]stoc [...]jes*, and vrged *Demosthenes*, and have provoked Phylosophers, to long travels, to tedious watchings, and to Img [...]ing peregrinations: And leade vs to honors, to doctrine, and to health; all profitable respects. And this demisnes of the soule, in suffering molestation and tediousnes, serveth to no other purpose, but to breede repentance, and cause penitence in our consciences; and for our punishment to feele the scourge of God, and the rod of politike correction. Compassion serveth as a sting vnto clemencie, and wisdom to preserve and governe our selves, is by our owne feare rouzed vp; and how many noble actions, by ambition, how many by presumption? *To conclude, no eminent or gloriou [...] [...] can be without some immoderate and [...]regular agitation.* May not this be one of the reasons, which moved the Epicurians, to discharge God of all care and thought of our affaires: For so much as the very effects of his goodnes, cannot exercise themselves towards vs, without disturbing his rest, by meanes of the passions, which [320]are as motives and solicitations, directing the soule to vertuous

actions? Or have they thought otherwise and taken them as tempests, which shamfully lead astray the soule from hir rest and tranquillitie? *Vt maris tranquillit as tutelligitur, nullâ, ne minim à quidem, aur â fluctus commovente: Sic animi quietus & placatus status cernitur, quum perturbati [...] nulla est, quâ moveri Cic. ib. lib. 5. queat.* As we concesve the Seas calmenesse, when not so much as the least pirling wind doth stirre the waves, so is a peaceable reposed state of the minde then seene, when there is no per turbation, wher by it may be moved. What differences ofsense and reason, what contrarietie of imaginations, doth the diverfitie of our passions present vnto vs? What assurance may we then take of so vnconstant and wavering a thing, subject by it's owne condition to the power of trouble, never marching but a forced and borrowed pace? If our judgement be in the hands of sickenes it selfe, and of perturbation; if by rashnes and folly it be retained to receive the impression of things, what assurance may we expect at his hands? Dares nos Philosophie thinke that men produce their greatest effects, and nearest approching to divinitie, when they are besides themselves, furious, and madde? We amend our selves by the privation of reason, and by hir drooping. The two naturall waies, to enter the cabinet of the Gods, and there to fore-see the course of the destinies, are furie and sleepe. This is very pleasing to be considered. By the dislocation, that passions bring vnto our reason, we become vertuous; by the extirpation, which either furie or the image of death bringeth vs, we become Prophets and Divines. I never beleaved it more willingly. It is a meere divine inspiration, that sacred truth hath inspired in a Philosophicall spirit, which against his proposition exacteth from him; that the quiet state of our soule, the best-settled estate, yea the healthfullest that Philosophie can acquire vnto it, is not the best estate. *Our vigilancie is more drouzie, then sleepe it selfe: Our wisdomes lesse wise, then folly; our dreames of more worth then our discourses.* The worst place we can take, is in our selves. But thinkes it not, that we have the foresight to marke, that the voyce, which the spirit vttereth, when he is gone from man, so cleare sighted, so great, and so perfect, and 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 over clouded man; and therefore a trustles and not to be-beleaved voyce? I have no great experience in these violent agitations, being of a soft and dull complex on; the greatest part of which, without giving it leasure to acknowledge hir selfe, doe sodainly surprise our soule. But that passion, which in yoongmens hartes is said, to be produced by idlenes, although it march but leasurly, and with a measured progresse, doth evidently present to those, that have assaid to oppose themselves against hir endeavor, the power of the conversion and alteration, which our judgement suffereth. I have some times enterprised to arme my selfe with a resolution to abide, resist, and sup presse the same. For, I am so farre from being in their ranke, that call and allure vices, that vnlesse they entertaine me, I scarcely follow them. I felt it, mauger my resistance, to breed, to growe, and to augment; and in the end being in perfect health, and cleare-sighted, to seize-vpon and possesse me; in such sort, that, as in dronkennes, the image of things, began to appeare vnto me, otherwise then it was wont: I sawe the advantages of the subject, I sought after, evidently to swell and growe greater, and much to encrease by the winde of my imagination; and the difficulties of my enterprise to become more easie and plaine; and my discourse and conscience to shrink and draw-backe. But that fire being evaporated all on a sodaine, as by the flashing of a lightning my soule to reassume an other sight, another state, and other judgement. The difficultie in my retreat seemed great and invincible, and the very same things of another taste and shew than the fervencie of desire had presented them vnto me. And which more truely, *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 cast my selfe foreward, so much do I draw my selfe backe.

Qualis vbi alterno procurrens gurgite pontus,  
 Nunc ruit ad terras scopulis (que) superiacit vndam, Virg. Aen. l. 11. 508.  
 Spumeus, extremám (que) [...]inu perfundit arenam,

Nunc rapidus retro atque aestu revoluta resorbens  
 Saxa fugit, littus (que) vado labente relinquit.  
 As th'ocean flowing, ebbing in due course,  
 To land now rushes, foming throw's his sourse,  
 On rockes, there with bedew's the vtmost sand,  
 [321] Now swift return's, the stones rould backe from strand  
 By tide resuck's, foord failing leaves the land.

Now by the knowledge of my volubilitie, I have by accident engendred some constancie of opinions in my selfe; yet have not so much altered my first and naturall ones. For, what apparance soever there be in noveltie, I doe not easily change, for feare I should loose by the bargaine: And since I am not capable to chuse, I take the choise from others; and keepe my selfe in the seate, that God hath placed me in. Else could I hardly keepe my selfe from continuall rowling. Thus have I by the grace of God preserved my selfe whole (without agitation or trouble of conscience) in the ancient beliefe of our religion, in the midst of so many sects and divisions, which our age hath brought forth. The writings of the ancient fathers (I meane the good, the solide, and the serious) doe tempt, and in a manner remove me which way they list. Him that I heare seemeth ever the most forcible. I finde them everieone in his turne to have reason, although they contrarie one another. That facilitie, which good wittes have to prove any thing they please, likely; and that there is nothing so strange, but they will vndertake to set so good a glosse on it, as it shall easily deceive a simplicitie like vnto mine, doth manifestly shew the weakenes of their prooffe. The heavens and the planets have moved these three thousand yeares, and all the world believed as much, vntill *Cleanthes* the *Samian*, or else (according to *Thcophrastus*) *Nicetas* the *Syracusan* tooke vpon him to maintaine, it was the earth that moved, by the oblique circle of the *Zodiake*, turning about hir axell tree. And in our daies *C [...]* *pernicus* hath so well grounded this doctrine, that hee doth very orderly fit it to all Astrologicall 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 praecedent.

Sic volvenda aetas commut at tempora rerum, *Lucretius*. l. 5. 1 [...]<sup>86</sup>.  
 Quodque fuit pretio, sit nullo denique honore,  
 Porrò aliud succedit, & è contemptibus exit,  
 Inque dies magis appetitûr, floret (que) repertum  
 Laudibus, & miro est mortales inter honore.  
 So age to be past-over alter's times of things:  
 What earst was most esteem'd,  
 At last nought-worth is deem'd:  
 An other then succed's, and from contempt vpsprings,  
 Is daily more desir'd, flowreth as found but then  
 With praise and wondrous honor amongst mortall men

So when any new Doctrine is represented 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 beene reversed by this latter, a third invension may paradventure succcede in after-ages, which in like sort shall front the second. Before the principles, which *Aristotle* found out, were in credite, other principles contented mans reason, as his doe now content vs. What learning have these men, what particular priviledge, that the course of our invention should rely only vpon them, and that the possession of our beliefe, shal for ever hereafter belong to them? They are no more exempted from being rejected, then were their fore-fathers. If any man vrge me with a new Argument, it is in me to imagine, that if I cannot answere it, another can. For, *to believ [...] all apparances, which we cannot resolve, is meere simplicitie*. It would then follow, that all the common sort (whereof we are all part) should have his beliefe turning and winding like a weather-cocke: For, his soule being soft, and without resistance, should vncessantly be enforced to receive new and admit other impressions: the latter ever

defacing the precedents trace. He that perceiveth himselfe weake, ought to answer, according to law termes, that he will conferre with his learned counsel, or else referre himselfe to the wisest, from whom he hath had his prentiseship. How long is it since Physicke came first into the World? It is reported that a new start-up fellow, whom they call *Paracelius*, changeth and subverteth all the order of ancient, and so long time-received rules, and maintaineth that vntill this day it hath only served to kill people. I thinke he will easily verifie it. But I suppose it were no great wisdome to hazard my life vpon the triall of his new-fangled experience. *We must not believe al men*, saith the precept, *since every man may say all things*. It is not long since, that one of these professours of novelties, and Physicall reformations [322]told me, that all our forefathers had notoriously abuzed themselves in the nature and motions of the windes, which, if I would listen vnto him, he would manifestly make me perceve. After I had with some patience given attendance to his Arguments, which were indeed full of likelyhood, I demaunded of him, whether they that failed according to *Theophrastus* his Lawes, went westward, when they bent their course eastward? Or whether they failed sideling, or backward? It is fortune, answered he, but so it is they tooke their marke amisse: To whom I then replyed, that I had rather follow the effects, then his reason. They are things that often shooke together: and it hath beene told me, that in Geometrie (which supposeth to have gained the high point of certainty amongst al sciences) there are found vnavoidable Demonstrations, and which subvert the truth of all experience: As *Iames Peletier* tolde 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; neverthelesse he affirmed, that even vnto infinity, they could never come to touch one another. And the Pyrrhonians vse their Arguments, and Reason, but to destroy the apparance of experience: And it is a wonder to see how farre the suppleness of our reason, hath in this designe followed them, to resist the evidence of effects: For, they affirme, that wee moove not, that we speake not, that there is no weight, nor heate, with the same force of arguing, that we averre the most likelyest things. *Ptolomey*, who was an excellent man, had established the boundes of the world; All ancient Phylosophers have thought they had a perfect measure thereof, except it were certaine scattered Ilandes, which might escape their knowledge: It had bin to Pyrrhonize a thousand yeeres agoe, had any man gone abut to make a question of the arte of Cosmography: and the opinions that have beene received thereof, of all men in Generall: It had beene flat heresie to avouch, that there were Antipodes. See how in our age an infinite greatnesse of firme land hath beene discovered, not an Iland onely, nor one particular country, but a parte in greatnesse verie neere equall vnto that which wee knewe. Our moderne Geographers cease not to affirme, that now all is found, and all is discovered;

Nam quod adest praesto, placet, & pollere videtur, [...]b. 1422.

For, what is present heere

Seemes strong, is held most deare.

The question is now, if *Ptolomey* was heretofore deceived in the grounds of his reason, whether it were not folly in me, to trust what these late followes say of it, and whether it bee not more likely, that this huge body, which we terme the World, is another manner of thing, than we judge it. *Plato* saith, that it often changeth his countenance, that the Heaven, the Starres, and the Sunne do somtimes re-enverse the motion we perceive in them, changing the East into West. The Aegyptian Priests, told *Heredotus*, that since their first King, which was eleaven thousand and odde yeares (when they made him see the pictures of all their former Kings, drawne to the life in statues) the Sunne had changed his course foure times: That the sea and the earth do enterchangeably change one into another; that the worldes birth is vndetermined: The like said, *Aristotle* and *Cicero*. And some one amongst vs averreth, that it is altogether eternall, mortall, and new reviving againe, by many Vicissitudes, calling *Salomon* and *Esay* to witnesse: avoyde these oppositions, that God hath sometimes beene a Creator without a creature: that he hath beene idle; that hee hath vnsaide his idlenesse, by



setting his hand to this worke, and that by consequence he is subject 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 Musicall numbers vnto his circumference, divine, thrise-happy, very great, most wise and eternall. In it are other Gods, as the Sea, the earth, and plants, which mutually entertaine one another, with an harmonious and perpetual agitation and celestial dance; somtimes meeting, othertimes farre-sundering themselves; now hiding then shewing themselves; and changing place, now forward, now backward. *Heraclitus* firmly maintained, that the World was composed of fire, and by the destinies 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 *Apulcius* of men saith; *sigillatim mortales, cunctim perpetui: severally mortall, altogether everlasting*. L. Apul. de deo Socrat. *Alexander* writ vnto his mother the narration of an Aegyptian Priest, drawne from out their monuments, witnessing the antiquitie of that Nation, infinite; and comprehending the birth and progresse of their countries to the life. *Cicero* and *Diodorus*, said in their daies, that [323]the Chaldeans kept a register of foure hundred thousand and odde yeares. *Aristotle*, *Plinie*, and others, that *Zoroastes* lived sixe thousand yeares before *Plato*. And *Plato* saith, that those of the city of *Sa [...]*s, have memories in writing of eight thousand yeares, and that the towne of *Athens*, was built a thousand yeares before the city of *Sa [...]*s. *Epicurus*, that at one same time, all things that are, looke how we see them, they are all alike, and in the same fashion, indivers other Worldes, which he would have spoken more confidently, had he seene the similitudes and correspondencies, of this new-found world of the West-Indiaes, 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 terrestriall policie, I have diverse times wondred at my selfe, to see in so great a distance of times and places, the simpathy or jumping of so great a number of popular and wilde opinions, and of extravagant customes and beliefes, and which by no meanes seeme to hold with our naturall discourse. Mans spirit is a wonderful worker of miracles. But this relation hath yet a kind of I wot not what more Heteroclite: which is found both in names, and in a thousand other things. For, there were found Nations, which (as far as we know) had never heard of vs, where circumcision was held in request; where great states and common wealths were maintained onely by Women, and no men: Where our fasts and Lent was represented, adding thervnto the abstinence from women; where our crosies were severall waies in great esteeme; In some places they adorned and honored their sepulchres with them, and elsewhere, especially that of Saint *Andrew*, they employed to shield themselves from nightly visions, and to lay them vpon 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 thrust very deepe into the ground: There was found a very expresse and lively image of our Penitentiaries: the vse of Myters-the Priestes single life; the Arte of Divination by the entrailles of sacrificed beastes; the abstinence from all sorts of flesh & fish, for their food; the order amongst Priests in saying of their divine service, to vse, a not vulgar, but a particular tongue; and this erronious and fond conceipt, that the first God was expelled his throne by a yoonger brother of his: That they were at [...] created with all commodities, which afterward by reason of their sinnes were abridged them: That their territory hath beene changed; that their naturall condition hath beene much impaired: That they have heeretofore beene drowned by the inundation of Waters come from heaven; that none were saved but a few families, which cast themselves into the crackes or hollow of high Mountaines, which crackes they stopped very close, so that the Waters could not enter in, having before shutte therein many kinds of beastes: That when they perceived the Raine to cease, and Waters to sal, they first sent out certaine dogs which returning clean-was [...]t, and wet, they judged that the waters were not yet much falne; and that afterward sending out some other, which seeing to returne all muddy and foule, they issued forth of the mountaines, to repeople the world againe, which they found replenished onely with Serpents.

There were places found, where they used the persuasion of the day of judgement, so that they grew wondrous wroth and offended with the Spaniards, who in digging and searching of riches in their graves, scattered here and there the bones of their deceased friends; saying that those dispersed bones could very hardly be reconjoyed together againe. They also found where they used traffike by exchange, and no otherwise; and had Faires and Markets for that purpose: They found dwarfes, and such other deformed creatures, used for the ornament of Princes tables: They found the use of hawking and fowling according to the Nature of their birdes: tyrannicall subsidies, and grievances vpon subjects; delicate in pleasant gardens; dancing, tumbling; leaping and juggling, musike of instruments, armories, dicing-houses, tennis-courtes, and casting lottes, or mumme-chaunce, wherein they are often so earnest and moody, that they will play themselves and their liberty: vsing no other physicke but by charmes: the manner of writing by figures: believing in one first man, vniversall father of all people: The adoration of one God, who heretofore lived 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 naturall death: The opinion of Gyants; the use of drunkennesse, with their manner of drinks, and drinking and pledging of healths: religious ornaments, painted over with bones and dead-mens sculs; surplices, holy-Water, and holy-Water sprinckles: Women and Servaunts, which strivingly present themselves, to be burned or enterred with their deceased husbands, or masters ■ a law [324]that the eldest or first borne child shall succeed and inherit all; where nothing is reserved for Punies, but obedience: a custome to the promotion of certaine officers of great authority, and where he that is promoted takes vpon him a new name, and quiteth his owne: Where they use to cast lime vpon the knees of new borne children, saying vnto him; from dust thou camest and to dust thou shalt returne again: the Arts of Augures or prediction. These vaine shadowes of our religion, which are seene in some of these examples, witness the dignity and divinity thereof. It hath not onely in some sort insinuated it selfe among all the infidell Nations, on this side by some imitations, but amongst those barbarous Nations beyond, as it were by a common and supernaturall inspiration: For amongst them was also found the beliefe of Purgatory, but after a new forme: For, what we ascribe vnto fire, they impute vnto cold, and imagine that soules are both purged and punished by the vigor of an extreame coldnesse. This example putteth me in minde of another pleasant diversity: For, as there were some people found, who tooke pleasure to vnhood the end of their yard, and to cut off the fore-skinne, after the manner of the Mahometans and Iewes, some there were found, that made so great a conscience to vnhood it, that with little strings, they carried their fore-skin very carefully out-stretched and fastened above, for feare that end should see the aire. And of this other diversity also, that as we honour our Kings, and celebrate our Holy-daies with decking and trimming our selves with the best habilliments we have; in some regions there, to shew all disparity and submission to their King, their subjects present themselves vnto him in their basest and meanest apparrell; and entring into his pallace, they take some old torne garment and put it over their other attire, to the end all the glory and ornament may shine in their Sovereigne and Maister.

But let vs goe on: If Nature enclose within the limites of hir ordinary progresse, as all other things, so the beliefes, the judgements and the opinions of men; if they have their revolutions, their seasons, their birth, and their death, even as Cabiches: If heaven doth moove, agitate and rowle them at his pleasure, what powerfull and permanent authority 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 onely the hew, the stature, the complexion and the countenance, but also the soules faculties: *Et plaga coeli non solúm ad rebur corporum, sed eiam animorum facit. The climate helpeth not onely for strength of body, but of mindes*, saith *Vegetius*: And that the Goddess foundresse of the Citie of *Athens*, chose a temperature of a countrie to situate it in, that mightmake the men wise, as the Aegyptian Priests taught *Solon*: *Athen [...]s tenue coelum*:

*ex quo etiam acutiores putantur [...]ic. de [...]to. A [...]tici: crassum Thebis: itaque pingues Thebani, & valentes: About Athens is a thin aire, whereby those Country-men are esteemed the sharper- [...]titted: About Thebes the aire is grose, and therefore the Thebans were grose and strong of constitution.* In such manner that as fruites and beasts doe spring vp diverse and different; So men are borne, either more or lesse warlike, martiall, just, temperate and docile: heere subject to wine, there to theft, and whoredome; heere inclined to superstition, addicted to mis-believing; heere given to liberty, there to servitude; capable of some one Arte or Science; grose-witted or ingenious: either obedient or rebellious; good or bad, according as the inclination of the place beareth, where they are seated; and being remooved from one soile to another (as plants are) they take a new complexion: which was the cause, that *Cirus* would never permit the Persians to leave their barren, rough and craggie Country, for to transport themselves into another, more gentle, more fertile, and more plaine,: saying *that fat and delicious countries, make men wanton and effeminat; and fertile soiles yeeld infertile spirites.* If sometimes we see one arte to flourish, or a believe, and sometimes another, by some heauenly influence; some ages to produce this or that nature, and so to encline mankind to this or that biase: mens spirits one while flourishing, another while barren, even as fields are seene to be? what become of all those goodly prerogatives, wherwith we still flatter our selves? *Since a wise man may mistake himselfe;* yea many men, and whole nations; and as wee say, means nature either in one thing or other, hath for many ages together mistaken hirselve. What assurance have we that at any time she leaveth her mistaking ■ and that she continueth not even at this day, in hir 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 our possessing, but by imagination and full wishing, we can not all agree in [325]one, that we most stand in need-of, and would best content vs. Let our imagination have free libertie to cut out and sew at her pleasure, she cannot so much as desire what is fittest to please and content her.

—*quid enim ratione timemus* Iuven. sat. 10. 4  
 Aut cupimus? quid tam dextro pede concipis, vt te  
 Conatus non poeniteat, votique peracti?  
 By reason what doe we feare, or desire?  
 With such dexteritie what doest aspire,  
 But thou eftsoones repentest it,  
 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 meerey implie, that good and faire things might be granted them, remitting the election and choise of them to the discretion of the highest power.

*Coniugium petimus partúmque vxoris, at illi* Ibid. 352.  
 Notum qui pueri, qualisque futura sit vxor.  
 We wish a wife, wifes breeding: we would know,  
 What children; shall our wife be sheep or shrow?

And the Christian beseecheth God, that his will may be done, least he should fall into that inconvenience, which Poets faine of King *Midas*: who requested of the Gods, that whatsoever he toucht, might be converted into gold: his praiers were heard, his wine was gold, his bread gold, the feathers of his bed, his shirt, and his garments were turned into gold, so that he found himselfe overwhelmed in the injoying of his desire, and being enrich't with an intollerable commoditie, he must now vnpray his prayers:

*Attonitus novitate mali, divésque misérque, Ovid Met. lib. 11. 128.*  
 Effugere optat opes, & quae modó voverat, odit.  
 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 verie yong. I besought fortune above all things, that she would make me a knight of the order of Saint *Michael*, which in those daies was verie rare, and the highest tipe of honour the French Nobilitie aymed at. She verie kindly granted my request; I had it. In lieu of raising and advancing me from my place, for the attaining of it, she hath much more graciously entreated me, she hath abased and depressed it, even vnto my shoulders and vnder. *Cleobis* and *Biton*, *Trophonius* and *Agamedes*, the two first having besought the Goddess, the two latter their God, of some recompence worthie their pietie, received death for a reward: So much are heavenly opinions different from ours, concerning what we have need-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 alwayes healthfull for vs*; If in lieu of former health, he send vs death, or some worse sicknesse: *Virga* Psal. 23. 4. *tua & baculus tuus ipsa me consolata sunt: 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 meet for vs, then we our selves can doe, and we ought to take it in good part, as from a most wise and thrice-friendly-hand.

—*si concilium vis* Iuven. sat. 10. 346.  
Permittes ipsis expendere numinibus, quid  
Conveniat nobis, rebúsque sit vtile nostris:  
Charior est illis homo quám sibi—  
If you will counsell have, give the Gods leave  
To weigh, what is most meet we should 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 fruit vncertaine. There is no combate amongst Philosophers so violent and sharpe, as that which ariseth vpon the question of mans chiefe felicitie: from which (according to *Varroes* calculation) arose two hundred and foure score Sects. *Qui autem de summo bono dissentit, de [326] tota Philosophiae ratione disputat. But he that disagrees about the chiefest felicitie, calcs in question the whole course of Philosophie.*

Tres mihi convivae propè dissentire videntur, Hor. lib. 2. epist. 2. 61.  
Poscentes vario multum divers [...]palato.  
Quid dem? quid non dem? renuis tu quod iubet alter:  
Quod petis, id sanè est invisum acidúmque duobus.  
Three guests of mine doe seeme almost at ods to fall,  
Whilst they with divers taste for divers things doe call:  
What should I give? What not? You wil not, what he will:  
What you would, to them twaine is hatefull, sowre and ill.

Nature should thus answer their contestations, and debates. Some say, our felicitie consisteth, and is in Vertue: Others in voluptuousnesse: Others in yeelding vnto Nature: Some others in learning: others in feeling no maner of paine 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 *Pithagoras* to encline,

Niladmir ar [...] propè res es [...] vna, Numici, Lib. 1 epist. 6. 1.  
Soláque quae possit facere & seruare beatum.  
Sir, nothing to admire is th'only thing,  
That may keepe happy, and to happy bring.

which is the end and scope of the Pyrrhonian Sect. *Aristotle* ascribeth vnto magnanimities, to admire and wonder at nothing. And *Arcesila* [...]s said, that sufferance, and an vpriight and inflexible state of judgement, were true felicities; whereas consents and applications, were vices and evils. True it is, that where he establisheth it for a certaine Axiome, he started from Pyrrhonisme. When the Pirrhonians say, that *Ataraxy* is the chiefe felicity, which is the immobilitie of judgement, their meaning is not to speake it affirmatively, but the very wavering of their minde, which makes them to shun downefalls, and to shrowd themselves vnder the shelter of calmenesse, presents this fantasie vnto them, and makes them refuse another. Oh how mu [...]h doe I desire, that whilst I live, either some other learned men, or *Ins* [...]s *Lipsius*, the most sufficient and learned man now living; of a most polished and judicious wit, true Cosin-germane to my *Turnebus*, had both will, health and leisure enough, sincerely and exactly, according to their divisions and formes, to collect into on volume or register, as much as by vs might be seene, the opinions of ancient Philosophie, concerning the subject of our being and customs, their controversies, the credite, & pertaking of factions and sides, the application of the Authors and Sectators lives, to their precepts, in memorable and exemplarie accidents. O what a worthie and profitable labor would it be! Besides, if it be from our selves that we draw the regiment of our customes, into what a bottomlesse confusion doe we cast our selves? For, what our reason perswades vs to be most likely for it, is generally for every man to obey the lawes of his countrie, as is the advise of *Socrates*, enspired (saith he) by a divine perswasion. And what else meaneth she thereby, but onely that our devoire or duety hath no other rule, but casuall? *Truth ought to have a like and vniuersall visage throughout the world.* Law and justice, if man knew any, that had a body and true essence, hee would not fasten it to the condition of this or that countries customes. It is not according to the Persians or Indians fantazie, that vertue should take her forme. Nothing is more subject vnto a continuall agitation, then the lawes. I have since I was borne, seene those of our neighbors the English-men changed and rechanged three or foure times, not only in politike subjects, which is, that some will dispence of constancie, but in the most important subject, that possibly can be, that is to say in religion, whereof I am so much the more both grieved and ashamed, because it is a nation, with which my count [...]iemen have heretofore had so inward and familiar acquaintance, that even to this day, there remaine in my house some ancient monuments of our former aliance. Nay I have seene amongst our selves some things become lawfull, which erst were deemed capitall: and we that hold some others, are likewise in possibilitie, according to the vncertaintie 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 injustice; and in the space of few yeares possession, taking a contrary essence. How could that ancient God more evidently accuse, in humane knowledge, the ignorance of divine essence, and teach men that their religion was but a peece of their owne [327]invention, fit to combine their societie, then in declaring (as he did) to those which sought the instruction of it, by his sacred Tripos, 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 dutie is it, that we owe not vnto our Sovereigne Creators benignitie, in that he hath beene pleased to cleare and enfranchise our beliefe from those vagabonding and arbitrary devotions, & fixt it vpon the eternall Base of his holy word? What will Philosophie then say to vs in this necessity? that we follow the lawes 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 visages as there are changes and alterations of passions in them. I cannot have my judgement so flexible. What goodnesse is that, which but yesterday I saw in credite and esteeme, and to morrow, to have lost all reputation, and that the crossing of a River, is made a crime? What truth is that, which these Mountaines 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, perpetuall and immoveable, which they call naturall, 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 lesse: an evident token, that it is a marke as doubtful as the rest. Now are they so vnfortunate (for, how can I terme that but misfortune, that of so infinite a number of lawes, there is not so much as one to be found, which the fortune or temeritie of chance hath graunted to be vniversally received, and by the consent and vnanimtie of all Nations to be admitted?) They are (I say) so miserable, that of these three or foure choise-selected lawes, there is not one alone, that is not impugned or disallowed, not by one nation, but by many. Now is the generalitie of approbation, the onely likely ensigne, by which they may argue some lawes to be naturall: For, what nature had indeede ordained vs, that should we doubtlesse follow with one common consent; and not one onely nation, but every man in particular, should have a feeling of the force and violence, which he should vrge him with, that would incite him to contrary and resist that Law. Let them all (for examples sake) shew me but one of this condition. *Protagoras* and *Ariston* gave the justice of the lawes no other essence, but the authoritie and opinion of the Law-giver, and that excepted, both Good and Honest lost their qualities, and remained but vaine and idle names, of indifferent things. *Thrasymachus* in *Plato*, thinkes there is no other right, but the commoditie of the superiour. There is nothing wherin the world differeth so much, as in customes and lawes. Somethings are here accopted abhominable, which in another place are esteemed commendable: as in *Lacedemonia*, the slight and subt [...]itie in stealing. Mariages in proximitie of blood are amongst vs forbidden as capitall, elsewhere they are allowed and esteemed;

—*gentes esse ferunt [...]*r, O [...]id. *Metam. lib▪ 10. 331.*

In quibus & nato genitrix, & nata parenti

lungitur, & p [...]etas geminato crescit amore.

There are some people, where the mother weddeth

Hir sonne, the daughter her owne father beddeth,

And so by doubled love, their kindnesse spreddeth.

the murdering of children and of parents; the communication with women; traffike of robbing and stealing; free licence to all maner of sensualitie: to conclude, there is nothing so extreame and horrible, but is found to be received and allowed by the custome of some nation. It is credible that there be naturall lawes; as may be seene in other creatures, but in vs they are lost: this goodly humane reason engrafting it selfe among all men, to sway and command, confounding and topsie-turving the visage of all things, according to her inconstant vanitie and vaine inconstancie. *Nihil it aque amplius nostrum est, quod nostrum dico, art [...]*s est. *Therefore nothing more is ours: all that I call ours, belongs to Arte.* Subjects have divers lustres, and severall considerations, whence the diversitie of opinions is chiefly engendred. One nation vieweth a subject with one visage, and thereon it stayes; an other with an other. Nothing can be imagined so horrible, as for one to eate and devoure his owne father. Those people, which anciently kept this custome, holde it neverthesse for a testimonie of pietie and good affection: seeking by that meane to give their fathers the worthiest and most honorable sepulchre, harboring their fathers bodies & reliques in themselves and in their marrow; in some sorte reviving and regenerating them by the transmutation made in their [328]quicke flesh, by digestion and nourishment. It is easie to be considered what abomination and crueltie it had beene, in men accustomed and trained in this inhumane superstition, to cast the carcasses of their parents into the corruption of the earth, as foode for beasts and wormes. *Lycurgus* wisely considered in theft, the vivacitie, diligence, courage, and nimblenesse, that is required in surprising or taking any thing from ones neighbour, and the commoditie which thereby redoundeth to the common-wealth, that every man heedeth more curiously the keeping of that which is his owne: and judged, that by this two fold institution to assaile and to defend, much good was drawne for military discipline (which was the principall Science and chiefe vertue, wherein he would enable that nation) of greater respect and more consideration, then was the disorder and injustice of

prevailing and taking other mens goods. ■ *Dionysius* 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 a womans garment*: But *Aristippus* tooke it, with this answer, *that no garment could corrupt a chaste minde*. His Friends reproved his demissenesse, in being so little offended, that *Dionysius* had spitten in his face. Tut (said he) *Fishers suffer themselves to be washed ouer head and eares, to get a gudgion*. *Diogenes* washing of coleworts for his dinner, seeing him passe by, said vnto him, *If thou couldest live with coleworts, thou wouldest not cour [...] and faune vpon a tyrant*; to whom *Aristippus* replied; *If thou couldest live among men, thou wouldest not wash coleworts*. See here how reason yeeldeth apparance to divers effects. It is a pitcher with two eares, which a man may take hold-on, either by the right or left hand.

—*bellum ô terra hospita portas*, Virg. Ae [...] ■ lib 3. 559.

Bello armantur equi, bellum haec arment a minantur:

Sed tamen ijdem molim curru succedere sueti

Quadrupedes, & franaiugo concordia serre.■

Spes est pacis—

O stranger-harb'ring land, thou bringst vs warre;

Steed's serve for warre;

These heard's do threaten jarre.

Yet horses erst were wont to drawe our waines,

And harness matches beare agreeing raines;

Hope is hereby that wee,

In peace shall well agree.

*Solon* being import [...]ned not to shed vaine and bottles teares for the death of his sonne; *That's the reason* (answered hee) *I may more iustly shed them, because they are bootelesse and vaine*. *Socrates* his wife, exasperated her grieffe by this circumstance; *Good Lord* (said she) *how vniustly doe these bad iudges put him to death!* What? *Wouldest thou rather they should execute me iustly?* replide he to her. It is a fashion amongst vs to have holes bored in our [...]ares: the Greekes 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 Scythians were wont to sacrifice strangers in their Temples, whereas in other places Churches are Sanctuaries for them.

Inde furor vulgi, quòd numina vicinorum [...]ue. sat. 15. 36

Odit quisque locus, cùm solos credat habendos

Esse Deos quos ipse colit—

The vulgar hereupon doth rage, because

Each place doth hate their neighbours soveraigne lawes,

And onely Gods doth deeme,

Those Gods themselues esteeme.

I have heard it reported of a Iudge, who when he met with any sharp conflict betweene *Bartolus* and *Baldus*, or with any case admitting contrariety, 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 disputable, 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 set not every where through his books, *A Question for a friend*. The Advocates and Iudges of our time find in all cases by ases too-too-many, to fit them where they thinke good. To so infinite a science, depending on the authoritie of so many opinions, and of so arbitrary a subject, it cannot be, but that an exceeding confusion of judgements must arise. There are very few processes so cleere, but the Lawiers advises vpon [329]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 ordinarie examples by this licence, which wonderfully blemisheth the authoritie and lustre of our Law,

never to stay vpon one sentence, but to run from one to another Iudge, to decide one same case. Touching the liberty of Philosophicall opinions, concerning vice and vertue, it is a thing needing no great extension, and wherin are found many advises, which were better vnspoken, then published to weake capacities. *Arcesilaus* was wont to say, that in pailliardize, it was not worthy consideration, where, on what side, and how it was done. *Et obs [...]* *Joenas volupt at es, si nat ura requirit, non genere, aut loco, aut ordine, sed forma, aetate, figura metiendas Epicurus putat. Ne amores quidem sanctos à sapiente alienos esse arbitrantur. Quaeramus ad quam vs (que) aet [...]* *Item i [...]* *ven [...]* *is amandi sint. Obscene pleasures, if nature require them, the Epicure esteemeth not to be measured by kinde, place, or order ■ but by forme, age, and fashion. Nor doth he thinke that holy loves should be strange from a wiseman. Let vs then question to what yeares yoong folke may be beloved.* These two last Stoicke places, and vpon this purpose, the reproch of *Diogarchus* to *Plato* himselfe, shew how many excessive licenses, and out of common vse, soundest Philosophie doth tolerate. *Lawes take their authoritie from p [...]* *ss [...]* *ssion and custome: It is dangerous to reduce them to their beginning: In rowling on, they swell, and grow greater and greater, as do our rivers: follow them vpward, vnto their sourse, & you shall find them but a bubble of water, scarce to be discerned, which in gliding on swelleth so proud, & gathers so much strength. Behold the auncient considerations, which have given the first motion to this famous torrent, so full of dignitie, of honour and reverence, you shall finde them so light and weake, that these men which will weigh all, and complaine of reason, and who receive nothing vpon trust and authoritie, it is no wonder if their judgements are often far distant from common judgement. Men that take Natures first image for a patterne, it is no marvaile, if in most of their opinions, they misse the common-beaten path. As for example; few amongst them would have approved the forced conditions of our mariages, and most of them would have had women in community, and without any private respect. They refused our ceremonies: *Chrysippus* said, that some Philosophers would in open view of all men shew a dozen of tumbling-tricks, yea, without any slops or breeches, for a dozen of olives. He would hardlie have perswaded *Calisthenes* to refuse his faire daughter *Agarista* to *Hippoclidés*, because he had seen him graffe the forked tree in hir vpon a table. *Metrocles* somewhat indiscreetly, as he was disputing in his Schoole, in presence of his Auditorie let a fart, for shame whereof he afterward kept his house, and could not be drawn abroad, vntill such time as *Crates* went to visite him, who to his perswasions and reasons, adding the example of his libertie, began to fart a vie with him, and to remove this scruple from off his conscience; and moreover, won him to his Stoicall (the more free) Sect, from the Peripateticall (and more civill) one, which thetherunto he had followed. That which we cal civility, not to dare to do that openly, which amongst vs is both lawfull and honest, being done in secret, they termed folly: And to play the wilie Foxe, in concealing and discla [...] ming what nature, custome, & our desire publish and proclaime of our actions, they deemed to be a vice. And thought it a suppressing of *Venus* hir mysteries, to remove them from out the private vestrie of hir Temple, & expose them to the open view of the people. And that to draw his sports from out the Curtines, was to loose them ■ *Shame is matter of some consequence. Concealing, reservation, and circumspection, are parts of estimation.* That, sensuality vnder the maske of Vertue did very ingeniously procure not to be prostituted in the midst of high-waies, not trodden vpon, and seene by the common sort; alledging the dignity and commoditie of her wanted Cabinets. Whereupon some say, that to forbid and remoue the common brothel-houses, is not only to spread whoredome every where, which only was allotted to those places, but also to incite idle & vagabond men to that vice, by reason of the difficultie. Mart. [...] ■ 3. ep [...] ■ 70.*

Moechus es A [...] idiae qui vir Corvine fuisti,  
 Rival [...] fuerat qui [...] uis, ill [...] vir [...] st.  
 Cur aliena placet tibi, quae tua non placet vxor?  
 Nunquid securus non potes arrig [...] re?



Nullus in Urbefuit tota, qui tangere vellet  
Uxorem gratis Caeciliane tuam,  
[330] Dum licuit: sed nunc positis custodibus, [...]gens  
Turba fututorum est. Ingeniosus homo es.

A Philosopher being taken with the deede, was demaunded, what he did: answered very mildly, *I plant man*, blushing no more being found so napping, then if he had bin taken setting of Garlike. It is (as I suppose) of a tender and respectiue opinion, that a notable and religious Authour, holds this action so necessarily-bound to secrecy and shame, that in Cynike embracements and dalliances, hee could not be perswaded that the worke should come to her end; but rather, that it lingred and staid, only to represent wanton gestures, and lascivious motions, to maintaine the impudencie of their schooles-profession: and that to powre forth what shame had forced and bashfulness restrained, they had also afterward neede to seeke some secret place. He had not seene farre-enough into their licenciousnesse: For, *Diogenes* in sight of all, exercising his Masturbation, bred a longing-desire, in the by-standers, that in such sort they might fill their bellies by rubbing or clawing the same. To those that asked him, why hee sought for no fitter place to feede in, then in the open frequented high way, he made answer, *It is because I am hungry in the open frequented high-way*. The Philosophers Women, which medled with their Sects, did likewise in all places, and without any discretion meddle with their bodies: And *Crates* had never received *Hipparchia* into his fellowship, but vpon condition, to follow all the customes and fashions of his order. These Philosophers set an extreame rate on vertue; and rejected all other disciplines, except the morall; yet is it, that in al actions, they ascribed the Sovereaine authority to the election of their wise, yea, and above all lawes: & appointed no other restraint vnto voluptuousnesse, but themoderation, & preservation of others liberty ■ *Heraclitus* & *Protagoras*, forsomuch as wine seemeth bitter vnto the sick, and pleasing to the healthy; and an Oare crooked in the water, and straight to those that see it above water, & such-like contrary apparances, which are sound in some subjects; argued that all subjects had the causes of these apparances in them; and that, there was some kinde of bitterness in the wine, which had a reference vnto the sickmans taste; in the Oare a certain crooked quality, having relation to him that seeth it in the water. And so of all things else. Which implieth, that all is in all things, & by consequence 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 sence or visage, either straight or crooked, bitter or sweete, but mans wit shall find in the writings, which he vndertaketh to runne-over. In the purest, most vnspeckled, and most absolutely-perfectworde, that possibly can be, how many errors, falshoods, and lies have beene made to proceede from-it? What heresie hath not found testimonies and ground sufficient, both to vndertake and to maintaine it [...]e [...]e? It is therefore, that the Authors of such errorrs will never goe from this proof of the Testimony of words interpretation. A man of worth, going about by authority to approve the search of the Philosophers stone, (wherein he was overwhelmed) aleaged at least five or six several passages out of the holy bible vnto me, vpon which (he said) he had at first grounded himselfe, for the discharge of his conscience (for he is a man of the Ecclesiastical profession) & truly, the invention of them, was not only pleasant, but also very fitly applied to the defence of this goodly & mind-inchanting science. This way is the credit of divining fables attained to. There is no prognosticator, if he have but this authority, that any one wil but voutsafe to reade him over, and curiously to search all the infoldings and lustres of his words, but a man shall make him say what he pleaseth, as the Sibilles. There are so many means of interpretation, that it is hard, be it flat-long, side-long, or edge-long, but an ingenious and pregnant wit, shall in all subjects meete with some aire that will fit his turne. Therefore is a cloudy, darke, and ambiguous stile found in so frequent and ancient custome. That the Author may gaine, to draw, allure, and busie posterity to himself, which not only the

sufficiency, but the casual favour of the matter, may gaine as much or more. As for other matters, let him, be it either through foolishnesse or subtiltie, shew himself somewhat obscure and divers, it is no matter, care not he for that. A number of spirits sifting, and tossing him-over, wil find and expresse sundrie formes, either according, or collaterally, or contrary to his own ■ al which shall do him credite He shal see himselfe enriched by the means of his Disciples, as the Grammer Schoole Maisters. It is that, which hath made many things of nothing, to passe very currant, that hath brought divers bookes in credite, and charged with all sorts of matter, that any hath but desired: one selfe same thing admitting a thousand and a thousand, and as many severall images, and divers considerations, as it best pleaseth vs. Is it possible, that ever *Homer* meant all that, [331]which some make him to have meant. And that he prostrated himselfe to so many, and so severall shapes, as, Divines, Lawyers, Captains, Philosophers & all sort of people else, which, how diversly and contrary soever it be, they treat of sciences, do notwithstanding wholly relie vpon him, & refer themselves vnto him; as a Generall Maister for all offices, workes, sciences, & tradesmen & an vniversall counsellor in all enterprises? whosoever hath had need of Oracles or Predictions, & would apply them to himselfe, hath found them in him for his purpose. A notable man, & a good friend of mine, would make one marvel to heare what strange far-fetcht conceites, and admirable affinities, in favor of our religion, he maketh to derive from him; And can hardly be drawne from this opinion, but that such was *Homers* intent & meaning (yet is *Homer* so familiar vnto him, as I thinke no man of our age is better acquainted with him.) And what he findes in favor of 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 construction he list. He is wrested & inserted to all new-fangled opinions, that the world receiveth or alloweth of, and according to the different course of subjects is made to be repugnant vnto himselfe. Every one according to his sense makes him to d [...]avowe the customes that were lawfull in his daies, in asmuch as they are vnlawfull in these times. All which is very lively and strongly maintained, according as the wit and learning of the interpreter is strong and quicke. Vpon 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 cleane contrarie conclusion, *id est, that subiects 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, hee 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 gaine the highest point of doubting. The Cyrenaicks held, that nothing was perceptible outwardly, and onely that was perceivable, which by the inward touch or feeling, touched or concerned vs, as grieffe and sensualitie, distinguishing neither tune, nor collours, but onely certaine affections, that came to vs of them; and that man had no other seate 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 voluptuousnes. *Platoes* minde was, that the judgement of truth, and truth it selfe drawne from opinions and senses, belonged to the spirit, and to cogitation. This discourse hath drawne me to *the consideration of the senses, wherein consisteth the greatest foundation and triall of our ignorance*. Whatsoever is knowne, is without all peradventure knowne by the facultie of the knower: For, since the judgment commeth from the operation of him that judgeth, reason requireth, that he perfourme and act this operation by his meanes 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 maisters:

— *via quâ munit a fidei* Lu [...]r. l. 5. 10 [...].  
 Proxima fert humanum in pectus, templâque mentis:  
 Whereby a way for credit lead's well-linde  
 Into mans breast and temple of his minde.

Science begins by them & in them is resolved. After all, we should knowe no more than a stone, vnles we know, that there is, sound, smell, light, savor, measure, weight, softnes, hardnes, sharpnes, colour, smoothnes, 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 fast by the throate, and can not make me recoyle one foote backward. The senses are the beginning and end of humane knowledge.

Inuenies primis ab sensibus esse creatam lib 4. 480.

Notitiam veri, neque sensus posse refelli.

Quid maiore fide porrò quàm sensus haberi 484.

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

[332] With vs more credit hold?

Attribute as litle 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 assaid to abate the power of his senses, and of their vertue, presented contrarie arguments vnto him selfe, and so vehement oppositions, that he could not satisfie himselfe. Whereupon *Car [...]* *leades* (who defended the contrarie part) boasted, that he vsed the verie same weapons and words of *Chrysippus* to combate against him; and therefore cried out vpon him. *Oh miserable man! thine owne strength hath foyled thee.* There is no greater absurditie in our judgement, then to maintaine, that fire heateth not, that light shineth not, that in yron there is neither weight nor firmenesse, which are notices our senses bring vnto vs: Nor beliefe or science in man, that may be compared vnto that, in certaintie. The first consideration I have vpon the senses subject, is, that I make a question, whether man be provided of all naturall senses, or no. I see diuers creatures, that live an entire and perfect life, some without sight, and some without hearing; who knoweth whether we also want either one, two, three, or many senses more: For, if we want any one, our discourse cannot discover the want or defect thereof. It is the senses priuiledge, to be the extreame bounds of our perceiuing. There is nothing beyond them, that may stead vs to discover them: No one sense can discover another.

An poterunt oculos aures reprehendere, an aures 488.

Tactus, an hunc porro tactum sapor arguet oris,

An confutabunt nares, oculive reuincunt?

Can eares the eyes, or can touch reprehend

The eares, or shall mouths-taste that touch amend?

Shall our nose it confute,

Or eyes gainst it dispute?

They all make the extreamest line of our facultie.

— *scorsum cuique potestas* 491.

Divisa est, sua vis cuique est—

To each distinctly might

Is shar'de, each hath it's right.

It is impossible to make a man naturally blind, to conceive that he seeth not; impossible to make him desire to see, and sorrow 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 feel hir owne maladie, and perceive hir 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, collour, or sight in his imagination. There is nothing more backward,

that may push the senses to any evidence. The blind-borne, which we perceive desire to see, it is not to vnderstand what they require; they have learn't of vs, that something they want, and something they desire, that is in vs, with the effect & consequences thereof, which they call good: Yet w [...]t not they what it is, nor apprehend they it neere or far. I have seene a Gentleman of a good house, borne blinde, at least blinde in such an age, that he knowes not what sight is; he vnderstandeth so little what he wanteth, that as we doe, he vseth words fitting sight, and applieth them after a manner onely proper and peculiar to himselfe. A child being brought before him, to whom he was god-father, taking him in his armes, he said, good Lord what a fine child this is [...]it is a goodly thing to see him: What a cheerefull 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 shines cleare. Nay, which is more; because hunting, hawking, tennis-play, and shuting at butts are our common sportes and exercises (for so he hath heard) his minde will be so affected vnto them, and he wil so busie himselfe about them, that hee will thinke to have as great an interest in them, as any of vs, and shew himselfe as earnestly passionate, both in liking and disliking them as any else; yet doth he 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, he is as busily earnest of his game, as he heareth others to be, that have perfect sight. Give him a ball, he takes it in the left hand, and with the right streekes it away with his racket; In a piece he shutes at randome; and is well pleased with what his men tell him, be it high or wide. Who [333]knowes whether man-kind commit as great a folly, for want of some sense, and that by this default, the greater part of the visage of things be concealed from vs? Who knowes whether the difficulties we find in sundrie of Natures workes, proceede thence? And whether diuers effects of beasts, which exceede our capacitie, are produced by the facultie of some sense, that we want? And whether some of them, have by that meane a fuller and more perfect life then ours? We seize on an apple wel-nigh with all our senses? We finde rednes, smoothnes, odor and sweetnes in it; besides which, it may have other vertues, either drying or binding, 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, it is not likely there should be sensitue faculties in nature able to judge and perceive them, the want whereof breedeth in vs the ignorance of the true essence of such things? It is happily some particular sense that vnto Cokes or Chanticleares discovereth the morning and midnight houre, and mooveth them to crow: That teacheth a Hen, before any vse or experience, to feare a Hawke, and not a Goose or a Peacocke, farre greater birds: That warneth yong chickins of the hostile qualitie which the Cat hath against them, and not to distrust a Dog; to strut and arme 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, Wasps, and Emmets, ever to chuse the best cheese and frute, having never tasted them before: And that addresseth 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 sence but hath some great domination, and which by his meane affordeth not an infinite number of knowledges. If we were to report the intelligence of soundes, of harmony and of the voyce, it would bring an imaginable 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 vnto other things, by comparing one sense to another? Let a skilfull wise man but imagine humane nature to be originally produced without sight and discourse, how much ignorance and trouble such a defect would bring vnto him, and what obscurity and blindnesse in our minde: By that shall wee perceiue, 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 & consent of eight or ten senses, and their contribution, to attaine a perspicuous insight of her, and see her in her true essence. Those Sects which combate mans

science, do principally combate the same by the vncertainety and feeblenesse of our senses: For, since by their meane and intermission al knowledge comes vnto vs, if they chauce to misse in the report they make vnto vs, if eyther they corrupt or alter that, which from abroade they bring vnto vs, if the light which by them is transported into our soule bee obscured in the passage, wee have nothing else to holde by. From this extreame difficultie are sprung all these fantazies, which everie Subject containeth, whatsoever wee finde in it: That it hath not what wee suppose to finde in it: And that of the Epicurians, which is, that the Sunne is no greater than our sight doth judge it,

Quicquid id est, nihilo fortur maiore figurâ,  
 Quàm nostris oculis quam cernimus esse videtur. Lucr. li. 5. 576.  
 What ere it be, it in no greater forme doth passe,  
 Then to our eyes, which it behold, it seeming was.

that the apparances, which represent a great body, to him that is neare vnto them, & a much lesser to him that is further from them, are both true;

Nec tamen hic oculis falli concedimus hilum: Lib. 4. 380. 387.  
 Proinde animi vitium hoc oculis adfingere noli.  
 Yet graunt we not in this our eyes deceiv'd or blind,  
 Impute not then to eyes this error of the mind.

and resolutely, that there is no deceit in the senses: That a man must stand to their mercie, and elsewhere seeke reasons to excuse the difference and contradiction we find in them; yea invent all other vntruthes, and raving conceites (so farre come they) rather then accuse the causes. *Timagoras* swore, that howsoever he winked or turned his eyes, he could never perceive the light of the candle to double: And that this seeming proceeded from the vice of opinion, [334]and not from the instrument. Of all absurdities, the most absurd amongst the Epicurians, is, to disavowe the force and effect of the senses.

Proinde quod in quoque est bis visum tempore, verum est. 502.  
 Et si non potuit ratio dissolvere causam,  
 Cur ea qu [...] fuerint iuxtim quadrata, procul sint  
 Visa rotunda: tamen praestat rationis egent [...]m  
 Reddere mendosè causas vtriúsque figurae,  
 Quàm manibus manifesta suis emittere quoquam,  
 Et violare fidem primam, & convellere tota  
 Fundamenta, quibus nixatur vita salúsque.  
 Non modò enim ratio ruat omnis, vita quoque ipsa  
 Concidat extemplo, nisi creder [...]s [...]nsibus ausis,  
 Praecipitésque locos vitare, & caetera quaesint  
 In genere hoc fugienda.—  
 Whatby the eies is seene 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 formes we harp-on, but not hit,  
 Then let slip from our hands things cleare, and them omit,  
 And violate our first believe, and rashly rend  
 All those ground-works, whereon both life and health depend,  
 For not alone all reasons falls, life likewise must  
 Faile out of hand, vnlesse your senses you dare trust,  
 And break-necke places, and all other errors shunne,  
 From which we in this kinde most carefully should runne.

This desperate and so little-philosophicall counsell, represents no other thing, but that humane science cannot be maintained but by vnreasonable, fond & mad reason; yet is it better, that man vse it to prevaile, yea & of all other remedies else how fantasticall soever

they be, rather then avow his necessarie foolishnes: So prejudiciall and disadvantageous a veritie he cannot auoide, but senses must necessarily be the soveraigne maisters of his knowledge: But they are vncertaine and falsifiable to all circumstances: There must a man strike to the vtmost of his power, and if his just forces faile him (as they are wont) to vse and employ obstinac [...],e, temeritie and impudencie. If that which the Epicurians affirme, be true, that is to say, we have no science, if the apparances of the senses be false: and that which the Stoicks say, if it is also true that the senses apparances are so false, as they can produce vs no science: We will conclude at the charges of these two great Dogmatist Sects, that there is no science. Touching the error and vncertaintie of the senses operation, a man may store himselfe with as many examples as he pleaseth, so ordinarie are the faults and deceits they vse towards vs. And the ecchoing or reporting of a valley, the sound of a Trumpet seemeth to sound before vs, which cometh a mile behinde vs.

Extantésque procul medio de gurgite montes Lucr. l. 4. 398.

Iidem apparent longe diver si licet.—

Et fugere ad puppim colles camp [...],que videntur 390.

Quos agimus propter navim.—

—*vbi in medio nobis equus acer obhaesit* 423.

Flumine, equi corpus transversum ferre videtur

Dis, & in adversum flumen contrudere raptim.

And hilles, which from the maine far-off to kenning stand,

Appere 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 passe thereby.

When in midst of a streame a stately Horse doth stay,

The stream's orethwarting seems his body crosse to sway,

And swiftly gainst the streame to thrust him th'other way.

To roule a bullet vnder the fore-finger, the midlemost being put over-it, a man must very [335]much enforce himselfe, to affirme there is but one, so assuredly doth ou [...] sense present vs two. That the senses do often maister our discourse, and force it to receive impressions, which he knoweth and judgeth to be false, it is daily seene. I leave the sense of feeling, which hath his functions neerer, more quicke and substantiall, and which by the effect of the griefe or paine it brings to the body doth so often confound and re-enverse all these goodly Stoicall resolutions, and enforceth to cry out of the belly-ache him, who hath with all resolution established in his minde this Doctrine, that the chol [...],ke, as every other sicknesle or paine, is a thing indifferent, wanting power to abate any thing of Soveraigne good or chiefe felicitie, wherein the wise man is placed by his owne vertue: *there is no heart so demisse, but the ra [...]jing sound of a drumme ■ or the clang of a Trumpet, will rowze and inflame; nor minde so harsh and sterne, but the sweetnesse and harmonie of musike, will moove and tickle; nor any soule so skittish and stubborne, that hath not a feeling of some reverence, in considering the cloudy vastitie and gloomi [...] canopies of our churches, the [...]ye-pleasing diversitie of ornaments, and orderly order of our ceremonies, and hearing the devout and religious sound of our Organs, the moderate, simphoniall, and heaevnly harmonie of our voices: Even those that enter into them with an obstinate will and contemning minde, have in their heart [...] feeling of remorse, of chilnesse, and horroure, that puts them into a certaine diffidence of their former opinions.* As for me, I distrust mine owne strength, to heare with a settled minde some of *Horace* or *Catullus* versessung with a sufficiently well tuned voice, vttered by, and proceeding from a faire, yong, and hart-alluring mouth ■ And *Zeno* had reason to say, that the voice was the flower of beautie. Some have gone about to make me believe, that a man, who most of vs French men know, in repeating certaine verses he had made, had imposed vpon me, that they were not such in writing, as in the aire, and that mine eyes would judge of them otherwise then mine eares: so much credite hath pronounciation to give prise and fashion to those workes that passe her mercie: Whereupon *Philoxenus* was not to be blamed, when hearing one to give an ill accent to some

composition of his, hee tooke in a rage some of his pottes or bricke, and breaking them, trode and trampled them vnder his feete, saying vnto him, *I breake and trample what is thine, even as thou manglest and marrest what is mine.* Wherefore did they (who with an vndanted resolve have procured their owne death, because they would not see the blow or stroke comming) turne their face away? And those who for their healths sake cause themselves to be cut and cauterized, cannot endure the sight of the preparations, tooles, instruments and workes of the Chirurgion, but because the sight should have no part of the paine or smart? Are not these fit examples to verifie the authoritie, which senses have over discourse? We may long-enough know that such a ones lockes or flaring-tresses are borrowed of a Page, or taken from some Lacky, that this faire ruby-red came from *Spaine*, & this whitenesse or smoothnes from the Ocean sea: yet must sight force vs to find, and deeme the subject more lovely and more pleasing, against all reason. For, in that there is nothing of it's owne,

Auferimur cultu; gemmis, aur ôque teg [...].sntur Ovid. r [...] a [...]. lib. 1. 343.  
 Crimina, pars minima est ipsa puella sui.  
 Saepe vbi sit quod ames inter tam multa requiras:  
 Decipit hâc oculos Aegide dives amor.  
 We are misse-led by ornaments: what is a misse  
 Gold and gemmes cover, least part of her selfe the maiden is.  
 Mongst things so many you may aske, where your love lies,  
 Rich love by this Gorgonian sh [...]eld deceives thine eyes.

How much doe Poets ascribe vnto the vertue of the senses, which make *Narcissu [...]* to have even fondly lost himselfe for the love of his shadow?

Cunctâque miratur, quibus est mirabilis ipse, Ovid. M [...]am. lib. 3. 424.  
 Se cupit imprudens, & qui probat, ipse probatur,  
 Dúmque petit, petitur: paritér que accendit & ardet.  
 He all admires, whereby himselfe is admirable,  
 Fond he, fond of himselfe, to himselfe amiable,  
 He, that doth like, is lik't, and while he doth desire;  
 He is desired, at once he burnes and sets on fire.

and *Pigmal [...]* Jo [...]s wits so troubled by the impression of the sight of his ivory statue that he loveth and serves it, as if it had life:

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Oscula dat, redd [...]que put at, sequitú [...] que tenétque Orid. ib. l [...]. 10: 256.  
 Et credit tactis digitos insidere membris,  
 Et metuit pressos veniat ne livor in artus.  
 He kisses, and thinks kisses come againe,  
 He sues, pursues, and holds, beleeves in vaine  
 His fingers sinke where he doth touch the place,  
 And feares lest blacke-and-blew toucht-lims deface.

Let a Philosopher be put in a Cage made of small and thin-set yron-wyre, and hanged on the top of our Ladies Church steeple in *Paris*; he shall, by evident reason, perceiue that it is impossible he should fall downe out of it; yet can he not chuse (except he have been brought vp in the trade of T [...]lers or Tha [...]chers) but the sight of that exceeding height must needs dazle his sight, and amaze or turne his senses. For, we have much ado [...] to warrant our selves in the walks or battlements of an high tower or s [...]eeple, 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 planke be laide acrossse from one of those two Steeples to the other, as big, as thicke, as strong, and as broade, as would suffice any man to walke safely vpon it, there is no

Philosophicall wisdom of so great resolution and constancie, that is able to encourage and perswade vs to march vpon it, as we would, were it below on the ground. I have sometimes made triall of it vpon our mountaines on this side of *Italie*, yet am I one of those that will not easily be affrighted with such things, and I could not without horror to my minde, and trembling of legs and thighes endure to looke on those infinit precipises and steepie down-falls, though I were not neere the brim, nor any danger within my length, and more; and vnlesse I had willingly gone to the perill, I could not possiblie have falne. Where I also noted, that how deep soever the bottom were, if but a tree, a shrub, or any out-butting crag of a Rocke presented it selfe vnto our eyes, vpon those steepie and high Alpes, somewhat to vphold the sight, and divide the same, it doth somewhat ease and as [...]ure vs from feare, as if it were a thing, which in our fall might either help or vphold vs: And that we cannot without some dread and giddinesse in the head, so much as abide to looke vpon one of those even and down-right precipises: *U [...] despici sine vertigine simul oculorum animique non possit. So as they can not looke downe without giddinesse both of eyes and mindes:* 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 seducing and diverting he received by them, and the better and more freely applie himselfe vnto Philosophie. But by this accompt, he should also have stopped his eares, which (as *Theophrastus* said) are the most dangerous instruments we have to receive violent and suddaine impressions to trouble and alter vs, and should, in the end, have 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 discourses and sway our mind: *Fit etiam saepe spec [...]e quadam, saepe Ci [...]. d [...]vin. lib. 1. vocum gravitate & cantibus, vt pellantur animi vehementius: saepe etiam curâ & timore. It comes to passe, that many times our minds are much mooved with some shadow, many times with deepsounding, or singing of voyces, many times with care and feare.* Phisitions hold, that there are certaine complexions, which by some sounds and instruments are agitated even vnto furie. I have seen some, who without infringing their patience, could not well heare a bone gnawne vnder their table: and we see few men, but are much troubled at that sharp, harsh, and teethedging noise that Smiths make in fi [...]ing of brasse, or scraping of yron and steele together: others will be offended, if they but heare one chew his meat somewhat a loude; nay, some will be angrie with, or hate a man, that either speaks in the nose, or rattles in the throat. That pyping prompter of *Graccus*, who mollified ■ raised, and wound his masters voice, whilst he was making Orations at *Rome*; what good did he, [...] the motion and qualitie of the sound, had not the force to move, and efficacie to alter the auditories judgement? Verily, there is great cause to make so much adoe, and keep such a coyle about the constancie and firmenesse of this goodly piece, which suffers it selfe to be handled, changed, and turned by the motion and accident of so light a winde. The verie same cheating and cozening, that senses 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 a vie. What we see and heare, being passionately transported by anger, we neither see or heare it as it is.

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Et solem geminum, & duplices s [...] ostendere Thebas. Virg. Aen. 1. [...] 470.  
That two Sunnes doe appere  
And double *Thebes* are there.

The object which we love, seemeth much more fairer vnto vs, then it is;

Multimodis igitur pravas turpésque videmus  
Esse in delitijs, summoque in honore vigere. L [...]r. l. 4. 1147  
We therefore see that those, who many waies are bad,  
And fowle, are yet belov'd, and in chiefe honor had.



and that much fowler which we loth. To a pensive and hart-grieved man, a cleare day seemes gloomie and duskie. Our senses are not only altered, but many times dulled, by the passions of the mind. How many things see we, which we perceive not, if our minde be either busied or distracted else where?

—*in rebus quoque apertis noscere possis*, Ibid. 80 [...].  
Si non advertas animum proinde esse, quas [...] omni  
Tempore semotae fuerint, longéque remotae.  
Ev'n in things manifest it may be seene,  
If you marke not, they are, as they had beene  
At all times sever'd farre, remooved cleane.

The soule seemeth to retire her selfe into the inmost parts, and ammuseth the senses faculties: So that both the inward and outward parts of man are full of weakenes and falsehood. Those which haue compared our life vnto a dreame, have happily had more reason so to doe, then they were aware. When we dreame, our soule liveth, worketh and exerciseth all hi [...] faculties even, and as much, as when it waketh; and if more softly, and obscurely; yet verily not so, as that it may admit so great a difference, as there is betweene a darke night, and a cleare day: Yea as betweene a night and a shadow: There it sleepeth, heere it slumbreth: More or lesse, they are ever darkenesses, yea Cimmerian darkenesses. We wake sleeping, and sleepe waking. In my sleepe I see not so cleare; yet can I never finde my waking cleare enough, or without dimnesse. Sleepe also in his deepest rest, doth sometimes bring dreames asleepe: But our waking is never so vigilant, as it may cleerely purge and dissipate the ravings or [...]le fantazies, which are the dreames of the waking, and worse then dreames. Our reason and soule, receiuing the fantasies and opinions, which sleeping seize on them, and authorising our dreames actions, with like approbation, as it doth the daies. Why make wee not a doubt, whether our thinking, and our working be another dreaming, and our waking some kinde of sleeping? If the senses be our first iudges, it is not ours that must onely bee called to counsell: For, in this facultie beasts have as much (or more) right, as we. It is most certaine, that some haue their hearing more sharp then man; others their sight; others their smelling; others their feeling, or taste. *D [...]**mocritus* said, that Gods and beasts had the sensitue faculties much more perfect then man. Now between the effects of their senses and ours, the difference is extreame. Our spettle cleanseth and drieth our sores, and killeth Serpents.

Tantáque in his rebus distantia differitásque est, L [...]r. l. 4. 640.  
Ut quod alijs cibus est, alijs [...]uat acre venenum.  
Saepe [...]t enim s [...]rpens, hominis contacta salivâ,  
Disperit, ac sese mandendo conficit ipsa.  
There is such distance, and such difference in these things,  
As what to one is meate, t'another poison brings.  
For oft a Serpent toucht with spittle of a man  
Doth die, and gnaw it selfe with fretting all he can.

What quality shall we give vnto spettle, either according to vs, or according to the Serpent? By which two senses shall we verifie it's true [...]ssence, which we seeke for? *Pliny* saith, that there are certaine Sea-hares in *India*, that to vs are poyson, and we bane to them so that we die, if we but touch them; now whether is man or the Hare poyson? Whom shall we beleeve, either the fish of man, or the man of fish? Some quality of the aire infecteth man, which nothing at all hurteth the Oxe: Some other the Oxe, and not man: Which of the two is either in truth, or nature the pestilent quality? Such as are troubled with the yellow jandise, deeme all things they looke vpon to bee yellowish, which seeme more pale and wan to them then to vs.

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Lurida praeterea fiunt quaecunque tuentur Ibid. 333.  
Arquati.  
And all that jaundis'd men behold,  
They yellow straiter or palish holde.

Those which are sicke of the disease which Physitions call *Hyposphagma*, which is a suffusion of blood vnder the skin, imagine that all things they see are bloodie and red. Those humors that so change the sightes operation, what knowe we whether they are predominant and ordinarie in beasts? For, we see some, whose eyes are as yellow as theirs that have the jaundise, others, that have them all blood-shotten with rednes. It is likely that the objects collour they looke vpon, seemeth otherwise to them then to vs. Which of the two judgements shall be true? For, it is not said, that the essence of things, hath reference to man alone. Hardnes, whitenes, depth and sharpnesse, touch the service and concerne the knowledge of beasts as well as ours: Nature hath given the vse 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 beasts have their eie as winking as we. This length is then happily the true forme of that body, and not that which our eyes give it, being in their ordinarie seate. If we close our eye above, things seeme double vnto vs.

Bina lucernarum florentia lumina flammis, Ibid. 452. 454.  
Et duplices hominum facies, & corpora bina.  
The lights of candels double flaming then;  
And faces twaine, and bodies twaine of men.

If our eares chance to be hindred by any thing, or that the passage of our hearing be stop't, we receive the sound otherwise, then we were ordinarily wont. Such beasts as have hearie eares, or that in lieu of an eare have but a little hole, doe not by consequence heare that we heare, and receive the sound other then it is. We see at solemne shewes or in Theaters, that opposing any collourd glasse betweene our eyes and the torcher light, whatsoever is in the roome seemes or greene, or yellow, or red vnto vs, according to the collour of the glasse.

Et vulgò faciunt id lutea russaque vela, Ibid. 73.  
Et ferrugine cùm magnis, intenta theatris  
Per malos volgata trabésque tremantia pendent:  
Namque ibi concessum caveai subter, & omnem  
Scenai speciem, patrum matrúmque deorumque  
Inficiunt coguntque suo volitare,  
And yellow, russet, rustie curtaines worke this feate  
In common sights abroad, where over skaffolds great  
Stretched on masts, spread over beames, they hang still waving.  
All the seates circuit there, and all the stages braving,  
Of fathers, mothers, Gods, and all the circled shewe  
They double-die and in their collours make to flowe.

It is likely, that those beasts eyes, which we see to be of diverse collours, produce the apparances of those bodies they looke vpon, to be like their eyes. To judge the senses-operation, it were then necessary we were first agreeed with beastes, and then betweene our selves; which we are not, but ever-and-anon disputing about that one seeth, heareth or tasteth, something to be other, then indeede it is; and contend as much as about any thing else of the diversity of those images, our senses reporte vnto vs. A yong childe heareth, seeth, and tasteth otherwise by natures ordinary rule, then a man of thirtie yeares; and he otherwise then another of threescore. The senses are to some more obscure and dimme, and to some more open and quicke. We receive things differently, according as they are, and seeme vnto vs. Things being then so vncertaine, and full of controversie, it is no longer a wonder if it be told vs, that we may avouch snow to seeme white vnto vs; but to affirme that it is such in essence

and in truth, we cannot warrant our selves: which foundation being so shaken, all the Science in the world must necessarily goe to wracke. What? doe our senses themselves hinder one another? To the sight a picture seemeth to be raised aloft, and in the handling flat: Shall we say that muske is pleasing or no, which comforteth our smelling and offendeth our taste? There are Hearbs and Ointments, which to some parts of the body are good, and to [339]othersome hurtfull. Honie is pleasing to the taste, but vnpleasing to the sight. Those jewels wrought and fashioned like fethers or sprigs, which in impreses are called, fethers without ends, no eye can discerne the bredth of them, and no man warrant himselfe from this deception, that on the one end or side it groweth not broder and broder, sharper and sharper, and on the other more and more narrow, especially being rouled about ones finger, when notwithstanding in handling it seemeth equall in bredth, and every where alike. Those who to encrease and aide their luxury were anciently wont to vse perspective or looking glasses, fite to make the object they represented, appeare very big and great, that so the members they were to vse, might by that oculare increase please them the more: to whether of the two senses yeilded they, either to the sight presenting those members as big and great as they wisht them, or to the feeling, that presented them little and to be disdaind? It is our senses 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 v [...]ing it, it maketh bones, blood, flesh, haire, and nailes thereof:

Vt cibus in membra atque artus cùm diditur omnes Ibid. l. 3. 72 [...].  
 Disperit, atque aliam naturam sufficit ex se.  
 As meate distributed into the member dies.  
 Another nature yet it perrishing supplies.

The moistnesse which the roote of a tree suckes, becomes a trunke, a leafe and fruite: And the aire being but one; applied vnto a trumpet, becommeth diverse in a thousand sortes of sounds. Is it our senses (say I) who likewise fashion of diverse qualities those subjects, or whether they have them so and such? And vpon this doubt, what may we conclude of their true essence? Moreover, since the accidents of sicknesse, of madnesse, or of sleepe, make things appeare other vnto vs, then they seeme vnto the healthie, vnto the wise, and to the waking. Is it not likely, that our right seate and naturall humors, have also wherewith to give a being vnto things, having reference vnto their condition, and to appropriate them to it selfe, as doe inordinate humours; and our health, as capable to give them his visage, as sicknesse? Why hath not the temperate man some forme of the objects relative vnto him-selfe, as the intemperate: and shall not he likewise imprint his Character in them? The distasted impute wallowishnesse vnto Wine: the healthie, good taste; and the thirstie brisknesse, relish and delicacie. Now our condition appropriating things vnto it selfe, and transforming them to it's owne humour: we know no more how things are in sooth and truth; For, *nothing comes vnto vs but falsified and altered by our senses*. Either the compasse, 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 senses yeields what ever they produce, also vncertaine.

Denique vt in fabrica, si prava est regula prima, Ibid. l. 4. 514.  
 Normáque si fallax rectis regionibus exit,  
 Et libella aliqaâ si ex parte claudicat hilum,  
 Omnia mendosè fieri, atque obstipa necessum est,  
 Prava, cubantia, prona, supina, atque obsona tecta,  
 I am ruere vt quaedam videantur velle, ruántque  
 Proditia iudicijs fallacibus omnia premis.  
 Hic igitur ratio tibi rerum prava necesse est,  
 Falsaque sit falsis quaecunque á sencibus orta 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 must needs faultie be, and stooping in their height,  
 The building naught, absurd, vpward and downeward bended,  
 As if they meant to fall, and fall as they intended;  
 And all this as betrayde  
 By judgements formost laide.  
 Of things the reason therefore needs must faultie bee  
 And false, which from false senses drawes it's pedegree;

As for the rest, who shall be a competent judge in these differences? As we said in controversies [340]of religion, that we must have a judge enclined to neither party, and free from part [...]alitie, 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 sense; himselfe being a party in this controversie: and so if he be yoong, healthy, sicke sleeping or waking, it is all one: We had need of some body void 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 Iudge, that were no man. To judge of the apparances that we receive of subjects, we had neede have a iudicatorie instrument to verifie this instrument, we should have demonstration; and to approve demonstration, an instrument: thus are wee ever turning round. Since the senses cannot determine our disputation, themselves being so full of vncertaintie, it must then be reason: And no reason can be established without another reason: then are we ever going backe vnto infinity. Our fantasie doth not apply it self to strange things, but is rather conceived by the interposition of senses; and senses cannot comprehend a strange subject; Nay not so much as their owne passions; and so, nor the fantasie, nor the apparance is the subjects, but rather the passions only, and sufferance of the sense: which passion and subject are diverse things: Therefore *who iudgeth by apparances, iudgeth by a thing, different from the subiect*. And to say, that the senses passions referre the qualitie of strange subjects by resemblance vnto the soule: How can the soule and the vnderstanding rest assured of that resemblance, having of itselfe no commerce with forraigne subjects? Even as he that knowes not *Socrates*, seeing his picture cannot say that it resembleth him. And would a man judge by apparances, be it by all it is impossible; for by their contraries and differences they hinder one another, as we see by experience. May it be that some choice apparances rule and direct the others? This choise must be verified by an other choise, 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 al mortal things els do vncessantly rowle turne and passe away. Thus can nothing be certainly established, 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 being; for every humane nature is ever in the middle betweene being borne and dying; giving nothing of it selfe but an obscure apparance and shaddow, and an vncertaine and weake opinion. And if perhappes you fix your thought to take it's being; it would be even, as if one should goe about to graspe the water: for, how much the more he shall close and presse that, which by its owne nature is ever gliding, so much the more he shall loose what he would hold and fasten. Thus, seeing all things are subject to passe from one change to another; reason, which therein seeketh a reall subsistance, findes hir selfe deceived as vnable to apprehend any thing subsistant and permanent: forsomuch as each thing eyther commeth to a being, and is not yet altogether; or beginneth to dy before it be borne. *Plato* said, that bodies had never an existence but in deede a birth, supposing that *Homer* made the *Ocean* Father, and *Thet* is Mother of the Gods, thereby to shew-vs, that all things are in continuall motion, change and variation. As he saith, a common opinion amongst all the Philosophers before his time; Only *Parmenides*, excepted, who denied any motion to be in things; of whose power he maketh no small account. *Pythagoras* that each thing or matter was ever gliding, and labile. The Stoickes affirme, there is no present time, and that which we call present, is but conjoyning and assembling of future time & past. *Heraclitus* averreth that no man ever entred twice one

same river. *Epicarmus* avowcheth, that who erewhile borrowed any mony, doth not now owe it: and that he who yesternight 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 twise be found in one self state: for by the sodainesse and lightnesse of change, somtimes it wasteth, and othertimes it re-assembleth; now it comes and now it goes; in such sort, 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 stayeth as being at an end; but after the seede proceedeth continually in change and alteration from one to another. As of mans seede, there is first made a shapelesse fruit in the Mothers Wombe, than a shapen Childe, then being out of the Wombe, a sucking 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 wasting the precedent.

Mut at enim mundi naturam totius aetas, Ibid. l. 5. 937.

[341] Ex alióque alius status excipere omnia debet,  
 Nec manet vlla sui similis res, omnia migrant,  
 Omnia commut at natura & vertere cogit.  
 Of th'vniversall world, age doth the nature change,  
 And all things from one state must to another range,  
 No one thing like it selfe remaines, all things doe passe,  
 Nature doth change, and drive to change, each thing that was.

And when wee do foolishly feare a kinde of death, when as wee 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, fadeth and fleeteth, when age comes vpon vs, and youth endeth in the flower of a full growne mans age: Child-hood in youth, and the first age, dieth in infancie: and yester-day endeth in this day, and to day shall die in to morrow. And *nothing remaineth or ever continueth in one state*. For to proove it, if we should ever continue one and the same, how is it then, that now we rejoyce at one thing, and now at another? How comes it to passe, we love things contrary, 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 sence in the same thought? For it is not likely, that without alteration we should take other passions, and *What admitteth alterations, continueth not the same*: and if it be not one selfe same, than is it not: but rather with being all one, the simple being doth also change, ever becomming other from other. And by consequence Natures senses 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 eternall, 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 in a shadow, with the matter ever gliding, alwaies fluent, without ever being stable or permanent; to whom rightly belong these termes, *Before* and *After*: and it *Hath beene*, or *Shall be*. Which at first sight doth manifestly shew, that it is not a thing, which is; for, it were great sottishnesse, and apparant false-hood, to say, that that is which is not yet in being, or that already hath ceased from being. And concerning these words, *Present*, *Instant*, *Even-now*, by which it seemes, that especially we vphold and principally ground the intelligence of time; reason discovering the same, doth forth with destroy it: for presently it severeth it asunder and divideth it into future and past-time, as willing to see it necessarily parted in two. As much happeneth vnto nature, which is measured according vnto 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 sinne to say of God, who is the only that is, that he was or shalbe: for these words are declinations, passages, or Vicissitudes of that, which cannot last, nor continue in being. Wherefore we must conclude; *that onely God is, not according to any measure of time, but according to an immoovable and immutable eternity, not measured by time, nor subiect to*

any declination, before whom nothing is, nor nothing shall be after, nor more now nor more recent, but one really being: which by one onely Now or Present, filleth the Ever, and there is nothing that truly is, but the alone: Without saying, he hath beene, or he shall be, without beginning, and sans ending. To this so religious conclusion of a heathen man, I will onely adde this word, taken from a testimony of the same condition, for an end of this long and period of this tedious discourse which might well furnish me with endlesse matter. *Oh what a vile and abiect thing is man* (saith he) *vnlesse he raise himselfe aboute humanity!* Observe here a notable speech, and a profitable desire; but likewise absurd. For to make the handfull greater than the hand and the embraced greater then the arme; and to hope to straddle more than our legs length; is impossible and monstious: nor that man should mount over and above himselfe or humanity; for, he cannot see but with his owne eies, nor take hold but with his owne armes. He shall raise himselfe vp, if it please God extraordinarily to lend him his helping hand. He may elevate himselfe by forsaking and renouncing his owne meanes, and suffering himselfe to be elevated and raised by meere heavenly meanes. It is for our Christian faith, not for his Stoicke vertue to pretend or aspire to this divine Metamorphosis, or miraculous transmutation.

[342]

### **The thirteenth Chapter.** **Of iudging of others death.** ↪

WHen we judge of others assurance or boldnesse in death, which without all peradventure, is the most remarkeable action of humane life, great heed is to be taken of one thing, which is, that a man will hardly beleewe he is come to that point. Few men die with a resolution, that it is their last houre: And no where doth hopes deceit amuse vs more. She never ceaseth to ring in our eares, that others have beene sicker, and yet have 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 our selves. It seemeth, that the generality of things doth in some sort suffer for our annullation, and takes compassion of our state. Forsomuch as our sight being altered, represents vnto it selfe things alike; and we imagine, that things faile it, as it doth to them: As they who travell by Sea, to whom mountaines, fields, townes, heaven and earth, seene to goe the same motion, and keepe the same course, they doe:

Provehimur portu, terraeque vrbésque recedunt. Vir. Aen [...] 1. 3. 72  
We sayling launch from harbour, and  
Behinde our backee leave townes, leave land.

Who ever saw old age, that commended not times past, and blamed not the present, charging the world and mens customes with hir misery, and lowring discontent?

Iámque caput quassans grandis suspirat arator, L [...] ced. l. 2. 113.  
Et cùm tempor a temporibus praesentia confert  
Praeteritis, laudat fortunas saepe parentis  
Et crepat antiquum genus vt pietate repletum.  
The gray-beard Plow-man sighes, shaking his hoary head,  
Compares times that are now, with times past heretofore,  
Praises the fortunes of his father long since dead,  
And crakes of ancient men, whose honesty was more.

We entertaine and carry all with vs: Whence it followeth, that we deeme our death to be some great matter, and which passeth not so easily, nor without a solemne consultation of the Starres; *Tot circa v [...]um caput tumultuantes Deos. So many Gods keeping a stirre about one mans life.* And so much the more we thinke it, by how much more we praise our selves.

What? Should so much learning and knowledge be lost with so great damage, without the Destinies particular care? A soule 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 vse possesseth 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 thinkes it sufficient, to be but one. Thence came those words of *Caesar* to his pilot, more proudly swolne, then the Sea that threatned him:

—*Italiam si caelo authore recusas*, Lucan. li. 3. 579.  
 Mepete: sola tibi causa haec est iusta timoris,  
 Uectorem non nosse tuum perrumpe procellas  
 Tutelâ secure maie:—  
 If *Italie* thou do refuse with heav'n thy guide,  
 Turne thee to me: to thee only just cause of feare  
 Is that thy passinger thou know'st not: stormie tide  
 Breake through, secure by guard of me, whom thou dost beare.

And these.

—*credit iam digna pericula Caesar*  
 Fatis esse suis: tantisque evertere (dixit Ibid. 653.  
 Mesuperis labor est, parvâ q [...]em puppe sedentem.  
 [343] Tam magno petiere mari.  
 Cesar doth now beleeve, those dangers worthie are  
 Of his set fate; and saies, doe Gods, take so much paine  
 Me to vndoe, whom they thus to assault prepare  
 Set in so small a skiffe, in such a surging maine?

And this common foppery, that *Phoebus* for one whole yeare, bare mourning weedes on his forehead for the death of him: Virg. Georg. li. 1. 466.

Ille etiam extincto miseratus Caesare Romam,  
 Cùm caput obscurâ nitidum ferrugine textit.  
 The Sonne did pittie take of *Rome* when *Caesar* dide,  
 When he his radiant head in obscure rust did hide.

And a thousand such, wherewith the world suffers it selfe to be so easily conicatcht, deeming that our owne interests disturbe heaven, and his infinitie is moved at our least actions. *Non tanta caelo societas nobiscum est, vt nostro fato mortalis sit ille quoque siderum fulgor.* There is Plin. nat. [...]ist. 1 2. [...]. 8. *no such societie betweene heaven and vs, that by our destinie the shining of the starres should be mort all as we are.* And to judge a resolution and constancie in him, who though he be in manifest danger, dooth not yet beleeve it, it is no reason: And it sufficeth not, that he die in that ward, vnlesse he have directly, and for that purpose put himselfe into it: It hapneth, that most men set a sterne countenance on the matter, looke big, and speake 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 desseignes. And of those which in ancient times have put themselves to death, the choise is great, whether it were a sodaine death, or a death having time and leasure. That cruell Romane Emperor, said of his prisoners, that he would make them feelee death: And if any fortun'd 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 torments.

Uidimus & toto quamuis in corpore caese, Lucan. 1. 2. 179  
 Nil animae let hale datum, morémque nefandae  
 Durum saevitiae, pereuntis parcere morti.  
 And we have seeene, when all the body tortur'd lay,

Yet no stroke deadly giv'n, and that in humane way  
Of tyranny, to spare his death that sought to die.

Verely, it is not so 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 pinch. So that *Heliogabalus* the most dissoluteman of the world, amidst his most riotous sensualities, intended, whensoever occasion should force him to it, to have a daintie death. Which, that it might not degenerate from the rest of his life, hee had purposely caused a stately tewre to be built, the nether part and fore-court wherof was floored with boardes richly set and enchased with gold and precious stones, from-off which hee might headlong throwe himselfe downe: He had also caused cordes to be made of gold and crimson silke, therewith to strangle himselfe: And a rich golden rapier, to thrust himselfe through: And kept poison in boxes of Emeraldes and Topases, to poison himselfe with, according to the humor hee might have, to chuse which of these deaths should please him.

Impiger & fortis virtute coactâ. [...]ib. 4. 797. Gurie.  
A ready minded gallant,  
And in forst valour valiant.

Notwithstanding, touching this man, the wantonnesse of his preparation makes it more likely, that he would have fainted, had he beene put to his triall. But even of those, who most vndantedly have resolved themselves to the execution, we must consider (I say) whether it were with a life ending stroke, and that tooke away any leasure to feele the effect thereof. For, it is hard to gesse, seeing life droope away by little and little, the bodies-feeling entermingling it selfe with the soules, meanes of repentance being offered, whether in so dangerous an intent, constancie or obstinacie were found in him. In *Caesars* civill warres, *Lucius domitius* taken in *prussia*, having empoisoned himselfe, did afterward rue and repent his deede. It hath hapned in our daies, that some having resolved to die, and at first not [344]stricken deepe enough, the smarting of his flesh, thrusting his arme backe, twice or thrice more wounded himselfe a new, and yet could never strike sufficiently deepe. Whilst the arraignment of *Plantius Silvanus* was preparing, *Vrgulaniae* his grandmother, sent him, a poignard, wherewith not able to kill himselfe throughly, hee caused his owne servants to cutte his veines. *Albucilla* in *Tiberius* time, purposing to kill himselfe, but striking over faintly, gave hir enemies leasure to apprehend and imprison hir, and appoint hir what death they pleased. So did Captaine *Demosthenes* after his discomfiture in *Sicilie*. And *C. Fimbria* having over feeble wounded himselfe, became a sutor to his boy, to make an end of him. On the other side, *Ostorius*, who forsomuch as hee could not vse his owne arme, disdained to employ his servants in any other thing but to hold his dagger stiffe and strongly; and taking his running, himselfe caried his throate to it's point, and so was thrust through. To say truth, it is a meate a man must swallow without chewing, vnlesse his throate be frostshod. And therefore *Adrianus* the Emperour made his Phi [...]tian to marke and take the just compasse of the mortall place about his pap, that so his aime might not faile him, to whom he had given charge to kill him. Loe why *Caesar* being demanded; which was the death he most allowed, answered, *the least premeditated, and the shortest*. If *Caesar* said it, it is no faintnesse in me to beleeeve it. *A short death (saith Plinie) is the chiefe happe of humane life*. It grieves them to acknowledge it. No man can be saide, to be resolved to die, that feareth to purchase it, and that cannot abide to looke vpon, and out-stare it with open eyes. Those, which in times of execution are seene to runne to their end, and hasten the execution, doe it not with resolution, but because they will take away time to consider the same; it grieves them not to be dead, but to die.

Emori nolo, sed me esse mortuum, nihil aestimo. Cie. Tusc. qut l. 1. Epicha.  
I would not die too soone,  
But care not, when tis doone.



It is a degree of constancie, vnto which I have experienced to arrive, as those that cast themselves into danger, or into the Sea, with closed eyes. In mine opinion, there is nothing more worthy the noting in *Socrates* life, then to have had thirtie whole dayes to ruminare his deaths-decree, to have digested it all that while, with an assured hope, without dismay or alteration, and with a course of actions and words, rather supprest; and loose-hanging, then out-stretched and raised by the weight of such a cogitation. That *Pomponius Atticus*, to whome *Cicero* writeth, being sicke, caused *Agrippa* his sonne in lawe, and two or three of his other friends to be called ■ for, to whom he said; that having assaied, how he got nothing in going about to be cured, and what he did to prolong his life did also lengthen and augment his grieffe, he was now determind to make an end of one and other; intreating them to allow of his determination, and that by no meanes, they would loose their labour to dissuade him from it. And having chosen to end his life by abstinence, his sickenes was cured by accident; The remedy he had employed to make himselfe away, brought him to health againe. The Physitions, and his friendes, glad of so happy a successe, and rejoycing 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, saying, that as he must one day passe that carriere, and being now so forward, he would remoove 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 resolutely falles vpon it: for, being satisfied of that, for which he was entred the combate, in a braverie he thrust himselfe into it, to see the end of it. It is farre from fearing death, to goe about to taste and savour the same. The historie of *Cleanthes* the philosopher, is much like to this. His gummes being swolne, his Physitions perswaded him to vse great abstinence; having fasted two dayes, he was so well amended, as they told him he was well, and might returne to his wonted course of life. He contrarily, having already tasted some sweetenes in this fainting, resolveth not to draw backe, but finish what he had so well begunne, and was so farre waded into. *Tullius Marcellinus*, a yoong Romane Gentleman, willing to prevent the houre of his destiny, to ridde himselfe of a disease, which tormented him more than he would endure, although Physitions promised certainly to cure him, howbeit not sodainely; called his friends vnto him to determine about it: some (saieth *Seneca*) gave him that counsell, which for weakenesse of heart, themselves would have taken others for flatterie that, which they imagined would be most pleasing vnto him: but a certaine [345]Stoike standing by, saide thus vnto him. *Toyle not thy selfe Marcellinus, as if thou determinedst some weightie matter, to live is no such great thing, thy base groomes and bruit beasts live also, but it is a matter of consequence to die honestly, wisely and constantly. Remember how long it is, thou do est one same thing, to eat, to drinke, and sleepe, to drinke, to sleepe, to eat. We are ever vncessantly wheeling in this endlesse circle.* Not onely bad and intollerable accidents, but the very society to live, brings a desire of death. *Marcellinus* had no neede of a man to counsell, but of one to helpe him: his servants were afraid to meddle with him; but this Philosopher made them to vnderstand, that familiars are suspected, onely when the question is, whether the maisters death have beene voluntary: otherwise it would be as bad an example to hinder him, as to kill him, forsomuch as,

Invitum qui servat, idem facit occidenti. Hor. art. Po [...]. 467.

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 vnseemely, as fruit or comfets at our tables, when our bellies be full, are given vnto by-standers, so the life ended, to distribute something to such as have beene the ministers of it. *Marcellinus* being of a franke and liberall disposition, caused certaine summes of mony to be divided amongst his servants, and comforted them. And for the rest, there needed neither yron nor blood, he vndertooke to depart from this life, not by running from it: Not to escape from death, but to taste it. And to have leisure to condition or bargaine with death, having quit all manner of nourishment, the

third day ensuing, after he had caused himselfe to be sprinkled over with luke-warme water, by little and little he consumed away; and (as he said) not without some voluptuousnesse and pleasure. Verily, such as have had these faintings and swoonings of the heart; which proceed from weakenesse, say, that they feele no paine at all in them, but rather some pleasure, as of a passage to sleepe and rest. These are premeditated, and digested deaths. But that *Caeto* alone, may serve to all examples of vertue, it seemeth, his good destiny, caused that hand wherewith he gave himselfe the fatall blow, to be sicke and sore: that so he might have leisure to affront death and to embrace it, reen forcing his courage in that danger, in lieu of mollifying the same. And should I have represented him in his prowdest state, it should have beene all bloody-gored, tearing his entrailes, and rending his guttes, rather then with a sword in his hand, as did the Statuaries of his time. For this second murther, was much more furious, then the first.

### **The fourteenth Chapter.** **How that our spirit hindereth it selfe.** ↪

IT is a pleasant imagination, to conceive a spirit justly balanced between two equall desires. For, it is not to be doubted, that he shall never be resolved vpon any match: Forsomuch as the application and choise brings an inequality of prise: And who should place vs between a Bottle of wine, and a Gammon of Bacon, with an equall appetite to eat and drinke, doubtlesse 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 (and 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) the answer, that this motion of the soule is extraordinarie and irregular comming into vs by a strange, accidentall and casuall impulsion. In my opinion, it might rather be said, that nothing is presented vnto vs, wherein there is not some difference, how light so ever it be: And that either to the sights, or to the feeling, there is ever some choise, which tempteth and drawes vs to it, though imperceptible and not to be distinguished. In like maner, 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 [346]also adde to this, the Geometricall propositions, which by the certainty of their demonstrations, conclude, the contained greater then the containing, and the centre as great as his circumference: And that finde two lines vncessantly approaching one vnto another, and yet can never meete and joyne together: And the Philosophers stone, and quadrature of the circle, where the reason and the effects are so opposite: might peradventure draw thence some argument to salve and helpe this bold speech of *Pliny*. *Solum certum nihil esse certi, & homine nihil miserius aut superbis. This onely is sure, that there is nothing sure; and nothing more miserable*, *Plin. nat. hist. lib. 2. c. 7. and yet more arrogant then man.*

### **The fifteenth Chapter.** **That our desires are increased by difficulty.** ↪

THere is no reason but hath another contrary vnto it, saith the wisest party of Philosophers. I did erewhile ruminare vpon this notable saying, which an ancient writer aleadgeth for the contempt of life. *No good can bring vs any pleasure, except that, against whose losse we are prepared: In aequo est dolor amissaerei, & timor amittendae, Sorrow for a thing lost, and feare of Sen. epist 98. 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 feare to loose it. A man might neverthesse say on the contrary part, that we embrace and claspe this good so much the harder, and with more affection, as we perceive it to be lesse sure, and feare it should be taken from vs. For, it is manifestly found, that as fire is rouzed vp by the assistance of cold, even so our will is whetted on by that which doth resist it.

Si nunquam Danaen habuisset ahenea turris, Orid. Am. li. 2. [...]. 19. 27.  
Non esset Danae de love facta parens.  
If *Danae* had not beene clos'd in brazen Tower,  
*Love* had not clos'd with *Danae* in golden shower.

And that there is nothing so naturally opposite to our taste, as satiety, which comes from ease and facility, nor nothing that so much sharpneth it, as rarenesse and difficulty. *Omnium rerum voluptas ipso quo debet fugare periculo crescit. The delight of all things encreaseth by the danger, whereby it rather should terrifie them that affect it.*

Galla nega; satiatur amor, nisi gaudia torquent. Mart. l. 4. epig. 38. 1.  
Good wench, deny, my love is cloied,  
Vnlesse joyes grieve, before enjoyed.

To keepe love in breath and longing, *Lycurgus* ordained, that the married men of *Lacedemonia* might never converse with their wives, but by stealth, 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 difficulty of assignations or matches appointed, the danger of being surprised, and the shame of ensuing to morrow,

— & *languor*, & *silentium*, Hor. epod. 11. 13  
Et latere petitus imo spiritus.  
And whispering voice, and languishment,  
And breath in sighes from deepe sides sent,

are the things that give relish and tartnesse to the sawce. How many most lasciviously-pleasant sports, proceed from modest and shamefast manner of speech, of the daliances and workes of love? Even voluptuousnesse seekes to provoke and stirre it selfe vp by smarting. It is much sweeter when it itcheth, and endeared when it gauleth. The curtezen *Flora* was wont to say, that she never lay with *Pompey*, but she made him carrie away the markes of hir teeth.

Quod petiere, premunt arctè, faciuntque dolorem Lucr. l. 4. 1070  
Corporis, & dentes inlidunt saepe labellis:  
Et stimuli subsunt, qui instigant laedere idipsum  
Quodcumque est, rabies vnde isti germina surgunt,

[347]

So goes it every where: *Rarenes and difficultie giveth esteeme vnto things.* Those of *Marca d' Ancona* in *Italy*, make their vowes, and goe on pilgrimage rather vnto *Saint Iames* in *Galicia*, and those of *Galicia* rather vnto our Lady of *Loreto*. In the Country of *Liege*, they make more account of the Bathes of *Luca*; and they of *Tus* [...]any esteeme the Baths of *Spawe* more then their owne: In *Rome* the Fence-schools are ever full of French-men, when few Romans come vnto them. Great *Cato*, as well as any else, was even clo [...]ed and distasted with his wife, so long as she was his owne, but when another mans, then wished he for hir, and would faine have lickt his fingers at hir. I have heretofore put forth an old stallion to soile, who before did no sooner see or smell a Mare, but was so lusty, that no man could rule him, nor no ground hold him; ease and facility, to come to his owne when he list, hath presently quailed his stomake, and so cloyed him, that he is weary of them: But toward strange Mar [...], and the first that passeth by his pasture, there is no hoe with him; but suddenly he returnes to his old wonted neighings, and furious heate. Our appetite doth contemne and passe over what he hath in his free choise and owne possession, to runne after, and pursue what he hath not. Hor. Ser. l. 1. Sat. 2 107.

Transuolat in medio posita, & f [...]gienti [...] captat.  
It over-flies what open lies,  
Pursuing onely that which flies.

*To forbid vs any thing, is the ready way to make vs long for it.* Orid. Am. lib. 2. [...]l. 19.  
47.

— *nisi tu servare puellam*  
Incipis, incipiet desinere esse mea,  
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 breede dislike and contempt in vs; So that  
*to want, and to have store, breedeth one selfe same inconvenienc.*

Tibi quod super est, mihi quod deficit, dolet. Ter. Phor. act. 1. s [...]. 3.  
You grieve because you have to much;  
It griev's me that I have none such.

Wishing and injoying trouble vs both a like. The rigor of a mistris is yrkesome, but ease  
and facility (to say true) much more; forasmuch as discontent and vexation proceed of the  
estimation we have of the thing desired, which sharpen love, and set it afire: Whereas *Satiety*  
*begets distaste*: It is a dull, blunt, weary, and drouzy passion.

Siqua volet regnare diu, com [...]emnat amantem. Opid. [...]m. lib. 2. [...]l. 19.  
33.  
If any list long to beare sway,  
Scorne she hir lover, ere she play.  
— *contemnite amantes*, Prop▪ lib. 2. [...]l. 14. 19.  
Sic hodie veniet, [...]qua negavit heri,  
Lovers, your lovers scorne, contemne, delude, deride;  
So will she come to day, that yesterday denide.

Why did *Poppea* devise to maske the beauties of hir face, but to endear them to hir  
lovers? Why are those beauties veiled downe to the heeles, which all desire to shew, which  
all wish to see? Why doe they cover with so many lets, one over another, those parts, where  
chiefly consisteth our pleasure and theirs? And to what purpose serve those baricadoes, and  
verdugalles, wherewith our women arme their flankes, but to allure our appetite, and  
enveagle vs to them by puttingvs off?

Et [...]jugit ad salices, & se cupit anté videri Virg. [...]juc [...]. [...]cl. 3. 65.  
She to the willow's runs to hide,  
Yet gladly would she first be spide.  
Interdum tunica duxit operatamoram, Pro. ibid. el [...]g. 15▪ 6.  
She cover'd with hir cote in play.  
Did somtime make a short delay.

Whereto serveth this mayden-like bashfullnesse, this wilfull quaintnesse, this severe  
conntenance, 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 dispose all this squeamish ceremony, and  
all these peevish obstacles? For, it is not onely a delight, but a glory to besot and debauch this  
dainty [348]and nice sweetnesse, and this infantine bashfulnesse, and to subject amarble and  
sterne gravitie to the mercy of our flame. It is a glory (say they) to triumph over modesty,  
chastity and temperance: and who disswadeth Ladies from these parts, betraieith both them  
and himselfe. It is to be supposed, that their hart yerneth with feare, that the sound of our

wordes, woundeth the purity of their eares, for which they hate vs, and with a forced constraint, agree to withstand our importunitie. Beauty with all hir might, hath not wherewith to give a taste of her self without these interpositions. See in *Italie*, where most, and of the finest beauty is to be sold, how it is forced to seek other strange meanes and suttle devises, arts and trickes, to yeeld hir self pleasing and acceptable: and yet in good sooth, do what it can, being venall and common, it remaineh [...]eeble, and is even languishing. *Even as in vertue, of two equall effects, we hold that the fairest, and worthiest, wherein are proposed more lets, and which affoordeth greater hazards.* It is an effect of Gods providence, to suffer his holy Church, to be vexed and turmoyled, as we see, with so many troubles and stormes, to rouze, and awaken by this opposition and strife the godly and religious soules, and raise them from out a lethall security, and stupified slumber, wherein so long tranquility had plunged them. If wee shall counterpoize the los [...]e we have had, by the number of those, that have strayed out of the right way, and the profite that accrueth vnto vs, by having taken hart of grace, and by reason of combate raised our zeale, and forces; I wot not whether the profite doth surmount the losse. We thought to tie the bond of our marriages the faster, by remooving all meanes to dissolve them, but by how much faster, that of constraint hath bin tyed, so much more hath that of our will and affection beene slacked and loosed: Whereas on the contrary side, that, which so long time held marriages in honour and safety in *Rome*, was the liberty to breake them who list. They kept their wives the better, forsomuch as they might leave them; and when divorces might freely be had, there past five hundred yeares and more, before any would ever make vse of them.

Quod licet, ingratum est, quod non licet, acriùs vrit, Orid ■ Am ■ lib. 2. [...]. 19.

3.

What we may doe, doth little please:

It woormes vs more, that hath lesse ease.

To this purpose might the opinion of an ancient Writer be adjoynd that torments doe rather encourage vices, than suppress 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 surprized in doing evill.

Latiùs excis [...] pestis contagia serpunt.

Th'infection of the plague nigh-spent,

And rooted out, yet further went.

I wot not whether it be true, but this I know by experience, that policie was never found to bee reformed that way. The order and regiment of manners dependeth of some other meane. The Greeke stories, make mention of the Agrippians, neighbouring vpon *Scithia*, who live without any rod or staffe of offence, where not onely, no man vndertakes to buckle with any other man, but whosoever can but save himself there (by reason of thei vertue and sanctity of life) is as it were in a Sanctuary: And no man dares so much as touch him. Manie have recourse to them, to attone and take vp quarrels and differences, which arise amongst men else where. There is a Nation, where the enclosures of Gardens and Fields, they intend to keep severall, are made with a seely twine of cotten, which amongst them is found to be more safe and fast, then are our ditches and hedges. *Furem signata sollicitant, Aperta effractarius* Sen ■ [...]pist. 69. *praeterit. Things sealed vp sollicite a thiefe to breake them open: Whereas a common burglarer will passe by quietly things that lie open.* Amongst other meanes, ease and facility dooth haply cover and sence my house from the violence of civill warres: Inclosure and fencing draws on the interprise; and distrust the offence. I have abated and weakned the souldiers designe, by taking hazard and al meanes of military glory from their exploite ■ which is wont to serve them for a title, and steade them for an excuse. What is performed couragiously, at what time justice lieth dead, and law hath not hir due course, is ever done honorably. I yeeld them the conquest of my house dastardly and tletcherous. It is

never shut to any that know [...] keth. It hath no other guardian or provision but a Porter, as an ancient custome, and vsed ceremony who serveth not so much to defend my gate, as to offer it more decently and courteously to all commers. I have nor watch nor sentinell, but what the Starres keepe for mee. That Gentleman is much to blame, who makes a shew to stand vpon his garde, except he be very strong indeede. Who so is open on one side; is so every where. Our Fore-fathers [350] never dreamed on building of frontire Townes or Castles.

The meanes to assaile (I meane without batterie, and troopes of armed men) and to surprise our houses, encrease dayly beyond the meanes of garding or defending. Mens wits are generally exasperated and whetted one 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 vnto it that way; and I would feare; the strength of it should turne against my selfe. Seeing a peaceable time will require we shall vnfortifie them. It is dangerous 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 consanguinitie become mistrustfull vnder collour of justice. Common rents cannot entertaine our private garisons. They should all be consumed. We have not wherewith, nor are we able to do it, without our apparant ruine, 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 vnhednesse, then to moane you, and excuse your ignorance and carelesnesse, 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 overthrowne, onely because they were so diligently garded. It is that which affoordeth a desire, and ministreth a pretence to the assailant. All gards beare a shew of warre; which if God be so pleased may light vpon me. But so it is, I will never call for it. It is my sanctuary or retreat to rest my selfe from warres. I endeavour to free this corner from the publike storme, as I doe another corner in my soule. Our warre may change forme, and multiply and diversifie how and as long as it list; but for my selfe I never stirre. Amongst so many barricaded and armed houses, none but my selfe (as farre as I know) of my qualitie, hath meerey trusted the protection of his vnto the heavens: for I never remooved neither plate, nor hangings, nor my evidences. I will neither feare, nor save my selfe by halfe. If a full acknowledgement purchaseth the favour of God, it shall last me for ever vnto the end: if not, I have continued long enough, to make my continuance remarkeable, and worthy the registering. What? Is not thirtie yeares a goodly time?

### **The sixteenth Chapter.** **Of Glory.** ↩

There is both 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 ioyned to the thing, and from it. God who in and by himselfe is all fulnesse, and the tipe 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 workes; which praise and blessing since we cannot incorporate into him, forsomuch as no accession of good can be had vnto him, we ascribe it vnto his name, which is a part without him, and the neerest vnto him. And that is the reason why *glory and honour appertaineth to God onely*. And there is nothing so repugnant vnto reason, as for vs to goe about to purchase any for our selves: For, being inwardly needie and defective, and our essence imperfect, and ever wanting amendment, we ought onely labour about that. Wee are all hollow and emptie, and it is not with breath and words we should fill our selves. Wee have neede of a more solide substance to repaire our selves▪ *An huuger-starved man might be thought most simple, rather to provide himselfe of a faire garment, then of a good meales-meate*: We must run to that, which most Luk. 2. 14.

concerneth vs. *Gloria in excelsis Deo, & interrumpax hominibus. Glory be to God on high, and peace in earth amongst men;* As say our ordinary prayers. We are in great want of beautie, health, wisdom, vertue and such like essentiall partes. Exteriour ornaments may be sought-for when we are once provided, of necessary things. Divinitie doth very amply and pertinently [350]treat of this subject, but I am not very conversant with it. *Chrysippus* and *Diogenes* have beene the first, and most constant authors of the contempt of glory. And amongst all sensualities, they said, there was none so dangerous, nor so much to be avoided, as that which commeth vnto vs by the approbation of others. Verily experience makes vs thereby feelee, and vndergoe many damageable treasons. *Nothing so much empoysoneth Princes as flattery:* Nor nothing whereby the wicked-minded gaine so easie credite about them; nor any enticement so fit, nor pandership so ordinary to corrupt the chastitie of women, then to feede and entertaine them with their praises. The first enchantment the Syrens employed to deceive *V[...]*sses, is of this nature.

Deca vers nous, deca, o tresleuable Ullisse,  
 Et le plus grand honneur dont sa Grece fleurisse.  
 Turne to vs, to vs turne, *Ullisses* thrice-renowned.  
 The principall renowne wherewith all *Greece* is crowned.

Philosophers said, *that all the worlds glory deserved not, that a man of wisdom should so much as stretch forth his finger to acquire it.*

Gloria quantalibet quid erit, si gloria tantum est? Iuven. Sat. 7. [...]1.  
 Never so glorious name,  
 What ist, be it but fame?

I say for it alone: for, it drawes many commodities after it, by which it may yeeld it selfe desirable: It purchaseth vs good will: It makes vs lesse exposed to others injuries and offences, and such like things. It was also one of the principall decrees of *Epicurus*: for, that precept of his Sect, HIDE THY LIFE, which forbiddeth men to meddle with publike charges and negotiations, doth also necessarily presuppose that a man should despise glory: which is an approbation the world makes of those actions we give evidence of. He that bids vs to hide our life, and care but for our selves, and would not have vs know of others, would also have vs not to be honoured and glorified thereby. So doth he counsell *Idomeneus*, by no meanes to order his actions, by the vulgar opinion and publike reputation: vnlesse it be to avoide other accidentall incommodities, which the contempt of men might bring vnto him. Those discourses (are in mine advise) very true and resonable: But, I wot not how, wee are double in our selves, which is the cause, that what wee beleeeve, wee beleeeve it not, and cannot rid our selves of that, which we condemne. Let vs consider the last words of *Epicurus* and which hee speaketh as hee is dying: they are notable and woorthy such a Philosopher: but yet they have some badge of his names commendations, and of the humour which by his precepts he had disauowed. Behold heere a letter, which hee endited a little before hee yeelded vp his ghost.. *Epicurus to Hermachus health and greeting: Whilst I passed the happy, and even the last day of my life I writ this, accompanied neverthelesse with such paine in my bladder and anguish in my entrails, that nothing can be added to the greatnesse of it; yet was it recompenced with the pleasure, which the remembrance of my inuentions and discourses brought vnto my soule. Now as requireth the affection, which even from the infancie thou hast borne me and Philosophy, embrace the protection of Metrodorus his children:* Loe here his letter. And which makes me interpret, that the pleasure which in his soule he saith to feelee of his inventions, doth in some sort respect the reputation, which after his death he thereby hoped to attaine, is the ordinance of his last will and testament ■ by which he willeth, that *Aminomachus* and *Timocretes* his heires, should for the celebration of his birth-day every month of Ianuary supply all such charges as *Hermachus* should appoint: And also for the

expeuce hee might bee at vpon the twentieth of every Moone for the feasting and entertainment of the Philosophers his familiar friendes, who in the honour of his memorie and of *Metrodorus* should meete together. *Carneades* hath beene chiefe of the contrary opinion, and hath maintained, that glory was in it selfe to be desired, even as we embrace our posthumes for themselves, having neither knowledge nor jovissance of them. This opinion hath not missed to be more commonly followed, as are ordinarily those, that fit most and come nearest our inclinations. *Aristotle* amongst externall goods yeeldeth the first ranke vnto it: And avoideth, as two extreame vices, the immoderation, either in seeking, or avoiding it. I believe, that had we the bookes which *Cicero* writ vpon this subject, wee should heare strange matters of him: for he was so fond in this passion, as had he dared, he would (as I thinke) have easily falne into the excesse, that others fell in; which is, that even vertue [351] was not to be desired, but for the honour, which ever waited on it: Hor. car. l. 4. od. 9. 29.

Paulum sepultrae distat inertiae  
 Celata virtus.—  
 There is but little difference betweene,  
 Vertue conceald, vnskilfulnesse vnseene.

Which is so false an opinion, as I am vexed it could ever enter a mans vnderstanding 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 keepe the soules-operations in order and rule, which is the true feate of vertue, but onely so much as they might come to the knowledge of others. Doth then nothing else belong vnto it, but craftily to faile, and subtilly to cozen? If thou knowest a Serpent to be hidden in any place (saith *Carneades*) to which, he by whose death thou hopest to reape commodity, goeth vnawares to sit vpon, thou committest a wicked act if thou warne him not of it: and so much the more, because thy action should be known but to thy self. If we take not the law of wel-doing from our selves: If impunity be justice in vs; to how many kindes of trecheries are we daily to abandon our selves? That which *Sp. Peduceus* did, faithfully to restore the riches which *C. Plotius* had committed to his only trust and secrecie, and as my selfe have done often? I thinke not so commendable, as I would deeme it execrable, if we had not done it. And I think it beneficial we should in our dayes be mindefull of *Publius Sextilius Rufus* his example, whom *Cicero* accuseth that he had received a great inheritance against his conscience: Not only repugnant▪ but agreeing with the lawes. And *M. Crassus*, and *Q. Hortensius*, who by reason of their authority and might, having for certaine Quidities 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 forgery, yet refused not to take some profite of it: Very closely had they kept themselves vnder the countenance of the accusations, witnesses and lawes. *Meminerint Deum se habere testem, id est (vt Ego arbitror) mentem suam. Let them remember they have God to witnsse, that is, (as I construe it) their owne minde. Vertue is a vaine and frivolous thing, if it draw hir commendation from glorie.* In vaine should we attempt to make hir keepe hir rancke apart, and so should we disjoyne it from fortune: for, *What is more casuall than reputation? Profecto fortuna in omni re dominatur: Ea res cunctas ex libidine magis quàm ex vero celebrat obscurátque. Fortune governeth in al things, and either advancethor abaseth them rather by froward disposition, then vpright iudgement.* To make actions to be knowen and seene, is the meere worke of fortune, It is chance that applyeth glory vnto vs, according to her temeritie. I have often seene it to goe before desert; yea and many times to out-goe merite by very much. He that first bethought himselfe of the resemblance betweene shadow and glory, did better than he thought of. They are exceeding vaine things. It also often goeth before hir body, and sometimes exceeds by much in length. Those who teach Nobility to seeke in valour nothing but honor: *Quasi non sit honestum quod nobilitatum non sit; As though it were not honest, except it were ennobled.* What gaine they by it? But to instruct



them never to hazard themselves, vnlesse they be seene of others; and to be very heedy, whether such witnesses are by, that may report newes of their valour, whereas a thousand occasions, to doe well are dayly offered, and no man by to marke them? How many notable particular actions, are buried in the throng of a Battell? Whosoever ammuseth himselfe to controule others, in so confused a hurly-burly, is not greatly busied about it: and produceth the testimony which hee giveth of his fellowes proceedings or exploits against himselfe. *Vera & sapiens animi magnitudo, honestum illud quod maxime naturam sequitur, in factis positum, non in gloria iudicat. A true and wise magnanimitie esteemeth that honesty, 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 accord to *Metrodorius, Arcesilas*, or *Aristippus*, but according to my selfe. Since Philosophie could never finde any way for tranquility, that might be generally good, let every man in his particular seeke for it. To whom are *Caesar* and *Alexander* beholding for that infinite greatnes of their renowne, but to fortune? How many men hath she suppressed in the beginning of their progresse, of whom we have no knowledge at all, who bare the same courage that others did, if the il fortune of their chance had not staid them even in the budding of their enterprises? Amongst so many and so extreame dangers (to my remembrance) I never read, that *Caesar* received any hurt. A thousand have dyed in lesse danger, than the least of those he [352]escaped. Many worthy exploits and excellent deedes must be lost, before one can come to any good. A man is not alwayes vpon the toppe of a breache, nor in the front of an army, in the sight of his Generall, as vpon a stage. A man may be surprised betweene a hedge and a ditch. A man is sometimes put to his sodaine shifts, as to try his fortune against a Hens-roost, to ferret out foure seely shotte out of some barne, yea and sometimes straggle alone from his troupes; 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 slight and little-importing occasions, and incontention about a small cottage, than in worthy atchievements, and honourable places. Who so thinketh his death il employed, except it be in some glorious exploite, or famous attempt, in lieu of dignifying his death, he happily obscureth his life: Suffering in the meane time many just and honor affoording oportunties to escape, wherein he might and ought adventure himselfe. And all just occasions are glorious enough; his owne conscience publishing them sufficiently to all<sup>2</sup>. *Car. 1. 12. Aug. bo [...]. 35. men. Gloria nostra est, testimonium conscienti [...] 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 esteemed, 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 reste di quel verne, cose Ariest. Orl. can 11. stan 81.

Faceste degne di tenerne conto.

Ma fur fin'a quel tempo si n [...]scose,

Che non è colpa mia s'hor'non le conto,

Perche Orlando a far' [...]pre virtuose

Piu ch'à narrarle poisempre era pronto;

Ne mai fu alcun'de li suoi fatti espresso,

Senen quando hebbe i testimonij appresso.

I guesse, he of that winter all the rest

Atchiev'd exploites, whereof to keepe account,

But they vntill that time were so supprest,

As now my fault t'is not, them not to count,

Because *Orlando* ever was more prest

To doe, than tell deedes that might all surmount.

Nor was there any of his deeds related

Vnlesse some witsse were associated.

A man must goe to wars for his devoirs sake and expect this recompence of it, which cannot faile all worthy actions, how secret soever ■ no not to vertuous thoughts: It is the contenment 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 assured seate, to withstand all assaults of fortune.

Virtus repulsae nesci [...] sordide, Hor car. li 3. od. 2. 17.

Iutaminatis fulget honoribus:

Nec sumit aut ponit secures

Arbitrio popularis a [...]rae.

Vertue vnskill'd to take repulse that's base,

In vndefiled honors clearely shines,

At the dispose of peoples airy grace

She signes of honor tak's not, nor resignes.

It is not onely for an exterior shew or ostentaion, that our soule must play hir part, but inwardly within our selves, where no eyes shine but ours: There it dooth shroud vs from the feare of death, of sorrowes and of shame: There it assureth vs, from the losse of our children, friends and fortunes; and when oportunitie is offerd it also leades vs to the dangers of warre. *Non emolumento aliquo, sed ipsius honestatis decore. Not for any advantage, but for Cie. fin. l. 1. the gracefulness of honestie it selfe.* This benefit is much greater, and more worthie to be wished and hoped, then honor and glorie, which is nought but a favorable judgement that is made of vs. Wee are often driven to empanell and select a jury of twelve men out of a whole [353]countrie to determine of an acre of land: And the judgement of our inclinations and actions (the waightiest and hardest matter that is) we referre it to the idle breath of the vaine voice of the common sort and base raskalitie, which is the mother of ignorance, of injustice, and inconstancie. Is it reason to make the life of a wise man depend on the judgement of fooles? *An quidquam stultius, quàm quos singulos contempnas, eos aliquid putare esse vniverses? Aelian var. hist. l. 2. c. 1. Is there any thing more foolish, then to thinke that altogether they are oughts, whom every one single you would set at noughts?* Whosoever aimeth to please them, hath never done: It is a But, that hath neither forme nor holdfast. *Nil tam inaestimabile est, quàm animi multitudinis. Nothing is so incomprehensible to be iust waied as the mindes of the multitude. Demetrius* said merely of the common peoples voice, that he made no more reckoning of that which issued from out his mouth above, then of that which came from a homely place below, and saith moreover: *Ego hoc iudico, si quando turpe non sit, tamen non esse non turpe, quum id à multi [...]judins laudetur: cic. fin. bon. l. 2. Thus I esteeme of it, if of it selfe it be not dishonest, yet can it not but be dishonest, when it is applauded by the meny.* No arte, no mildenesse of spirit might direct our steps to follow so stragling and disordred a guide. In this breathie confusion of brutes, and frothie Chaos of reports and of vulgar opinions, which still push-vs on, no good course can be established. Let vs not propose so fleeing and so wavering an end vnto our selves. Let vs 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 lawe to hope for it, rather by any other way then by that. Should I not follow a strait path for it's straightnes, yet would I doe it because experience hath taught me, that in the end, it is the happiest and most profitable. *Dedit hoc providentia hominibus munus, vt honest a magis iuarent. Mans providence hath given him this gift that honest things should more delight and availe him.* The antient Sailer said thus to Neptune in a great storme, *Oh God, thou shalt save me if thou please, if not, thou shalt loose me; yet will I ke [...]p [...] my helme still fast.* I have, in my daies, seene a thousand milde, mungrell and ambiguous men, and whom no man thought to be more worldly-wise than my selfe, loose themselves, where I have saved my selfe.

Risi successu posse carere dolos. Orid. epist. Penel. v. 18.  
I smild to see that wily plots.  
Might want successe (and leave men sots.)

*Paulus Aemilius* going to the glorious expedition of *Macedon*, advertized the people of *Rome* during his absence, not to speake of his actions: For *The licence of Iudgements is an especiall let in great affaires*. Forasmuch as all men have not the constancy of *Fabius* against common, contrary and detracting voices: who loved better to have his authority dismembred by mens vaine fantasies, then not to performe his charge so well, with favourable and popular applause. There is a kind of I know not what naturall delight, that man hath to heare himselfe commended, but we yeeld too too-much vnto it.

Laudari haud metuam, neque enim mihi cornea fibra est, Pers. sat. 1. 47  
Sed recti finem (que) extremum (que) esse recuso  
Euge tuum & bellè—  
Nor feare I to be prais'd, for my guttes are not horne,  
But that the vtmost end of good should be, I scorne,  
Thy O well said, well done, well plaid.

I care not so muh what I am with others, as I respect what I am in my selfe. I will be rich by my selfe, and not by borrowing. Strangers see but externall apparances and events a every man can set a good face vpon the matter, when within he is full of care, grieffe and infirmities. They see not my heart, when they looke vpon my outward countenance. There is great reason the hypocrisie that is found in warre should be discovered: For, what is more easie in a man of practise, then to flinch in dangers and to counterfeit a gallant and a boaster, when his heart is full of faintnesse, and ready to droope for feare? There are so many waies to shunne occasions for a man to hazard himselfe in particular, that wee shall have deceived the world a thousand times, before wee neede engage our selves into any perillous attempt; and even when wee finde our selves entangled in it, wee shall not want skill how to cloake our sporte with a good face, stearne countenance, and bold speeches; although our heart doe quake within vs. And hee that hadde the vse of the Platonical Ring, whose vertue was to make him invisible that wore it vpon his finger, if it were [354]turned toward the flat of the hand; many would hide themselves, when they should most make shewe of their worth, and would be sorie to be placed in so honorable a place, where necessitie may be their warrant of safetie.

Falsus honor invat, & mendax infamia terret H [...].r. lib. 1. epi. 16. 39.  
Quem nisi mendosum & mendacem?—  
False honour tickles; false defame affright's,  
Whom, but the faulty, and false-fierd sprights?

See how all those judgements, that men make of outward apparances, are wonderfully vncertaine and doubtfull, and there is no man so sure a testimonie, as every man is to himselfe: How many horse-boyes have we in them as partners and companions of our glorie? He that keepe his stand 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 six-pence a day, and happily for lesse?

—non quicquid turbida Roma Pers. sat. 1. 5.  
Elevet, accedas, examénque improbum in illa  
Castiges trutinâ, nec te quasiver is extrâ.  
If troublous *Rome* set ought at naught, make you not one,  
Nor chastise you vnjust examination  
In balance of their lode:  
Nor seeke your selfe abroad.

We call that a magnifying of our name, to extend and disperse the same in many

mouthes, we will have it to be received in good part, and that it's increase redound to his benefit: This is all that is most excusable in it's desseigne: But the infirmity of it's excesse proceeds so farre, that many labour to have the world speake of them, howsoever it be. *Trogus Pompeius* saith of *Herostratus*, and *Titus Livius* of *Manlius Capitolinus*, that they were more desirous of great, then good reputation. It is an ordinary fault; we endeavour more that men should speake of vs, then how and what they speake, and [...]sufficeth vs, that our name run in mens mouthes, in what manner soever. It seemeth that to be knowen, is in some sort, to have life and continuance in other mens keeping. As for me ■ I hold that I am but in my selfe; and of this other life of mine, which consisteth in the knowledge of my friends, being simply and barely considered in my selfe, well I wot, I neither feele fruite or jovisance of it, but by the vanity of fantasticall opinion. And when I shall be dead, I shall much lesse have a feeling of it: And shall absolutely loose the vse of true vtilities, which sometimes accidentally follow it: I shall have no more fastnesse to take hold on reputation, nor whereby it may either concerne or come vnto mee. For, to expect my name should receive it: First I have no name that is sufficiently mine: Of two I have, the one is common to all my race, yea and also to others. There is a family at *Paris*, and another at *Montpellier*, called *Montaigne*, another in *Brittany*, and one in *Xa [...]togne*, surnamed *dela-Montaigne*. The removing of one onely sillable may so confound our webbe, as I shall have a share in their glory, and they perhaps a part of my shame. And my Ancestors have heere-to-fore beene surnamed *Higham*, or *Eyquem*, a surname which also belongs to a house well knowen 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 stead. And suppose I had a particular marke or badge for my selfe, what can it marke when I am no more extant? May it desseigne or favour inanity?

—*nunc levior cippus non imprimit essa?* [...]bid. 37.

Laudat poster it as, nunc non è manibus illis,

Nunc non è tumulo fortunatâque favillâ

Nascuntur violae?

Doth not the grave-stone on such bones sit light?

Posterity applauds: from such a spright,

From such a tombe, from ashes blessed so,

Shall there nor violets (in Cart-lodes) grow?

But of this I have spoken elsewhere. As for the rest, in a whole battell, where ten thousand are either maymed or slaine, there are not peradventure fifteene that shall be much spoken off. It must be some eminent greatnes, or important consequence, that fortune hath joynd [355]vnto 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 vndantedly to death, is indeed something to every one of vs in particular; for, a mans free-hold goes on it: But in regarde of the world, they are such ordinarie things, so many are daily seene, and so sundrie alike must concurre together to produce a notable effect, that we can looke for no particular commendation by them. I [...]rem sat. 13. 9

—*casus multis hic cognitus, aciam*

Tritus, & è medio fortunae ductus acervo.

This case is knowne of many, worne with nothing,

Drawne from the midle heape of fortunes doting.

Of so many thousands of worthie-valiant men, which fifteene hundred yeares since have died in *France*, with their weapons in hand, not one hundred have come to our knowledge: The memorie not onely of the Generals and Leaders, but also of the battels and victories lieth now low-buried in oblivion. The fortunes of more then halfe the world, for want of a register, stirre not from their place, and vanish away without continuance. Had I all the vnknowne events in my possession, I am perswaded I might easily supplant those that are knowne in all

kinde of examples. What? Of the Romanes themselves, and of the Grecians, amongst so many writers and testimonies, and so infinit rare exploits and matchles examples: How are so few of them come to our notice?

Ad nos vix tenuis famae perlabitur aura. Virg. Aen li. 7. 646.  
Scarsely 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 grose. The Lacedemonians as they were going to their battles, were wont to sacrifice vnto the Muses, to the end their deedes might be well written, and worthily registred; deeming it a divine favor, and vnusuall grace, that noble actions might finde testimonies able to give them life and memorie. Thinke we that at every shot that hits vs, or at every dangerous attempt we runne into, to have a Clarke present to enrole it: And besides, it may be, that a hundred Clarkes shall write them, whose Commentaries shall not continue three daies, and shall never come to any bodies sight. We have but the thousandth part of ancient writings: It is Fortune, which according to hir 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 writen vpon every small trifle: It is requisite that a man have beene conqueror of an Empire, or of a Kingdome; a man must have obtained two and fiftie set battles, and ever with a lesser number, as *Caesar* was and did. Tenne thousand good-fellowes, and many great Captaines have died most valiantly and couragiously in pursute of hir, whose names have continued no longer then their wives and children lived:

—*quos fama obscura recondit.* Verg. Aen. l. 5. 292.  
Whom fame obscure before  
Layes vp in vnknowne store.

Even of those, whom we see to doe excellently well, if they h [...]ve but once continued so three months, or so many yeares, there is no more speech of them, then if they had never bin. Whosoever shall in due measure proportion, and impartially consider, of what kinde of people, and of what deedes the glory is kept in the memorie of bookes, 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 seene to surviue their owne reputation, who even in their presence have seene the honor and glorie, which in their young daies, they had right-justly purchased, to be cleane extinguished? *And doe we for three yeares of this fantastick and imaginarie life, loose and foregoe our right and essentiall life, and engage our selves in a perpetuall death?* The wiser sorte propose aright-fairer, and much more just end vnto themselves, to so vrgent and weightie an enterprise. *Rectè facti, fecisse merces est: Officijfructus, ipsum [...]ssicium est. The reward Senec. epist. 81. of wel doing, is the doing, & the fruit of our duty, is our dutie.* It might peradventure be excusable in a Painter, or other artificer, or also in a Rethoritian, or Gramarian, by his labours to endeavor to purchase a name: But the a [...]tions of vertue are of themselves too-too-noble, to seeke any other reward, then by their owne worth and merit, and especially to seeke it in the vanitie [356]of mans judgement. If this false-fond opinion doe notwithstanding serve and stead a common wealth to holde men in their dutie: If the people be thereby stirred vp to vertue: If Princes be any way touched, to see the world blesse and commend the memorie of *Trai [...]*n, and detest the remembrance of *Nero*: If that doth moove them, to see the name of that arch-villa ne, heretofore so dreadfull and so much redoubted of all, so boldly cursed, and so freely outraged, by the [...]rst scholer that vndertakes him. Let it hardly be increased, and let vs (as much as in vs li [...]th) still foster the same amongst our selves. And *Plato* employing all meanes to make his Citizens vertuous, doth also perswade them, not to contemne the peoples good estimation. And saith, that through some divine inspiration it commeth to passe, that even the wicked know often,

as well by word, as by opinion, how to distinguish justly the good from the bad. This man, together with his master, are woonderfull and bolde workemen, to joyne divine operations and revelations, wheresoever humane force faileth And therefore did peradventure *Timon* (deeming thereby to wrong him) surname him the great forget of miracles. *Vt tragici poetae confugiunt ad Deum, cùm explicare argumenti exitum* Cic [...]. Nat D [...].r. lib. 1. *non p [...]*ssunt. As Poets that write Tragedies have recourse to some God, when they cannot vnfold the end of their argument. Since men by reason of their insufficiencie cannot well pay themselves with good lawfull coyne, let them also employ false mony. This meane hath beene practised by all the law-givers: And there is no common-wealth where there is not some mixture either of ceremonious vanitie or of false opinion, which as a restraint serveth to keepe 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 credite vnto adulterate and vnlawful religions, and hath induced men of vnderstanding to favour and countenance them. And therefore did *Numa* and *Sertorius*, to make their men have a beter beliefe, feede them with this foppery; the one, that the Nymph *Egeria*, the other that his white Hinde, brought him all the counsel she tooke from the Gods. And the same authoritie, which *Numa* gave his Lawes vnder the title of this Goddesses patronage, *Zoroastres* Law giver to the Bactrians and Persians, gave it to his, vnder the name of the God *Orom* [...].*zis: Trismegistus* of the Aegyptians, of *Mercurie: Zamolzis* of the Scythians, of *Vesta: Charondas* of the Chalcid onians, of *Saturne: Minos* of the Candiot, of *Iupiter: 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 *Moses* instituted for the people of *Iewry* descended from *Aegypt*. The Bedoins religion (as saith the Lord of *Iovinuile*) held among other things that his soule which among them al 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 live for his sake.

In ferrum mens pronavir [...], animaque capaces Luca. 1. 1. 461.  
 Mortis: & ignavum est rediturae parcerevitae.  
 Those men sword▪ minded, can death entertaine,  
 Thinke base to spare the life that turnes againe.

Loe-heere, although very vaine, a most needefull doctrine, and profitable beliefe. Everie Nation hath store of such examples in itselfe. But this subject would require a severall discourse. Yet to say a word more concerning my former purpose: I doe not counsell Ladies any longer to call their duty, honour: *vt enim consuetudo loquitur, id solum dicitur honestum, quod* Cit. fin. 1. 2. *est populari famâ gloriosum: For as custome speakes, that onely is called honest which is glorious by popular report.* Their duty is the marke; their honour but the barke of it. Nor doe I perswade them to give vs this excuse of their refusall, in payment; for I suppose, their intentions, their desire, and their will, which are parts wherein honor can see nothing forasmuch as nothing appeareth outwardly there, are vet more ordred then the effects.

Quae, quia non liceat, non facit, illa facit. Ovid. Am. 1. 3. el. 4. 4.  
 She doth it, though she doe it not,  
 Because she may not doe't (God wot.)

The offence both toward God, and in conscience, would be as great to desire it, as to effect the same. Besides, they are in themselves actions secret and hid; it might easily be, they would steale some one from others knowledge, whence honor dependeth, had they no other respect to their duty, and affection, which they beare vnto chastity, in regard of it selfe. *Each honorable person chuseth rather to loose his honour, then to forgoe his conscience.*

[357]

## The seuenteenth Chapter. Of Presumption. ↩

There is another kinde of glorie, which is an over-good opinion we conceive of our worth. It is an inconsiderate affection, wherewith wee cherish our selves, which presents-vs vnto our selves other then wee are. As an amorous passion addeth beauties, and lendeth graces to the subject it embraceth, and maketh such as are therewith possessed, with a troubled conceite, and distracted Iudgement, to deeme what they love, and finde what they affect, to bee other, and seeme more perfect, then in trueth it is. Yet would I not have a man, for feare of offending in that point, to misacknowledge himselfe, nor thinke to bee lesse then hee is: A true Iudgement should wholly and in every respect maintaine his right. It is reason, that as in other things, so in this subject hee see what truth presenteh vnto him. If hee be *Caesar*, let him hardly deeme himselfe the greatest Captaine of the world. We are nought but ceremonie; ceremonie doth transport vs, and wee 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 feare to doe. Wee dare not call our members by their proper names, and feare not to employ them in all kinde of dissolutenesse. Ceremonie forbids vs by words to expresse lawfull and naturall things; and we believe it. Reason willeth vs to doe no bad or vnlawfull things, and no man giveth credite vnto it. Heare I find 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 witnessse what they are; but those whom she never emploied, 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 *Lucilius*:

Ille velut fidis arcana sodalibus olim Hor. s [...]r. l. 2. sat. 1. 30.  
 Credebat libris, neque si malè: cesser at vsquam  
 Decurre [...]s ali [...], neque si benè: quo fit, vt omnis  
 Votivâ pateat veluti descripta tabellâ  
 Vita s [...]nis.—  
 He trusted to his booke, as to his trusty friend  
 His secrets, nor did he 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 and imaginations to his paper and as he felt, so he pourtraiedC [...]r [...]. Tacit. vi [...] I [...]. Agri [...]. himselfe. *Nec id Rutili [...] & Scauro citra fidem, aut ob [...]rectationifuit. Nor was that without credit, or any imputation to Rutilius 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 certaine vaine and foolish fiercenesse. This I will first say of it, that it is not inconvenient to have conditions so peculiar, and propensions so incorporated in vs, that we have no meane to feele, or way to know them. And of such naturall inclinations, vnknowne to vs, and without our consent, the body doth easily 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 *Alcibiades*, his speach somewhat effeminate and lispig: *Iulius Caesar* was wont to scrath his head with one finger, which is the countenance of a man surcharged with painefull imaginations: And *Cicero* (as I remember) had gotten a custome to wrythe his Nose▪ which signifieth a naturall scoffer. Such motions may vnawares and imperceptibly [358]possesse-vs. Others there be which are artificiall, whereof I will not speake. As salutations, reverences, or conges, 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 giue them as good and as many as they bring, except he be some servant of mine. I wish that some Princes whom I know, would be more sparing, and impartial dispencers of them; for, being so indiscreetly 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 sterne looke of *Constantius* the Emperour, who in publike held ever his head bolt-vpright, without turning or bending the same on any side, no not so much as to looke on them that saluted him sideling, holding his body so fixt and vnmooveable, that let his Coche shake never so much, he kept still vp-right: he durst never spit nor wipe his Nose, nor dry his face before the people. I wot not whether those gestures, 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 answer 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 esteeme himselfe overmuch, the other, not sufficiently to esteeme of others. For the one, first me thinkes, these considerations ought somewhat to be accompted of. I feele my selfe surcharged with one errour of the minde, which both as bad, and much more as importunate, I vtterly dislike. I endeavour to correct it; but I cannot displace it. It is, because I abate the just value of those things, which I possesse; and enhance the worth of things, by how much they are more strange, absent and not mine owne. This humour extends it selfe very farre, as doth the prerogative of the authority, wherewith husbands looke vpon their owne wives with a vicious disdame, and many fathers vpon their children: So doe I, and betweene two like workes would I ever weigh against mine. Not so much that the jealousie of my preferment, and amendment troubleth my judgement, and hindereth me from pleasing my selfe, as that mastery hirselle begets a contempt of that which a man possesseth and oweth. Policies, far customes and tongues flatter me; and I perceive the Latine tongue by the favour of hir dignity to deceive me, beyond what belongs vnto hir, as children and the vulgar sort. My neighbours oeconomie; his house, and his horse, though but 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 assurance, and wonder at the promise, that every man hath of himselfe: whereas there is almost nothing, that I wot I know, nor that I dare warrant my selfe to be able to doe. I have not my faculties in proposition, or by estate, and am not instructed in them but after the effect: As doubtfull of mine owne strength, as vncertaine of anothers force. Whence it followeth, if commendably I chance vpon any one piece of worke, I rather impute it to my fortune, then ascribe it to mine industry; forasmuch as I desseigne 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 grose, those which I most willingly embrace, and whereon I take most hold, are such as most vilifie, contemne, and annihilate vs. Me thinkes Philosophy hath never better cardes to Shew, then when she checketh our presumption, and crosseth our vanity; when in good sooth she acknowledgeth hir irresolution, hir weakenesse and hir ignorance. Me seemeth the over good conceit, and selfe-weening opinion man hath of himselfe, is the Nurce-mother of the falsest opinions, both publike and particular. Those which a cocke-horse will pearch themselves vpon the *Epicicle of Mercury*, and see so farre into heaven, they even pull out my teeth. For in the study which I professe, the subject whereof is Man, finding so extreame a variety of judgements, so inextricable a laberinth of difficulties one vpon the necke of another, so great diversity, and so much vncertainty, yea even in the schoole 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 mooveth, which themselves cause to moove, nor how to set forth the springs, and descipher the wards, which themselves hold and handle, how should I thinke of the true cause of the flux and reflux of the river *Nilus*? The curiosity to know things hath beene given to men (as saith the holy Scripture) for a scourge. But to



come to my particular, it is very hard (mee seemeth) that some other regardeth himselfe [359]lesse, yea and some other esteemeth me lesse then I esteeme my selfe. I accompt my selfe of the comon sort except in that I deeme myselfe guiltie of the basest, and culpable of the most popular defects: but not disavowed nor excused. And I only prise my selfe, wherein I know my worth. If any glory be in me, it is but superficially infused into me; by the treason of my complexion: and hath no solide body appearing to the sight of my judgement. I am but sprinckled over, but not throughly dyed. For in trueth, touching the effects of the spirite, in what manner soever, there never came any thing from me, that contented me. And others approbation is no currant payment for me. My judgement is tender and hard especially in mine owne behalfe. I feele my selfe to waver and bend through weakenesse: I have nothing of mine owne to satisfie my judgement. My sight is indifferently cleare and regular; but if I take any serious worke in hand, it is trobled, and dimmed: as I perceive most evidently in Poesie: I love it exceedingly: I have some insight or knowledge in other mens Labours, but in trueth I play the Novice when I set my hand vnto it: Then can I not abide my selfe. A man may play the foole every where else, but not in Poesie.

—*mediocribus esse poetis* Hor. art. Poet. 372.  
 Non dij, non homines, non concessere columnae.  
 Nor Gods, nor men, nor pillers gave the graunt,  
 That Poets in a meane, should meanely chaunt.

I would to God this sentence were found in the front of our Printers or Stacioners shops, to hinder the entrance of so many bald-rimers.

—*verum* Mart. lib. 12. epig. 64.  
 Nil securius est malò Poeta.  
 Nothing securer may be had,  
 Then is a Poet bolde and bad.

Why have we no such people? *Dionisius* the father esteemed nothing in himselfe so much as his poesie. In the times of the Olimpikie games, with chariots exceeding all other in magnificence, he also sent Poets and Musitians to present his verses, with tents and pavilions gilt and most sumtuously tapistred. When they first beganne to reherse them, the favour and excellencie of the pronuntiation did greatly allure the peoples attention: but when they beganne to consider the fondnesse of the composition, they fell as soone to contemne them: and being more and more exasperated fell furiously into an vprore, and headlong ranne in most spitefull maner to teare and cast downe all his pavillions. And forasmuch as his rich chariets did no good at all in their course, and the ship which carried his men, returning homeward missed the shore of *Sicilie*, and was by violent stormes driven and spilt vpon the coast of *Tarentum*, they certainly believed, the wrath of the Gods to have beene the cause of it, as being greatly offended, both against him, and his vile and wicked Poeme: yea and the Mariners themselves that escaped the shipwracke did much second the peoples opinion: to which the Oracle that foretold his death seemed in some sorte to subscribe: which implied, that *Dionisius* 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 often temper and avoyde the victory. But he mis-vnderstoode 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 caused in contention of them, his Tragedie, entitled the *Lenetens*, to be publicly acted. After which vsurped victorie, he presently deceased: And partly through the excessive joy, hee thereby conceived. What I finde excusable in mine, is not of itselfe, and according to truth: but in comparison of other compositions, worse than mine, to which I see some credite given. I envie the good happe of those, which can applaude

and gratifie themselves by their owne labours; for it is an easie matter for one to please himselfe, since he drawes his pleasure from him selfe: Especially if one bee somewhat constant in his owne wilfulnesse. I knowe a Poetaster, gainst whom both weake and strong, in company and at home, both heaven and earth, affirme and say, he hath no skill or judgement in Poesie, who for all that is nothing dismaied, nor will not abate one jote of that mesure whereunto he hath fitted himselfe; but is ever beginning againe, ever consulting anew, and alwayes persisting; by so much the more fixed in [359]his opinion, by how much the more it concerneth him alone, and he onely is to maintaine it. My compositions are so farre from applauding mee, that as many times as I looke them over, so often am I vexed at them.

Cùm relego, scripfisse pudet, quia plurima cerno, Ovid. Pont. lib. 1. [...]. 6. 15.  
Me quoque qui feci, iudice digna lini.  
When I re-reade, 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 presents me with a better forme, then that I have already framed, but I can neither lay hold 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 mindes of former ages, are farre beyond the extreame extention of my wish and imagination. Their compositions doe not onely satisfie and fill me, but they astonish and wrap me into admiration. I judge of their beauty, I see it, if not to the end, at least so far as it is imposible for me to aspire vnto it. Whatsoever I vndertake (as *Plutarke* saith of one) I owe a sacrifice to the Graces, hoping thereby to gaine their favour.

— *si quid enim placet,*  
Siquid dulce hominum, sensibus influit,  
Debentur lepidis omnia gratijs.  
If ought doe please, if any sweet  
The sense of men with pleasures greet,  
To thanke the Graces it is meet.

They altogether forsake mee: What I doe, it is but bunglingly, and wants both polishing and beauty. 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 holdfast, and shining of it selfe. If I chance to seize on any popular and more gay, it is to follow me, who love not a ceremonious prudence and gloomy wisdom, as doth the world; and to glad my selfe, not my stile, who would rather have it grave and severe: If at least I may call that a [...]ile, which is a formelesse and abrupt speech. A popular gibberish, and a proceeding without definition, without partition, and sense conclusion, troubled as that of *Amafanius*, and *Rabirius*. I can neither please, nor glad, nor tickle. The best tale in the world comming into my hands, becomes withered 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 talk, to amuse a Princes eares with all maner of discourses and never to be weary, and never to want matter, by reason of the graces they have in applying their first approaches, and fitting them to the humour and capacity of those they have to doe withall. Princes loue 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 vse of them. I am an ill Orator to the common sort. I speake the vtmost I know of all matters. *Cicero* thinkes, in discourses of Philosophy, the exordium to be the hardest part: If it be so, I wisely lay hold on the conclusion. Yet should a man know how to tune his strings to all aires: And the sharpest comes ever last in play. There is at last as much perfection in raising vp an empty, as to vphold a waighty thing: A man must sometimes handle matters but superficially, and at other times dive into them. I wot well that most men keepe themselves

on this low stage, because they conceive not of things but by the outward shew. I also know, that the greatest Clarkes, yea *Xenophon* and *Plato*, are often seene to yeelde to this low and popular fashion, in speaking of matters, vpholding it with those graces, which they never want. As for the rest, my language hath neither facility nor fluency in it, but is harsh and sharpe, having free and vnsinnowy dispositions. And so it liketh mee, 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 arte and affectation, I fall into it another way.

—*breuis esse laboro*, Hor. art. P [...]s. 25.

Obscurus fio.—

To be short labor I?

I darker grow thereby.

*Plato* saith, that either long or short, are not properties, that either diminish or give price [361]vnto speech. If I should vndertake to follow this other smoothe, even and regular stile, I should never attaine vnto it. And although the cadences, and breakings of *Salust* doe best agree with my humour, yet doe I finde *Caesar* both greater, and lesse easie to bee represented. And if my inclination doth rather carrie mee to the imitation of *Senecaes* stile, I omit not to esteeme *Plutarke* much more. As well in silence as in speech, I am simply my naturall forme, whence happily ensueth, that I am more in speaking than in writing. The motions and actions of the body, give life vnto words, namely in them that move roundly and without affectation, as I doe, and that will be earnest. Behaviour, the face, the voice, the gowne, and the place, may somewhat endear those things, which in themselves are but meane, as prating. *Messala* complaineth in *Tacitus* of certaine strait garments vsed 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 pronuntiation, and else-where by the barbarisme of my cuntry. I never saw man of these hither-countries, that did not evidently taste of his home-speech, and who often did not wound those eares, that are purely French. Yet is it not because I am so cunning in my *Perigordin*: For I haue no more vse of it, than of the Dutch, nor doe I greatly care. It is a language (as are many others round about me) like to that of *Poitou*, *Xaintogne*, *Angoulesme*, *Limosin*, and *Auergne*, squattering, dragling, and filthie. There is about vs, toward the mountaines a Gascoine tongue, which I much commend and like, sinnowie, pithie, short, significant, and in truth man-like and militarie, more than any other I vnderstand. As compendious powerfull, and pertinent as the French is gracious, delicate, and copious. As for the Latine, 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 vse of it in speech, and scarsely in writing, in which I have heerctofore beene so ready, that I was called a master in it. Loe heere my little sufficiencie in that behalfe. *Beauty is a part of great commendation in the commerce and societie of men*. It is the chiefe meane of reconciliation betweene one and other. Nor is there any man so barbarous, and so hardhearted, that in some sort feeleth not himselfe strucken with her sweetnesse. The body hath a great part in our being, and therein keepes a speciall ranke: For, his structure and composition are worthy due consideration. Such as goe about to sunder our two principall parts, and separate them one from another, are much to blame: They ought rather to be coupled and joined fast together. The soule must be enjoined not to retire her selfe to her quarter, nor to entertaine her selfe apart, nor to despise and leave the bodie (which she cannot well doe, except it beby some counterfaieted apish tricke) but ought to combine and cling fast vnto him, to embrace, to cherish, assist, correct, perswade and advise him, and if he chance to swarve or stray, then to leade and direct him: In fine, she should wed and serve him in stead of a husband, that so their effects may not seeme contrary and divers, but agreeing and vniforme. Christians have a particular instruction concerning this bond, for they know that Gods justice alloweth this societie, and embraceth this conjunction of the body and soule, yea so farre as to make the body capable of euerlasting

rewards. And that God beholds the whole man to worke, and will have him entirely to receive either the punishment, or the recompense, according to his demerits. The Peripatetike Sect (of all Sects the most sociable) attributeth this onely care vnto wisdom, in common to procure and provide, the good of these two associated parts: And declareth other Sects to have partialized overmuch, because they had given themselves to the full consideration of this commixture; this one for the bodie, 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 beene amongst men, and the first consideration, that gave preheminences to some over others, it is very likely it was the advantage of beautie.

—*agros divisere atque dedere* Lucr. l. 5. 11. 20.  
 Pro facie cuiusque & viribus ingenióque:  
 Nam facies multum valuit, virésque vigebant.  
 They lands divided 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 stature somewhat vnder the meane. This default hath not only vncomlinesse in [362]it, but also incommoditie: Yea even in those which have charge and commandement over others; For, the authoritie which a faire presence and corporall majestie endoweth a man withall is wanting. *Caius Marius* did not willingly admit any Souldiers in his bands, that were not six foot high. The Courtier hath reason to require an ordinarie stature in the Gentleman he frameth, rather, than any other; and to avoid all strangenesse that may make him to be pointed-at; But if he misse of this mediocritie, to chuse that he rather offend in lownes, then in tallnes. I would not doe it in a militarie man. Little men (saith *Aristotle*) are indeede pretie, but not beauteous, nor goodly: and in greatnes, is a great soule knowne as is beautie in a great and high body. The Ethiopians and Indians (saith 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 breedeth an awfull respect in those that follow him, and a kind of feare in his enimes, to see a goodly, tall and handsome man march as Chiefe and Generall in the head of an armie, or front of a troupe:

*Ipsè inter primos præstanti corpore Turnus* Virg. Aen li. 7. 725.  
 Vertitur, armatenens, & toto vertice suprâ est.  
 Turnus, 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 formâ præ filijs hominum. In favor beautifull above the sonnes of men.* And *Plato* wisheth *Psal. 45. 3.* beautie to be joynd vnto temperance and fortitude in the preservers of his Commonwealth. Is it not a great spite, if being amongst your owne servants, a stranger commeth to your selfe to aske you where your Lord or Maister 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 *Philopaemen*, who having left his companie behind, and comming alone into a house where he was expresly looked-for, his hostesse who knew him not, and saw him to be so il-favored a fellow, employed him to helpe her maides to drawe water, and to mend the fire for the service of *Philopaemen*. The Gentlemen of his traine being come and finding him so busily at worke (for he failed not to fulfill his hostesses commandement) enquired of him what he did, who answered, *I pay the penaltie of my vnhandsomnesse.* Other beauties are for women. The beautie of a handsome comely tallnesse is the only beautie of men. Where lownesse and littlenesse is, neither the largenesse or rouddnesse of a forehead,

nor the whitenesse or lovelinesse of the eyes, nor the prettie fashion of a nose, nor the slendernesse of the eare, littlenesse of the mouth, order and whitenesse of teeth, smooth thicknesse of a beard, browne like a chesse-nut, well-curved and vpstanding haire, just proportion of the head, freshnesse of collour, the cheerful aspect of a pleasing face, the sweet-smelling of a body, nor the well decorated composition of all limmes, can make a handsome beautious man. As for me, I am of a strong and well compacted stature, my face is not fat, but full, my complexion betweene joviall and melancholy, indifferently sanguine and hote.

Unde rigens setis mihi crura, & pector a villis: [...]a [...]t. li. 6. epig. 56. 1.  
Where by my legs and brest,  
With rough haire are opprest.

My health is blithe and lustie, though well-strooken in age, seldome troubled with diseases: Such I was, for I am now engaged in the aproches of age, having long since past-over fortie yeares.

—*minutatim vires & robur adultum* Luer. 1. 2. I 140.  
Frangit, & in partem peiorem liquitur aetas.  
By little and a little age break's strength,  
To worse and worse declining melt's at length.

What hereafter I shall be, will be but halfe a being. I shall be no more my selfe. I daily escape, and still steale my selfe from my selfe:

Singula de nobis anni praedantur cuntes. Hor. li. 2. epist. 2. 55.  
Yeares as they passe away,  
Of all our things make pray.

Of addressing, dexteritie, and disposition, I never had any, yet am I the sonne of a well disposed father, and of so blithe and mery a disposition, that it continued with him even to his [363]extreamest age. He seldome 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-gon me, except it were in running, wherein I was of the middle sort. As for musicke, were it either in voice, which I have most harsh, and very vnapt, or in instruments, I could never be taught any part of it. As for dancing, playing at tennis, or wrestling; I could never attaine to any indifferent sufficiencie; but none at all in swimming, in fencing in vaulting, or in leaping. My hands are so stiffe and nummie, that I can hardly write for my selfe, so that what I have once scribled, I had rather frame it a new, than take the paines to correct it; and I reade but little better. I perceiue how the audiorie censureth me: Otherwise I am no bad clarke. I cannot very well close vp a letter; nor could I ever make a pen. I was never good carver at the table. I could never make readie nor arme a Horse: Nor handsomely arry a Hawke vpon my fist, nor cast her off or let her flie, 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 my minde, wherein is nothing lively; but onely a compleate and constant vigor. I endure labour and paine, yet not very well, vnlesse I carry my selfe vnto it, and no longer than my desire leadeth and directeth me.

Molliter austerum studio fallente laborem. Ser. lib. 2. sa. 2. 12.  
While earnestnesse for sport or gaine,  
Sweetly deceiv's the sowrest paine.

Otherwise, if by any pleasure I be not allured, & if I have other direction, than my genuine and free will, I am nothing worth, and I can never fadgewell: For I am at such a stay, that except for health and life, there is nothing I will take the paines to fret my selfe about, or will purchase at so high a rate, as to trouble my wits for it, or be constrained thereunto.

—*Tanti mihi non sit opaci Iurem sat.* 3. 54 [...]  
Omnis arena Tagi, quóddque in mare voluitur aurum:  
So much I weigh not shadowed *Tagui* sande,  
Nor gold that roules 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 humor. And to this day never had nor commanding nor forced maister. I have gon as farre, and kept what pace pleased me best. Which hath enfeobled and made me vnprofitable to serve others, and made me fit and apt but onely for my selfe. And as for me, no man euer needed to force this heavie, lither, and idle nature of mine: For, having even from my birth found my selfe 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 plancke to passe over to search, to agitation, and to vnquietnes. (And as I have sought for nothing, so have I taken nothing.

Non agimur tumidis ventis Aquilone secundo, H [...]r. lib. 2. epist. 2. 201  
Non tamen adversis aetatem ducimus austris:  
Viribus, ingenio, specie, virtute, loco, re,  
Extremi primorum, extremis vsque priores.  
With full sailes, prosp'rous winde, we doe not drive,  
Nor yet with winde full in our teeth doe live.  
In strength, in wit, in vertue, shape, goods, place,  
Last of the first, before the last we pace.

I have had no neede but of sufficiency to content my selfe: Which being well taken is ever a regiment for the minde, equally difficult in all sortes of condition; and which by vse, we see more easily found in want, than in plenty; peradventure, because that according to the course of our other passions, the greedinesse of riches is more sharpned by their vses 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 quietlie, which God of his bountie had bestowed vpon me. I have tasted no kinde of tedious trouble. I have seldome mannaged other than mine owne businesse: Or if I have, it hath been vpon condition, I might do it at my leisure, and according to my will; committed vnto me, by such as trusted me, and knew me well, and would not importune me; For, the skilfull rider, will reape some service of a restie and windbroken jade. My very Childe-hood hath beene directed by a soft, milde, gentle and free fashion [364]and ever exempted from rigorous subjection. All which hath endowed me with a delicate kinde of complexion, and made me incapable of any care: So that I love, men should conceale my lostes from me, & the disorders which concerne me. In the Chapter of my charges and expences, I have set downe what my negligence or carelesnesse costs me, both to feed and entertaine my selfe.

—*bec nempe super suut,* [...]or. lib. 1. epist. 6. 45.  
Quae dominum fallunt, quae prosint furibus.  
This remnant of accoumpts I have,  
Which may deceive Lords, help a Knave.

I love not to know an accompt of what I have, that I may lesse exactly feele my losses: I desire those that live with mee, where they want affection, or good effects, to cozen and pay me with good apparances. For want of sufficient constancy to endure the importunity of

contrary or crosse accidents, whereunto we are subject; and because I cannot alwaies keepe my selfe prepared to governe and order my affaires, as much as I am able, I [...]oster this opinion in me, relying wholly vpon fortune, and ready to take every thing at the worst, and resolve to beare that worst, mildely and patiently. About that onely doe I busie my selfe, and to that end doe I direct all my discourses. In any dangerous matter, I care not so much how I may avoide it, and how little it importeth whether I avoide it or no; And what were it if I would continue in it? Being vnable to direct events, I governe my selfe; and if they apply not themselves to me, I apply my selfe to them: I have no great arte to shunne fortune, and how to scape or force it, and with wisdom to addresse matters to my liking: I have also lesse sufferance to endure the sharpe and painefull care, which belongeth to that. And the most toilesome state for me, is to be doubtfull in matters of weight, and agitated betweene feare & hope. To deliberate, be it but in slight matters, doth importune me. And I feele my spirit more perplexed to suffer the motions of doubt, and shakings of consultation, than to be settled and resolved about any accident whatsoever, after the chauce is once cast. Fewe passions have troubled my sleepe; but of deliberations the least doth trouble it. Even as of high-waies, I willingly seeke to avoyde the downe-hanging, and slipperi [...], and take the beaten-path, though myrie, and deepe, so I may go no lower, and there seeke I safety: So love I pure mishapes, and which exercise and turmoile me no more, after the vncertaintie of their mending: And which euen at the first cast, drive me directly into sufferance.

—*dubia plus torquent mala*. S [...]n. Agam. act. 3. sc. 1. 29.  
 Evils yet in suspence,  
 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 worse reckoning of his passion, than the poore; and the jealous man, than the cuckold. And it is often lesse harme for one to loose his farme, than pleade and wrangle for it: *The slowest march, is the safest*. It is the seate of constancie. Therein you have no need but of your selfe. There she takes her footing and wholly resteth vpon her selfe. This example of a Gentleman, whom many have knowen, hath it not some Philosophicall shew? 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 needes be married. Remembring himselfe how much the subject of cuckoldry had given him cause to speake, and scoffe at others; to put himselfe vnder covert-baron, he tooke him a wife from out that place, where all men may have them for mony, and with her made his aliance: Good morrow Whoore, Good morrow Cuckold. And there is nothing wherewith he oftner and more openly entertained such as came vnto him, than with this tale; Whereby he brideled the secret pratlings of mockers, and blunted the point of this reproch. Concerning ambition, which is next neighbour or rather daughter to presumption, it had beene needefull (to advance me) that fortune had come to take me by the hand: For to put my selfe into any care for an vncertaine hope, and to submit my selfe to all difficulties, waiting on such as seeke to thrust themselves into credite and reputation, in the beginning of their progresse, I could never have done it.

—*Spem pretio non emo*, Ter. Adel. act. 2 se. 2.  
 Expench of present pay  
 For hope, I do not lay.

[365]

I fasten my selfe on that which I see and hold and go not far from the shore:

Alter remi [...]s aquas, alter tibi radat arenas. Throp. lib. 3. ele 2. 23.  
Keepe water with one Oare,  
With th'other grate the shore.

Besides, a man seldome comes to these preferments, but in hazarding first his own: And I am of opinion, if that which a man hath, suffizeth to maintaine the condition, wherein he was borne and brought vp, it is folly to let it go, vpon the vncertainety of encreasing the same. He to whom fortune refuseth meanes to settle his estate, and establish a quiet and reposed being, is excusable if he cast what he hath at hazard, since thus as well as thus, necessitie sends him to shift and search out.

Capienda rebus in malis preceps via est. Sen. Agam. act. 2. Sc. 1. 47.  
A headlong course is best,  
When mischiefes are address.

And I rather excuse a yonger brother, to make sale of his inheritance, than him, who hath the honor of his house in charge, who cannot fall into wants but through his default: I have by the counsell of my good friendes of former times, found the way shorter and easier to rid my selfe of this desire and keepe my selfe husht:

Cut sit conditio dulcis, sine pulvere palmae. Hor. lib. 1. Epist 1. 51.  
Who like it wel [...] to beare the prise.  
But take no toile in any wise.

Iudging also rightly of my forces `that they were not capable of great matters: And remembering the saying of Lord *Oliver* whilome-Chaunceler of *France*, who said, that *French-men might be compared to Apes, who climbing vp a tree, never cease skipping from bough to bough, till they come to the highest, where they shew their bare tailles.*

Turpe est quòd nequeat capiti committere pondui, Prop. lib. 3. cle. 8. 5.  
Et pressum in [...]xo mox daret erga genu.  
T' is shame, more than it can well beare, on head to packe,  
And thereby soone oppresst with bended knee flie backe.

Such qualities as are now in me voide of reproch, in that age I deemed vnprofitable. The facilitie of my maners had beene named faintnes and weaknesse; faith and conscience would have beene thought scrupulous and superstitious: liberty and freedome, importunate, inconsiderate and rath. Misfortune serveth to some purpose. It is not amisse to bee borne in a much depraved age: for in comparison of others, you are judged vertuous, very cheape. *In our dayes, he that is but a particide, or a sacrilegious person, is a man of [...]onesty and honor.*

Nunc si depositum non inficiatur amicus,  
Sireddat veterem cum tot [...]aerugine follem,  
Prodigosafides, & Thuscis digna libellis, Inven. Sat. 13. 60.  
Quaeque coronatâ lustrari debeat agnâ.  
If now a friend deny not what was laide in trust,  
If wholly hee restore th' old bellows with their rust:  
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 assured and great reward was proposed vnto Princes for goodnesse and iustice.* The first that shall bee advised, by these meanes to thrust himselfe into favour and credit, I am much deceived if in part of payment, he get not the start of his fellowes. Force and violence can doe very much; but never all. Weesee Merchants, countrey-Iustices, and Artificers to march cheeke by joll with our Nobilitie, in



valour, and military discipline. They performe honourable combates, both publike and private. They batter and defend Townes and Cities in our present warres. A Prince smothereth his commendation amid this throng. *Let him shine over others with humanitie, with truth, loyaltie, temperance, and above all with iustice; markes now adaies rare, vnknown 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. *Nihil est tam populare quam bonitas. Nothing is so popular as goodnesse is.* By this proportion I had bene a rare great man: As by that of certaine ages past, I am now a pigmy and popular man; In which it was common, if stronger qualities did not concurre withall, *To see a [366] man temperate in his revenges, milde in revenging of offences, religious in keeping of his word; neither double, nor over tractable, nor applying his faith to others will, or to every occasion.* I would rather let all affaires goe to wrake, than breake my word for their availe. For, touching this new-found vertue of faining and dissimulation, which now is so much in credit, I hate it to the death: and of all vices, I finde none that so much witnesseth demissenesse and basenesse of heart. It is a coward and servile humour, for a man to disguise and hide himselfe vnder a maske, and not dare to shew himselfe as he is. Thereby our men addresse themselves to trecherie: *Being trained to vtter false words, they make no conscience to breake them.* A generous minde ought not to belie his thoughts, but make shew of his in most parts: There all is good, or at least all is humane. *Aristotle* thinks it *an office of magnanimitie to hate and love openly, to iudge and speake with all libertie; and never* (though the prise of truth goe on it) *to make esteeme either of the approbation or reprobation of others.* *Apollonius* said, *it was for seruants to lie, and for freemen to speake truth.* It is the cheefe and fundamentall part of vertue. Shee must be loved for her owne sake. *He that speaketh truth, because hee is bound to doe so, and for that hee serveth: and that feares not to tell a lie, when it little importeth another man, is not sufficiently true.* My mind of her owne complexion detesteth falshood, and hateth to think on it. I feele an inward bashfulnesse, and a stinging remorse, if at any time it scape me; as sometimes it doth, if vnpremeditated occasions surprise me. *A man must not alwaies say all he knowes,* for that were follie: *But what a man speakes ought to be agreeing to his thoughts,* otherwise it is impietie. I know not what benefit they expect, that ever faine, and so vncessantly dissemble; except it be not to bee beleaved, even when they speake truly. That may deceive men once or twice, but to make a profession to cary it away smoothly, and as some of our Princes have done, to boast, that if their shirt were privie to their secret and true cogitations, they would burne it: which was the saying of ancient *Metellus Macedonicus*; And that *he who cannot dissemble, cannot raigne,* serves but only to warne those who have to deale with them, that what they say is but vntruth and dissimulation. *Quo quis versutior & callidior est, hoc inuisior & suspectior, detract à opinione probitatis.* Cic. Off. lib. 1. *The finer-headed, and more subtle-brained a man is, the more is he hated and suspected, if once the opinion of honestly be taken from him.* It were great simplicity for a man to suffer himselfe to be misled either by the lookes or words of him, that outwardly professeth what he is not inwardly, as did *Tiberius*. And I know not what share such people may challenge in the commerce of men, never producing any thing, that may be taken for good paiment. *Hee who is disloyall to truth, is likewise false against lying.* Such as in our daies, in the establishing of a Princes dutie, have only considered the good and felicitie of his affaires, and preferred the same before the respect of his faith and conscience, would say something to a Prince, whose affaires fortune hath so disposed, that with once breaking and falsifying of his word, hee might for ever confirme and establish them. But it goeth otherwise. A man may more than once come to such a bargaine. A man during his life concludeth more than one peace or treatie. The commoditie or profit that enviteth them to the first disloyaltie (and daily some offer themselves, as to all other trecheries) sacrileges, murders, rebellions, treasons, are vndertaken for some kinde of profit. But this first gaine brings ever infinite losses and dangers with it: casting this Prince from-out all commerce and meanes of negotiation, by the example of this

[...]fidelitie. *Solyman* of the Ottomans race (a race little regarding the keeping of promises or performance of covenants) at what time hee caused his Armie to land at *Otranto* (I being then but a childe) having knowen that *Mercurin* of *Gratinara*, and the inhabitants of *Castro*, were detained prisoners, after the Towne was yeelded, contrary to that which by his Captaines had bene capitulated with them, hee sent word they should be released, and that having other weighty enterprises in hand in that countrey, such disloyaltie, although it had apparence of great and present benefit, yet in time to come it would bring a distrust and reproch of infinite prejudice. As for mee, *I had rather be importunate and indiscreet, than a flatterer and a dissembler*. I allow, a man may entermingle some point of fiercenesse and wilfulnesse, to keepe himselfe so entire and open as I am, without consideration of others. And mee seemeth I become a little more free, where I should be lesse, and that by the opposition of respect I grow earnest. It may also bee, that for want of Art I follow mine owne nature. Presenting to the greater sort the very same licence of speech and boldnesse of countenance, that I bring from my house: I perceive how much it inclineth towards indiscretion and incivilitie. But although I be so fashioned, my spirit is not sufficiently yeelding to avoid a sudden [367]question, or to scape it by some winding, nor to dissemble a truth, nor have I memorie able to continue it so fained, nor assurance sufficient to maintaine it; and I play the Braggard through feeblenesse. 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 successe thereof vnto fortune. *Aristippus* said, that the chiefest commoditie her reaped by Philosophie, was, that he spake freely and sincerely to all men: Memory is an instrument of great service, and without which, judgement will hardly discharge his duty, whereof I have great want. What a man will propose vnto me, he must doe it by peece-meales: For, to answer to a discourse that hath many heads, lieth not in my power. I cannot receive a charge, except I have my writing tables about me: and if I must remember a discourse of any consequence, be it of any length, I am driven to this vile and miserable necessitie, to learne every word I must speake, by rote; otherwise I should never doe it well or assuredly, for feare my memory should in my greatest need faile me; which is very hard vnto me, for I must have three houres to learne three verses. Moreover in any long discourse, the libertie or authoritie to remoove the order, to change a word, vncessantly altering the matter, makes it more difficult to bee confirmed in the authors memory. And the more I distrust it, the more it troubleth me. It serveth me better by chance, and I must carelesly sollicite her, for if I vrge her, she is astonished; and if it once beginne to waver, the more I sound her, the more entangled and intricate shee proveth. She will wait vpon me when she list, not when I please. And what I feele in my memorie, I feele in many other parts of mine. I eschew commandement, duty, and compulsion. What I doe easily and naturally, if I resolve to doe it by expresse and prescribed appointment, I can then doe it no more. Even in my body, those parts, that have some liberty, and more particular jurisdiction, doe sometimes refuse to obey me, if at any time I appoint and enioine them to doe me some necessary services. This forced and tyrannicall preordinance doth reject them, and they either for spight or feare shrinke and are quailed. Being once in a place, where it is reputed a barbarous discourtesie not to pledge those that drinke to you, where although I were vsed with all liberty, in favour of certaine Ladies that were in companie, according to the fashion of the countrey, I would needs play the good fellow. But it made vs all mery; for the threats and preparation, that I should force my selfe beyond my naturall custome, did in such sort stop, and stuffe my throat, that I was not able to swallow one drop, and was barr'd of drinking all the repast. I found my selfe glutted and full of drinke by the overmuch swilling that my imagination had fore-conceived. This effect is more apparant in those, whose imagination is more vehement and strong: yet it is naturall: and there is no man, but shall sometimes have a feeling of it. An excellent Archer being condemned to death, was offered to have his life saved, if he would but shew any notable triall of his profession, refused to make prooffe of it; fearing lest the contention of his will should make him to misse-direct his hand, and that in lieu of saving his life, hee might also lose the reputation he had

gotten in shooting in a bow. A man whose thoughts are busie about other matters, shall very neere within an inch keepe and alwaies hit one selfe same number and measure of paces, in a place where he walketh; but if heedily hee endeavour to measure and count them, he shall finde that what he did by nature and chance, he cannot doe it so exactly by desseigne. My Library (which for a countrey Library, 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 seeke or write in it, for feare I should forget it in crossing of my Court, I must desire some other body to remember the same for me. If speaking, I embolden my selfe never so little to digresse from my Discourse, I doe ever loose it; which makes mee to keepe my selfe in my speech, forced, neere and close. Those that serve me, I must ever call them, either by their office or countrey: for I finde it very hard to remember names. Well may I say, it hath three sillables, that it's sound is harsh, or that it beginneth or endeth with such a letter. And should I live long, I doubt not but I might forget mine own name, as some others have done heretofore. *Messala Corvinus* lived two yeeres without any memory at all, which is also reported of *George Trapezoncius*. And for mine owne interest, I doe often ruminare what manner of life theirs was, and whether wanting that part, I shall have sufficient to maintaine myselfe in any good sort: which looking neere vnto, I feare that this defect, if it be perfect, shall loose all the functions of my soule.

Plenus rimarum sum, hâc atque illâc perfluo. Ter. Eun. act. 1. scen. 2.  
**[368]** 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 houres before I had either given or received of another, and to forget where I had layed my purse; let *Cicero* say what he list. I helpe my selfe to loose, what I perticularly locke vp. *Memoria certè non modè Philosophiam, sed omnis vitae vsum, omnésque artes vna maximè continet. Assuredly memorie alone, of all other things compriseth not onely Philosophy, but the vse of our whole life, and all the sciences.* Memorie is the receptacle and case of knowledge. Mine being so weake, I have no great cause to complaine if I know but little. I know the names of Artes in Generall and what they treat of, but nothing further. I turne and tosse over bookes, but do not studie them; what of them remains in me, is a thing which I no longer acknowledge to be any bodies else. Onely by that hath my judgement profited: and the discourses and imaginations, wherewith it is instructed and trained vp. The Authours, the place, the words, and other circumstances, I sodainely forget: and am so excellent in forgetting, that as much as any thing else I forget mine owne writings and compositions. Yea, mine owne sayings are every hand-while alleaged against my selfe, when God wot I perceive it not. He that would know of me, whence or from whom the verses or examples, which here I have hudled vp are taken, should greatly put me to my shifts, & I could hardly tell it him. Yet have I not begged them, but at famous and very well knowen gates: which though they were rich in themselves, did never please me, vnlesse they also came from rich and honourable hands, and that authority concurre with reason. It is no great marvell, if my booke follow the fortune of other bookes; and my memory forgoe 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 much further my ignorance. My wit is dull and slow, the least cloud dimmeth it, so that (for example sake) I never proposed riddle vnto it (were it never so easie) that it was able to expound. There is no subtilty so vaine, but confounds me. In games, wherein wit may beare a part, as of chesse, of cards, of tables and others, I could never conceive but the common and plainest draughts. My apprehension is very sluggish and gloomy; but what it once holdeth, the same it keepeth fast: and for the time it keepes it, the same it embraceth generally, strictly and deeply. My sight is quicke, sound, perfect and farre-seeing, but easily wearied, if much charged or employed. By which occasion I can haue no great commerce with books, but by others service which reade vnto me. *Plime* the yoonger can instruct those

that have tri'd it, how much this fore slowing importeth those that give themselves to this occupation. There is no spirit so wretched or so brutish, wherein some particular facultie is not seene to shine; and none so low buried, but at one hole or other it will sally out sometimes. And how it commeth to passe, that a minde blinde and slumbering in all other things, is in some particular effects, lively, cleare and excellent, a man must inquire of cunning masters. But those are the faire spirits, which are vniversall, open, and ready to all, if not instructed, at least to be instructed. Which I alleage to accuse mine: For, be it either through weakenesse, or retchlessnesse (and to be carelesse of that which lieth at our feet, which we have in our hands, which nearest concerneth the vse of life, is a thing farre from my Dogma or Doctrine) there is none so simple or so ignorant as mine, in diuers such common matters, and of which without imputation or shame a man should neuer be ignorant; whereof I must needs tell some examples. I was borne and brought vp in the Countrey, and amidst husbandry: I have since my predecessours quit me the place and possession of the goods I enjoy, both businesse and husbandry in hand. I cannot yet cast account either with penne or Counters. There are diuers of our French Coines, I know not: nor can I distinguish of one graine from another, be it in the field or in the barne, vnlesse it be very apparant: nor do I scarcely know the difference betweene the Cabidge or Lettice in my Garden. I vnderstand not the names of the most vsuall tooles about husbandry, nor of the meanest principles of tillage, which most children know. I was never skilfull in Mechanicall arts, nor in Traffike or knowledge of Merchandize, nor in the diversity and nature of fruits, wines, or cates, nor can I make a Hawke, physick a Horse, 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 ignorant, whereto Leuen serued to make bread withall; or what it was to cunne Wine. The *Athenians* were anciently wont to thinke him very apt for the *Mathematikes*, that could cunningly [369]order or make vp a faggot of brusn-wood? Verily a man might draw a much contrarie conclusion from me: For let me have all that may belong to a Kitchin, yet shall I be ready to starve for hunger. By these partes of my confession, one may imagine diuers others, to my cost and detriment. But howsoever I make my selfe knowen, alwaies prouided it be as I am indeede, I have my purpose. And I excuse not my selfe, that I dare set downe in writing, so base and frivolous matters as these. The basenesse of the subject forceth me therevnto. Let who so list accuse my project, but not my progresse. So it is, that without being warned of others, I see very wel, how little this weigheth or is worth, and I perceive the fondnesse of my purpose. It is sufficient that my judgement is not dismayed or distracted, whereof these be the Essayes.

Nasutus sis vsque licet, sis denique nasut, Mart. l. 13. epig. 2. 1.

Quantum noluerit ferre rogatus Atlas:

Et possis ipsum tu deridere Latinum,

Non potes, in nugas dicere plura meas,

Ipse ego quàm dixi: quid dentem dente iuvabit

Rodere? carne opus est, si satur esse velis.

Ne perdas operam, qui se mirantur, in illos

Virus habe, nos haec novimus esse nihil.

Suppose you were long nos'd, suppose such nose you weare

As *Ailas*, if you should entreate him, would not beare,

That you in flouting old *Latinus* 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 selfe be set.

Loose not your paines; gainst them who on themselves are doting

Keepe you your sting: we know these thing of ours are nothing.

I am not bound to vtter no follies, so I be not deceived to knowe them: And wittingly to erre, is so ordinarie in me, that I erre not much otherwise; and seldome erre casually. It is a small matter to yeeld the fond actions vnto the rashnesse of my humours, since I cannot

warrant my self ordinarily to yeeld them the vicious. Being at *Barleduc*, I saw, for the commendation of *Renate* the King of *Sicilies* memory a picture which with his owne hands hee had made of himselfe, presented vnto our King *Francis* the second: why is it not as lawfull for every man else to pourtray himselfe with his pen, as it was for him to doe it with a pensell? I will not then forget this other blemish, vnfit to be seene of all. That is irresolution: a most incommodious defect in the negotiation of worldly affaires: I cannot resolve in matters admitting doubtfulnessse:

Ne si, ne nò, nel cuor misuona intiero. Petr Pa. 1. son. 138. 8.  
Nor yea, nor nay sounds clearely in my hart.

I can maintaine an opinion, but not make choise of it: For, in humane things, what side soever a man leaneth-on, many apparances present themselves vnto vs, which confirme vs in them: and *Chrysippus* the Philosopher was wont to say, that he would learne nothing else of his maisters *Zeno* and *Cleanthes*, but their doctrines simply: For, proofes and reasons he would finde enough of himselfe. Let me turne to what side I will, I ever finde sufficient matter, and likely-hoode to keepe my selfe vnto it. Thus keepe I doubt and libertie to my selfe, to chuse, vntill occasion vrge me, and then (to confesse the truth) as the common saying is, I cast my fether to the winde, and yeelde to fortunes mercie. A very light inclination, and a slender circumstance caries me away.

Dum in dubio est animus paulo momento huc atque illuc impellitur. Ter. And.  
act. 1 scen. 3.  
While mind is in suspence, with small a doe,  
T'ts hither, thither, driven fro and to.

The vncertaintie of my judgement, is in many occurrences so equally ballanced, as I would willingly compromise it to the deciding of chance and of the dice. And I note with great consideration of our humane imbecilitie, the examples, which the historie of God it selfe 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 vpon Mathias. Humane reason* Act. 1. 26 *is a two-edged dangerous sworde*; Even in *Socrates* his hand, her most inward and familiar [370]friend, marke what a many-ended staffe it is. So am I onely fit to follow, and am easily caried away by the throng. I do not greatly trust mine owne strength, to vndertake to command, or to leade. I rejoyce to see my steps traced by others. If I must runne the hazard of an vncertaine choise, I would rather have it be vnder such a one, who is more assured of his opinions, and more wedded to them, than I am of mine; the foundation and platforme of which I finde to be very slippery; yet am I not very easie to change, forsomuch as I perceiue a like weakenesse in contrarie opinions. *Ipsa consuetudo assentiendi periculosa esse videtur, & lubrica.* Ci [...]. Acad. qu. lib. 4. *The very custome of assenting seemeth hazerdous and slipperie*: Namely in politike affaires, wherein is a large field open to all motions, and to contestation.

Iusta pari premitur velut cum pondere libra, Til [...]. lib 4. h [...].ro. v. 41.  
Prona nec hâc plus parte sedet, nec surgit ab illa.  
As when an even skale with equall weight is peized,  
Nor falles it downe this way, or is it that way raised.

As for example, *Machiavels* discourses, were very solid for the subject; 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 rejoynders, 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 processes:

Caedimur, & totidem plagis consumimus hostem. Hor. lib. 2. epist. 2 97.  
We by our foes are beaten, if not slaine,  
We with as many strokes waste them againe.

Reasons having no other good ground than experience, and the diversitie of humane events, presenting vs with infinite examples for all manner of formes. A wise man of our times, saith, that where our Almanakes say warme, should a man say cold, and in lieu of drie, moyst; And ever set downe the contrarie of what they foretell; were he to lay a wager of one or others successe, he would not care what side he tooke, except in such things as admit no vncertaintie; as to promise extreame heate at Christmas, and exceeding cold at Midsomer. The like I thinke of these politike discourses. What part soever you are put vnto, you have as good a game as your fellow: Provided you affront not the apparant and plaine principles. And therefore (according to my humor) in publike affaires, there is no course so bad (so age and constancie be joynd vnto it) that is not better then change and alteration. *Our manners are exceedingly corrupted, and with a merveilous inclination bend toward worse and worse;* Of our lawes and customes many are barbarous, and divers monstrous; notwithstanding, by reason of the difficultie to reduce vs to better estate, and of the danger of this subversion, if I could fixe a pegge into our wheele, and stay it where it now is, I would willingly doe it.

—*nunquam adeo foedis adeoque pudendis* Iuve. sat. 8. 183  
Utimur exemplis, vi non peiora super sint.  
Examples of so filthy shamefull kinde  
We never vse, but worse remains behind.

Instabilitie is the worst I find in our state, and that our lawes, no more than our garments, can take no settled forme. *It is an easie matter to accuse a state of imperfection, since all mortall things are full of it.* As easie is it to beget in a people a contempt of his ancient observances: No man ever vnderooke it, but came to an end: But to establish a better state in place of that which is condemned and raced out, divers who have attempted it, have shronke vnder the burthen. Touching my conduct, my wisdom hath small share therein. I am very easily to be directed by the worlds publike order. Oh happie people, that doth what is commanded, 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, pleadeth and contendeth. In some, (to returne to my selfe) the onely matter, for which I make some accompt 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 itselfe would imply contradiction. It is an infirmity, that is never where it is seene, it is very strong and fastholding, but yet pierced and dissipated by the first beame of the patients sight, as doth the Sunnes raies scatter and dispearce a gloomie mist. For a man to accuse himselfe, were to excuse [371]himselfe of that subject; and to condemne himselfe, an 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 easely know in others, the advantage of courage, of bodily strength, of experience, of disposition and of beautie, but we never yeelde the advantage of judgement to any body: And the reasons, which part from the simple naturall discourse in others, we thinke, that had we but looked that way, wee had surely found them. The skill, the knowledge, the stile and such like partes, which we see in strange workes, we easily perceive whether they exceede ours; but the meere productions of wit and vnderstanding, 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 verie scarsely) in an extreame and incomparable distance. And he that should clearely see the height of a strangers judgement, would come and bring his vnto it. Thus, is it a kind of exercising, whereof a man may hope but for meane commendation and small praise, and a maner of composition, of little or no harme at all. And then, for whom doe you write? The wiser sort, vnto whom belongeth bookish jurisdiction,

know no other price but of doctrine, and avow no other proceeding in our wits, but that of erudition and arte. If you have mistaken one *Scipio* for an other, what of any worth have you left to speake-of? He that is ignorant of *Aristotle* (according to them) he is there withall ignorant of himselfe. Popular and shallow-headed minds, cannot perceive the grace or comelinesse, nor judge of a smooth and quaint discourse. Now these two kindes possesse the world. The third, vnto whose share you fall, of regular wits, and that are strong of themselves, is so rare, that justly it hath neither name or ranke amongst vs; he looseth halfe his time, that doth aspire or endeavour to please it. It is commonly said, that the justest portion, nature hath given vs of the graces, is that of sense and vnderstanding: for there is no man, but is contented with the share she hath allotted him: I i [...] not reason? He who should see beyond that, should see further then his sight. I perswade my selfe to have good and sound opinions; but who is not so perswaded of his owne? One of the best trials I have of it, is the small esteeme I make of my selfe: for, had they not been well assured, they would easily have suffered themselves to be deceived, by the affection I beare vnto my selfe, singular, as he who brings it almost all vnto my selfe, and that spill but a little besides. All that, which others distribute thereof vnto an infinite number of friends and acquaintances, to their glorie and greatnesse, I referre to the repose of my spirite and to my selfe. What elsewhere escapes of it, is not properly by the appointment of my discourse:

—*mihi nempe valere & vivere doctus.*  
 Well learn'd in what concerneth me,  
 To live, and how in health to be.

*As for my opinions, I finde them infinitely bold aend constant to condemne mine insufficiencie.* And to say truth, it is a subject, where about I exercise my judgement, as much as about any other. *The world lookes ever for eright, I turne my sight inward, there I fix it, there I amuse it.* Every man lookes before him selfe, I looke within my selfe; I have no businesse but with my selfe. I vncessantly consider, controle and taste my selfe: other men goe ever else-where, if they thinke well on it: they go ever foreward,

—*nemo in sese tentat descendere.*— Pers. sat. 4. 23  
 No man attempteth this Essay,  
 Into himselfe to finde the way.

as for me I roule me into my selfe. This capacitie of sifting out the truth, what, and howsoever it be in me, and this free humour I have, not very easily to subject my beliefe, Iowe especially vnto my selfe; for the most constant, and generall imaginations I have are those; which (as one would say) were borne with me: They are naturall vnto me, and wholly mine. I produced them raw and simple, of a hardy and strong production, but somewhat troubled and vnperfect: which I have since established and fortified by the authoritie of others, and by the sound examples of ancients, with whom I have found my selfe conformable in judgement: Those have assured me of my hold-fast of them, and have given me both the enjoying and possession thereof more absolute and more cleare. The commendation which every man seekes after, for a vivacitie and promptitude of wit, I chalenge the same by the order of a notable and farre sounding action, or of some particular sufficiencie; I pretend it by the order, correspondency, and tranquillitie of opinions and customes. *Omnino si quidquam est Cic. Off. lib. [...]. [372] decorum, nihil est profectò magis quam aequabilitas vniversae vitae, tum singularum actionum: quam conservare non possis, si aliorum naturam imitans, omittas tuam.* Clearly if any thing bee decent for a man ■ nothing is more than an even carriage and equabilitie of his whole life, and every action therein: which you cannot vphold, if following the nature of others, you let passe your owne. Behold here then how far forth I finde my selfe guilty of that first part, I said to be in the vice of presumption- Concerning the second, which consisteth in not esteeming sufficiently of

others, I wot not whether I can so well excuse my selfe; for, whatsoever it cost mee, I intend to speake what is of it. It may be, the continuall commerce I have with ancient humours, and the Idea of those rich mindes of former ages doth bring me out of liking and distaste both of others and of my selfe, or that in truth we live in an age, which produceth things but meane and indifferent. So it is, that I know nothing worthy any great admiration. Also I know not many men so familiarly as I should, to be able to judge of them: and those with whom the quality of my condition doth ordinarily make me conversant, are for the most part, such as have little care for the manuring of the soule, and to whom nothing is proposed for chiefe felicitie, but honour; and for absolute perfection, but valour. Whatsoever I see or beauteous or worthy in any other man, I willingly commend and regard; yea and I often endear my selfe with what I thinke of it, and allow my selfe to lie so farre forth: For, I cannot invent a false subject. I willingly wisse with my friends what I finde praise-worthy in them. And of an inch of valour, I willingly make an inch and a halfe; but to lend them qualities they have not, I cannot; and openly to defend their imperfections, I may not: yea bee they mine enemies, I shall sincerely give them their due, in witnessing their worth or honour. My affection may change; my judgement never. And I confound not my quarrell with other circumstances, that are impertinent and belong not vnto it. And I am so jealous of the liberty of my judgement, that for what passion so ever I can hardly quit it. I wrong my selfe more in lying, than him of whom I lie. This commendable and generous custome of the Persian nation, is much noted; *They spake very honourably and iustly of their mortall enemies, and with those with whom they were at deadly fude and warre, so farre foorth as the merit of their vertue deserved.* I know divers men who have sundry noble and worthy parts; some wit, some courage, some dexteritie, some conscience, some a readinesse in speech, 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 excellencie, as hee may thereby bee admired, or but compared to those of former ages whom we honour, my fortune hath not permitted me to see one. And the greatest I ever knew living (I meane of naturall parts of the minde, and the best borne) was *Stephanus de la Boitie*: Verily it was a compleat minde, and who set a good face, and shewed a faire countenance vpon all matters: A minde after the old stampe, and which, had fortune therewith beene pleased, would no doubt have brought forth wondrous effects; having by skill and study added very much to his rich naturall gifts. But I know not how it comes to passe, and surely it doth so, there is as much vanitie and weakenesse of vnderstanding found in those, that professe to have most sufficiencie, that will entermeddle with learned vacations, and with the charges that depend of bookes, than in any sort 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 selfe-opinion of knowledge emboldeneth them the more to produce and discover themselves over-forward, whereby they loose and betray themselves. As an Artificer doeth more manifest his sottishnesse in a rich piece of worke, which he hath in hand, if foolishly and against the rules of his trade he seeke to apply it and entermeddle, than in a vile and base one; and men are more offended at a fault or oversight in a statue of gold, than in one of clay. These doe as much, when they set foorth things, which in themselves and in their place, would bee good; for, they employ them without discretion, honouring their memory at the cost and charge of their vnderstanding: and doing honour to *Cicero*, to *Galen*, to *Ulpian*, and to *Saint Ierome*, to make themselves ridiculous. I willingly returne to this discourse of the fondnesse of our institution: whose aime hath beene to make vs not good and wittie, but wise and learned; She hath attained her purpose. It hath not taught vs to follow vertue and embrace wisdome; but made an impression in vs of it's Etymologie and derivation. *Wee can decline vertue, yet can we not love it.* If wee know not what wisdome is by effect and experience, wee know it by prattling and by rote. Wee are not satisfied to know the race, the aliances, [373]and the pedegrees 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 distinctions of



vertue, as of the surnames and branches of a genalogie, without having other care to contract practise of familiaritie or private acquaintance betweene vs and it. She hath appointed vs for our learning, not booke that have sounder and truer opinions, but volumes that speake the best Greeke or Latine: and amongst her choise words, hath made the vainest humours of antiquitie to glide into our conceits. *A good institution changeth iudgement and maners*, as it hapned to *Polemon*. This dissolute yong Graecian, going one day by chance to heare a Lecture of *Xenocrates*, where he not onely marked the eloquence and sufficiencie of the Reader, and brought not home the knowledge of some notable thing, but a more apparant and solide fruit, which was the sodaine change and amendment of his former life. Who ever heard such an effect of our discipline?

—*faciásne quod olim* Hor. ser. lib. 2. sa [...]. 3. 253.  
 Mutatus Polemon, ponas insignia morbi,  
 Fasciolus, cubital, focalia, potus vt ille  
 Dicitur ex collo furtim carpsisse coronas,  
 Postquam est impransi correptus voce magistri.  
 Can you doe as did *Polemon* reformed,  
 Cast-off your sicknes signes, which you deformed,  
 Your bolsters mufflers, swathes? As he drink-lin'de,  
 His dronken garlands covertly declinde,  
 By speech of fasting reader disciplinde?

The least disdainfull condition of men, me thinkes, is that, which through simplicitie holds the last rancke, and offreth vs more regular commerce. The customes and discourses of Countrie-clownish-men, I finde them commonly to be more conformable and better disposed, according to the true prescription of Philosophie, then are those of our Philosophers. *Plus sapit vulgus, quia tantum, quantum opus est, sapit. The vulgar is the wiser, because it is but as wise as it must needes*. The worthiest men, I have judged by externall apparances (for, to judge them after my fashion, they should be sifted nearer) concerning warre, and militarie sufficiencie, have beene, the Duke of *Guise*, that died before *Orleans*, and the whilom Marshall *Strozzi*: For men extraordinarily sufficient, and endowed with no vulgar vertue, *Oliver*, and *L'Hospitall*, both great Chancelors of *France*. Poesie hath likewise in mine opinion, had hir vogue and credit in our age. We have store of cunning and able men in that profession, *Aurate*, *Beza*, *Buchanan*, *L'Hospitall*, *Mont-dore*, & *Turnebus*. As for Frenchmen, I thinke they have attained the highest degree of perfection that can or ever shall be, and in those parts wherein *Ronsart*, and excellent *Bellay* have writen, I thinke they are not farre short of the ancient perfection. *Adrianus 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 *Alva*, and of our Constable *Mommorancie* have beene very noble, and have had sundrie rare resemblances of fortune. But the worthily-faire and glorious death of the last, in the full sight 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 goodnes, the mildnes in behaviour, and conscionable facilitie of *Monsieur la Noüe*, 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 pleased my selfe in publishing in sundrie places, the good hope I have of *Marie Gournay le [...]*Jars my daughter in alliance, and truely of me beloved with more then a fatherly love, and as one of the best parts of my being, enfeoffed in my home and solitarines. There is nothing in the world I esteeme more then hir. If childehoode may presage any future successe, hir minde shall one day be capable of many notable things, and amongst other of the perfection of this thrice-sacred amitie, whereunto we reade not, hir sexe could yet attaine; the sinceritie and soliditie of hir demeanors are therein alreadie sufficient; hir kinde affection towards me

is more then superabounding and such in deede as nothing more can be wished vnto it, so that the apprehension, which she hath of my aproching end, by reason of the [374]fifty five yeares, wherein her hap hath beene to knowe me, would somewhat lesse cruelly trouble hir. The judgement she made of my first Essayes, being a woman, of this age, so yong, alone where she dwelleth, and the exceeding vehemencie wherewith she loved me, and long time, by the onely esteeme, which before ever she sawe me, she had by them conceived of me, she desired me; is an accident most worthy consideration. Other vertues have had little or no currantnesse at all in this age: But valour is become popular by reason of our civill warres, and in this part, there are mindes found amongst vs very constant, even to perfection, and in great number, so that the choise is impossible to be made. Loe heere what hitherto I have knowen of any extraordinary, and not common greatnesse.

### **The eighteenth Chapter. Of giving the lie.**

YEa but, will some tell me, this desseigne 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 know, that a handy-craftsman will scarcely looke off his worke, to gaze vpon an ordinary man: Whereas to see a notable great person come into a towne, he will leave both worke and shop. It ill beseemeth any man to make himselfe knowen, onely he excepted, that hath somewhat in him worthy imitation, and whose life and opinions may stand as a patterne to all. *Caesar* and *Xenophon* have had wherewithall to ground and establish their narration, in the greatnesse of their deedes, 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 gests, greatly to be desired. Such mens Images are both beloved and studied, be they either in Brasse or Stone. This admonition is most true, but it concerneth mee very little.

Non recit [...] cuiquam: nisi amicis, idque rogatus. Hor. ser. l. 1. sa [...]. 4. 73.  
 Non vbivis, corá [...]ve quibuslibet. In medio qui  
 Scripta fore recitant sunt multi, quique lauantes.  
 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 read theirs,  
 In Bathes, in Barbers-chaires.

I erect not here a statue to be set vp in the Market-place of a towne, or in a Church, or in any other publike place:

Non equidem hoc studeo bullatis vt mihi nugis Per [...] sat. 5. 19.  
 Pagina turgescat:—  
 I studie not, my written leaves should grow  
 Big-swolne with babled toys, which vaine breth's blow.  
 Secreti loquimur— 21.  
 We speake alone,  
 Or one to one.

It is for the corner of a Library, or to amuse 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, contrariwise, because I have found mine so barren, and so shallow, that it cannot admit suspition of ostentation. I willingly judge of other mens actions; of mine by reason of their nullity, 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 mee, to heare some body that would relate the custome, the visage, the

countenance, the most vsuall 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 despise [375]the very pictures of our friends and predecessors, the fashion of their garments and armes. I keepe the writing, the manuall seale, and a peculiar sword: And I reserve still in my cabinet certaine long switches or wands, which my father was wont to carry in his hand. *Paterna vestis & annulus, tanto charior est posteris, quanto erga parentes maior affectus. The fathers garment and his ring is so much more esteemed of his successors, as their affection is greater towards their progenitors.* Notwithstanding if my posteritie be of another minde, I shall have wherewith to be avenged; for they cannot make so little account of me, 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 speedy, and more easie: in requitall whereof I may peradventure hinder the melting of some piece of butter in the market, or a Grocer from selling an ounce of pepper.

Ne toga cordyllis, ne penula desit olivis, Mart. li. 13. epig. 1. 1.  
 Least Fish-fry should a fit gowne want,  
 Least cloakes should be for Olives scant. Catul. epig. eleg. [...]7. 8.  
 Et laxas scombris saepe dabo tunicas.  
 To long-tail'd Mackrels often I,  
 Will side-wide (paper) cotes apply.

And if it happen no man read me, have I lost my time, to have entertained my selfe so many idle houres, about so pleasing and profitable thoughts? In framing this pourtraite by my selfe, I have so often beene faine to frizle and trimme me, that so I might the better extract my selfe, that the patterne is thereby confirmed, and in some sort formed. Drawing my selfe for others, I have drawne my selfe with purer and better colours, then were my first. I have no more made my booke, then my booke hath made me. A booke consubstantiall to his Author: Of a peculiar and fit occupation. A member of my life. Not of an occupation and end, strange and forraine; as all other bookes. Have I mis-spent my time, to have taken an account of my selfe so continually and so curiously? For those who onely run themselves over by fantazy, and by speech for som houre, examine not themselves so primely and exactly, nor enter they into themselves, as he doth, who makes his study, his worke, and occupation of it: Who with all his might, and with all his credit engageth himselfe to a register of continuance. The most delicious pleasures, though inwardly digested, shun to leave any trace of themselves; and avoide the sight, not onely of the people, but of any other. How often hath this businesse diverted me from tedious and yrksome cogitations? (And all frivolous ones must be deemed tedious and yrkesome.) Nature hath endowed vs with a large faculty to entertaine our selves a part, and often calleth vs vnto it: To teach vs, that *partly we owe our selves vnto society, but in the better part vnto our selves.* To the end I may in some order and project marshall my fantasie, even to dote, and keepe it from loosing, and stragglng in the aire, there is nothing so good, as to give it a body, and register so many idle imaginations as present themselves vnto it. I listen to my humors, and harken to my conceits, because I must enroule them. How often, being grieved at some action, which civility and reason forbad me to withstand openly, have I disgorged my selfe vpon them here, not without an intent of publike instruction? And yet these Poeticall rods,

Zon dessus l'oeil, zon sur le groin,  
 Zon sur le dos du Sagoin.

are also better imprinted vpon paper, than vpon the quicke flesh; What if I lend mine eares, somewhat more attentively vnto bookes, sith I but watch if I can filch something from them, wherewith to enammell and vphold mine? I never studied to make a booke; Yet have I somewhat studied, because I had already made it (if to nibble or pinch, by the head or feet, now one Author, and then another be in any sort to study) but nothing at all to forme my

opinions: Yea being long since formed, to assist, to second and to serve them. But *whom shall we believe speaking of himselfe, in this corrupted age?* since there are few or none, whom we may believe speaking of others, where there is lesse interest to lie. The first part of custome corruption, is; the banishment of truth: For as *Pindarus* said, *to be sincerely true, is the beginning of a great vertue;* and the first article *Plato* requireth in the Governor of his Common-wealth: Now-adaies, that is not the truth which is true, but that which is perswaded to others. As [376]we call many not onely that which is true and good, but also the false; so it be currant. Our Nation is long since taxed with this vice. For *Salvianus Massiliensis* who lived in the time of *Valentinian* the Emperour, saith, that amongst French-men, to lie and forswear is no vice, but a manner of speech. He that would endear this Testimonie, might say, it is now rather deemed a vertue among them. Men frame and fashion themselves vnto it, as to an exercise of honour; for, *dissimulation is one of the not ablest qualities of this age.* Thus have I often considered, whence this custome might arise, which wee observe so religiously, that we are more sharply offended with the reproach of this vice, so ordinary in vs, than with any other; and that it is the extreamest injurie, may be done vs in words, to vpbraide and reproch vs with a lie. Therein I finde, that it is naturall, for a man to defend himselfe most from such defects as we are most tainted with. It seemeth that if we but shew a motion of revenge, or are but moved at the accusation, we in some sort discharge our selves of the blame or imputation; if we have it in effect, at least we condemne it in apparance. May it not also be, that this reproch seemes to enfold cowardise and faintnesse of hart? Is there any more manifest, than for a man to eate and deny his owne Worde? What? To deny his Word wittingly? To lie is a horrible-filthy vice; and which an ancient writer setteth forth very shamefully, when he saith, that *whosoever lieth, witnesseth that he co [...]* *Immeth God and ther withal feareth men* It is impossible more richly to represent the horrou, the vilenesse and the disorder of it: For, *What can be imagined so vile, and base, as to be a coward towards men, and a boaster towards God?* Our intelligence being onely conducted by the way of the Word: Who so falsifieth the same, betraieth publike society. It is the onely instrument, by meanes whereof our wils and thoughts are communicated: it is the interpretour of our soules: If that faile vs we hold our selves no more, we enter-know one another no longer. If it deceive vs, it breaketh all our commerce, and dissolveth all bonds of our policy. Certaine Nations of the new Indiaes (whose names we neede not declare, because they are no more; for the desolation of this conquest hath extended it selfe to the absolute abolishing of names and ancient knowledge of Places, with a marvellous and never the like heard example) offered humane blood vnto their Gods, but no other than that which was drawne from their tongues and eares, for an expiation of the sinne of lying, as well heard as pronounced. That good-fellow-Graecian said, children were dandled with toies, but men with words. Concerning the sundry fashions of our giving the lie, and the lawes of our honour in that and the changes they have received, I will refer to another time, to speake what I thinke and know of it, and if I can, I will in the meane time learne, at what time this custome tooke his beginning, so exactly to weigh and precizely to measure words, and tie our honour to them: for it is easie to judge, that it was not anciently amongst the Romans and Graecians. And I have often thought it strange, to see them wrong and give one another the lie, and yet never enter into quarrell. The lawes of their duty, tooke some other course than ours. *Caesar* is often called a thiefe, and sometimes a drunkard to his face. We see the liberty of their invectives, which they write one against another: I meane the greatest Chieftaines and Generals in war; of one and other Nation, where words are only retorted and revenged with words, and never wrested to further consequence.

**The nineteenth Chapter.**  
**Of the liberty of Conscience.** ↩

IT is ordinarily seene, how good intentions being managed without moderation, thrust men into most vicious effects. In this controversie, by which *France* is at this instant molested with civill warres, the best and safest side, is no doubt, that which maintaineth both the ancient religion and policy of the Country. Neverthelesse amongst the honest men that follow it (for my meaning is not to speake of those, who vse them as a colour, either to exercise their particular revenges, or to supply their greedy avarice, or to follow the favour of Princes: But of such as doe it with a true zeale toward their Religion, and an vnfained holy affection, to maintaine the peace and vphold the state of their Country) of those I say, divers [377]are seene, whom passion thrusts out of the bounds of reason, and often forceth them to take and follow vnjust, violent and rash counsels. Certaine it is, that when first our religion beganne to gaine authoritie with the Lawes, it's zeale armed many against all sorts of Pagane bookes, whereof the learned sort have a great losse. My opinion is, that this disorder hath done more hurt to learning, than all the Barbarian flames. *Cornelius Tacitus* is a sufficient testimonie of it: for, howbeit the Emperor *Tacitus* his kinsman had by expresse appointment stored all the libraries in the World with it, notwithstanding one onely entire copy could not escape the curions search of those, who sought to abolish it, by reason of five or sixe vaine clauses, contrary to our beleefe. They have also had this easily to affoord false commendations to all the Emperours, that made for vs, and vniversally to condemne all the actions of those, which were our adversaries, as may plainly be seene in *Iulian* the Emperor, surnamed the Apostata; who in truth was a notable-rare-man, as he whose mind was lively endowed with the discourses of Philosophie, vnto which hee professed to conforme all his actions; and truely there is no kind of vertue, wherof he hath not left most notable examples. In chastity (whereof the whole course of his life giveth apparant testimony) a like example, vnto that of *Alexander* and *S [...]*Joio is read of him, which is, that of many wonderfull faire captive Ladies, brought before him, being even in the very prime of his age (for he was slaine by the Parthians about the age of one and thirty yeares) he would not see one of them. Touching justice, himselfe would take the paines to heare all parties: And although for curiosity sake, he would enquire of such as came before him, what religion they were of, neverthelesse the enmitie he bare to ours, did no whit weigh downe the ballance. Himselfe made sundrie good Lawes, and revoked diverse subsidies and impositions, his Predecessours before him had received. We have two good Historians, as eye-witnesses of his actions. One of which, (who is *Marcellinus*) in sundry places of his Historie bitterly reprooveth this ordinance of his, by which he forbade schooles, and interdicted all Christian Rethoricians, and Gramarians to teach: Saying, he wished this his action might be buried vnder silence. It is very likely, if he had done any thing else more sharpe or severe against vs, he would not have forgot it, as he that was well affected to our side. Hee was indeede very severe against vs, yet not a cruell enemie. For, our people themselves report this Historie of him, that walking one day about the City of *Calcedon*, *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 thanke Iesus Christ, that he hath deprived me of my sight, that so I might not view thy impudent face, affecting therby (as they say) a kind of Philosophicall patience. So it is, this part cannot be referred to the cruelties, which he is said to have exercised against vs. He was (saith *Eutropius* my other testimony) an enemy vnto Christianity, but without shedding of blood. But to returne to his justice, he can be accused of nothing but of the rigors he vsed in the beginning of his Empire, against such as had followed the faction of *Constantius* his Predecessour. Concerning sobrietie, he ever lived a Souldiers kinde of life, and in time of peace, would feede no otherwise, than one who prepared and enured himselfe to the austeritie of warre. Such was his vigilancie, that he divided the night into three or foure parts, the least of which hee allotted vnto sleepe; the rest he employed in visiting the state of his army, and his guardes, or in study; for, amongst other his rare qualities, he was most excellent in all sorts of learning. It is reported of *Alexander* the Great, that being laide down to rest, fearing lest sleep should

divert him from his thoughts and studies, he caused a basen 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 basen, might with the noyse rouze him from out his sleepe. This man had a mind so bent to what he vndertook, and by reason of his singular abstinence so little troubled with vapours, that he might well have past this devise. Touching military sufficiencie, he was admirable in all partes belonging to a great Captaine. So was he almost all his life time in continuall exercise of War, and the greater part with vs in *France* against the Alemans and French. Wee have no great memorie of any man, that either hath seene more dangers, nor that more often hath made triall of his person. His death hath some affinitie with that of *Epaminoudas*, for being stricken with an arrow, and attempting to pull it out, he had surely done it, but that being sharpe-cutting, it hurt and weakened his hand. In that plight he earnestly requested to bee carryed forth in the midst of his army, [378] that so he might encourage his souldiers, who without him couragiously maintained the battell, vntill such time as darke night severed the Armies. Hee was beholding to Philosophie for a singular centempt, both of himselfe and of all humane things. Hee assuredly believed the eternitie of soules. In matters of religion, he was vicious every-where. He was surnamed *Apostata*, because he had forsaken ours; notwithstanding this opinion seemes to mee more likely, that never tooke it to hart, but that for the obedience which he bare to the lawes, he dissembled til he had gotten the Empire into his hands. He was so superstitious in his, that even such as lived in his time, and were of his owne religion, mocked him for it; and it was saide, that if he had gained the Victory of the Parthians, hee would have consumed the race or breede of Oxen, to satisfie his sacrifices. He was also besetted with the Art of sooth saying, and gave authoritie to all manner of prognostikes. Amongst other things hee spake at his death, he saide, he was much beholding to the Gods, and greatly thanked them, that they had not suffred him to be slaine sodainely or by surprize, as having long before warned him both of the place and houre of his end; nor to die of a base and easie death, more beseeming idle and effeminate Persons, nor of a lingring, languishing, and dolorous death; and that they had deemed him worthy to end his life so nobly in the course of his victories and in the flower of his glory. There had before appeared a vision vnto him, like vnto that of *Marcus Brutus*, which first threatned him in *Gaule*, and afterward even at the point of his death, presented it selfe to him in *Persia*. The speach he is made to speake when he felt himselfe hurt, *Thou hast vanquished ô Nazaraean*; or as some wil have it; *Content thy self oh Nazaraean*, would scarce have beene forgotten, had it beene believed of my testimonies, who being present in the army, have noted even the least motions, and wordes at his death, no more than certaine other wonders, which they annex vnto it. But to returne to my theame, he had long before (as saith *Marcellinus*) hatched Paganisme in his hart, but forsomuch as he saw all those of his armie to be Christians, he durst not discover him selfe. In the end, when he found himselfe to be sufficiently strong, and durst publish his minde, he caused the Temples of his Gods to be opened, and by all meanes endeoured to advance idolatrie. And to attaine his purpose, having found in *Constantinople* the people very loose, and at ods with the Prelates of the christian church, and caused them to appeare before him in his pallace, he instantly admonished them to appease all their civill dissentions, and every one without hinderance or feare apply themselves to follow and serve religion. Which he verie carefully sollicitated, hoping this licence might encrease the factions, and controversies of the division, and hinder the people, from growing to any vnity, and by consequence from fortifying themselves against him, by reason of their concord and in one mind-agreeing intelligence: having by the cruelty of some Christians found, that *There is no beast in the world, so much of man to be feared, as man*. Loehere his very words, or very neare: Wherin this is worthy consideration, that the Emperor *Iulian*, vseth the same receipt of libertie of conscience, to enkindle the trouble of civill dissention, which our Kings employ to extinguish. It may be saide on one side, that, *To give factions the bridle to entertaine their opinion, is to scater contention and sew division*, and as it were to lend it a hand to augment and encrease the same: There beeing

no Barre or Obstacle of Lawes to bridle or hinder hir course. But on the other side, it might also bevrge, that to give factions the bridle to vpholde their opinion, is, by that facilitie and ease, the readie way to mollifie and release them; and to blunt the edge, which is sharpned by rarenesse, noveltie, and difficultie. And if for the honour of our Kings devotion, I believe better; it is, that since they could not doe as they would, they have fained to will what they could not.

### **The twentieth Chapter. We taste nothing purely.**

The weakenes of our condition, causeth, that things in their naturall simplicitie and puritie cannot fall into our vse. The elements we enjoy are altered: Metals likewise, yea [379]golde must be empaired with some other stufte to make it fit for our service. Nor vertue so simple, which *Ariston*, *Pirrho*, and the Stoikes, made the end of their life, hath beene able to doe no good without composition: Nor the Cirenaike sensualitie or Aristippian voluptuousnes. *Of the pleasures and goods we have, there is none exempted from some mixture of evill, and incommoditie.*—*medio de fonte leporum* Lucr. 1. 4. 12. 24

Surgit amori aliquid, quod in ipsis floribus angat.  
From middle spring of sweetes some bitter spings,  
Which in the very flower smartly stings.

Our exceeding voluptuousnesse hath some aire of groning and wailing: Would you not say, it dieth with anguish? Yea when we forge it's image in hir excellency, we decke it with Epithers of sickish and dolorous qualities: languor, effeminacy, weaknesse, fainting and *Morbidezza*, a great testimony of their consanguinity and consubstantiality: Excessive joy hath more severity, then jolity: Extreame and full content, more settlednesse then cheerefulness. *Ipsa faelicitas, se nisi temperat, premit. Felicitie it selfe, vnlesse it temper it selfe, distempers* vs. Se [...]t. quare &c. Ease consumeth vs. It is that, which on old Greeke verse saith of such a sense. The Gods sell vs all the goods they give vs; that is to say, they give vs not one pure and perfect, and which we buy not with the price of some evill. Travell and pleasure, most vnlike in nature, are notwithstanding followed toget her by a kinde of I wot not what naturall conjunction of *Socrates* saith, that some God attempted to huddle vp together, and confound sorrow and voluptuousnesse: but being vnable to effect it, he bethought himselfe to couple them together, at least by the taile. *Metrodorus* said, that in sadnesse there is some aloy of pleasure. I know not whether he meant any thing else, but I imagine, that for one to enure himselfe to melancholy, there is some kind of purpose, of consent and mutuall delight: I meane besides ambition, which may also be joynd vnto it. There is some shadow of delicacy, and quaintnesse, which smileth and fawneth vpon vs, even in the lap of melancholy. Are there not some complexions, that of it make their nourishment?

—*est quaedam flere voluptas*. Ori. Trist. 1. 4. el. 3. 37.  
It is some pleasure yet,  
With teares our cheekes to wet.

And one *Attalus* in *Seneca* saith, the remembrance of our last friends is as pleasing to vs, as bitternesse in wine that is over old;

Minister veteris puer falerni Cat. lyr. epig. 24. 1.  
Ingere m [...] calices amariores:  
Sir boy, my servitor of good old wine,  
Bring me my cup thereof bitter, but fine.

and as of sweetly-sower apples. Nature discovereth this confusion vnto vs: Painters are of opinion, that *the motions and wrinkles in the face, which serve to weepe, serve also to laugh*. Verely, before one or other be determined to expresse which; behold the pictures successe, you are in doubt toward which one enclineth. And the extremitie of laughing entermingles it selfe with teares. *Nullum sine auctor amento malum est. There is no evill without some obligation*. Sen. epist. 69. [...] When I imagine man fraught with all the commodities may be wished, let vs suppose, all his severall members were for ever possessed with a pleasure like vnto that of generation, even in the highest point that may be: I finde him to sinke vnder the burthen of his ease, and perceive him altogether vnable to beare so pure, so constant, and so vniversall a sensuality. Truely he flies when he is even vpon the nicke, and naturally hastneth to escape it, as from a step, whereon he cannot stay or containe himselfe, and feareth to sinke into it. When I religiously confesse my selfe vnto my selfe, I finde, the best good I have, hath some vicioustaint. And I feare that *Plato* in his purest vertue (I that am as sincere and loyall an esteemer thereof, and of the vertues of such a stampe, as any other can possibly be) if he had neerely listned vnto it (and sure he listned very neere) he would therein have heard some harsh tune, of humane mixture, but an obscure tune, and onely sensible vnto himselfe. *Man all in all, is but a botching and party-coloured worke. The very Lawes of Iustice, cannot subsist without seme commixture of Iniustice: And Plato saith, They vndertake to out off Hydraes heades, that pretend to remoove all incommodities and inconveniences from the Lawes. Omne magnum Tacitus A [...]. l. 14. Cass [...]. exemplum habet aliquid eximquo, quod contrasingulos vtilitate publicârependitur. Every great example hath some touch of iniustice, which is requited by the common good against particulars, [380]saith Tacitus*. It is likewise true, that for the vse of life and service of publike societie, there may be excesse in the purity and perspicuity of our spirits. This piercing brightnesse hath overmuch subtilty and curiosity. They should be made heavy and dull, to make them the more obedient to example and practise; and they must be thickned and obscured, to proportion them to this shady and terrestriall life. Therefore are vulgar and lesse-wire-drawn wits found to be more fit and happy in the conduct of affaires. And the exquisite and highraised opinions of Philosophy vnapt and vnfit to exercise. This sharp vivacity of the spirit and this supple and restlesse volubility, troubleth our negotiations. Humane enterprises should be managed more grosely and superficially, and have a good and great part of them left for the rights of fortune. Affaires neede not be sifted so nicely and so profoundly. A man looseth himselfe about the considerations of so many contrary lustres and diverse formes. *Voluntantibus res inter se pugnantes, obtorpuerant animi. Their mindes were [...]st o [...]ished, while they revolved [...]. d [...]. 4. l. 2. things so different*. It is that which our elders report of *Simonides*; because his imagination, concerning the question *Hieron* the King had made vnto him (which the better to answer he had diverse dates allowed him to thinke of it) presented sundry subtill and sharpe considerations vnto him; doubting which might be the likeliest; he altogether dispaired of the truth. Whosoever searcheth all the circumstances and embraceth all the consequences therof, hindereth his election. *A meane engine doth equally conduct, and sufficeth for the executions of great and little weights*. It is commonly seene, that the best husbands and the thristiest, are those who cannot tell how they are so; and that these cunning Arithmeticians doe seldome thrive by it. I know a notable pratler, and an excellent blazoner of all sorts of husbandry and thrift, who hath most pitteously let ten thousand pound sterline a yeare passe from him. I know another, who saith, he consulteth better then any man of his counsell, and there cannot be a properer man to see vnto or of more sufficiency; notwithstanding when he commeth to any execution; his owne servants finde he is farre otherwise: This I say without mentioning or accounting his ill lucke.

**The one and twentieth Chapter.**  
**Against idlenesse, or doing nothing.** ↩



The Emperour *Vespasian*, lying sicke of the disease whereof he died, omitted not to endeavour to vnderstand the state of the Empire; and lying in his bed, vnce [...]antly dispatched many affaires of great consequence; and his Phisitians chiding him, as of a thing hurtfull to his health; he answered, *That an Emperour should die standing vpright*. Loe heere a notable saying, fitting my humour, and worthy a great Prince. *Adrian* the Emperour vsed the same 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 distaste a subject from purting himselfe in paine and danger for the service of his Prince, then therewithl to see him given to lazinesse, to base and vaine occupations, and to have care of his conservation, seeing him so carelesse of ours. If any shall goe about to maintaine, that it is better for a Prince to manage his warres by others, then by himselfe; Fortune will store him with sufficient examples of those, whose Lieutenants have atchieved great enterprises; and also of some whose presence would have beene more hurtfull, then profitable. But no vertuous and coragious Prince will endure to be entertained with so shamefull instructions. 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 military actions, and declare him vncapable of it. I know one, would rather chuse to be beaten, then sleepe whilst others fight for him; and who without jelousie never saw his men performe any notable act in his absence. And *Selim* the first had reason to say, that *he thought victories gotten in the masters absence, not to be compleate*. So much more willingly would he have said, that such a master ought to blush for shame, who [381]onely by his name should pretend any share in it, having therevnto employed nothing but his thought and verbal direction: Nor that, since in such a busines, the advises and commandements, which bring honor, are only those given in the field and even in the action. No Pilote exerciseth his office standing stil. The princes of *Otomans* race (the chefest race in the world in warlike fortune) have earnestly embraced this opinion. And *Baiazeth* the second with his sonne, who amusing themselves about Sciences, and other private home-matters, neglected the same, gave diverse prejudiciall blowes vnto their Empire. And *Amurath* the third of that name, who now raigneth following their example, beginneth very well to feele 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 lesse armed himselfe; and yet was never King, that gave me so much to doe, and put me to so many plunges*. He had reason to thinke it strange, as an effect of fortune, rather then of reason. And let such as will number the Kings of *Castile* and *Portugall* amongst the warlike and magnanimous conquerors, seeke for some other adherent then my selfe; forsomuch as twelve hundred leagues from their idle residence they have made themselves masters of both *Indias*, onely by the conduct and direction of their factors; of whom it would be knowne, whether they durst but goe and enjoy them in person. The Emperour *Iuhan* said moreover, that a Philosopher and gallant minded man ought not so much as breath; that is to say, not to give corporall necessities, but what may not be refused them; ever holding both minde and body busied about notable, great and vertuous matters. He was ashamed, any man should see him spitte or sweat before people (which is also said of the Lacedemonian youths, and *Xenphon* reporeth it of the Persian) forasmuch as he thought that continuall travel, exercise and sobriety should have concocted and dried vp all such superfluities. What *Seneca* saith shall not impertinently be alleaged here; That *the ancient Romanes kept their youth vpright, and taught their children nothing, that was to be learned sitting*. It is a generous desire, to endeavor to die both profitable and manlike: But the effect consisteth not so much in our good resolution, as in our good fortune. A thousand have resolved to vanquish or to die fighting, which have missed both the one and other: Hurts or emprisonment, crossing their desseigne and yeelding them a forced kinde of life. There are diseases which vanquish our desires and knowledge. Fortune should not have seconded the vanitie of the Romane Legions, who by othe bound themselves, either to die or conquer. *Victor, Marce Fabi, revertar ex acie: Si*

*fallo, lovem patrem Li [...]. d [...]. [...] [...]. 2 Gradiumque Martem al [...]osque iratos invoco Deos. I will, O Marcus Fabius, returne conqueror from the armie. If in this I deceive you, I wish both great Iupiter and Mars, and the other Gods offended with me.* The Portugalles report, that in certaine places of their Indian conquests, they found some Souldiers, who with horrible execrations had damned themselves, never to enter into any composition, but either they would be killed or remaine victorious; and in signe of their vowe [...]ore their heads and beards shaven. We may hazard and obstinate our selves long enough. It seemeth that blowes shunne them, who over-joyfully present themselves vnto them; and vnwillingly reach those that overwillingly goe to meete them and corrupt their end. Some vnable to loose his life by his adversaries force, having assaied all possible meanes, hath beene enforced to accomplish his resolution, either to beare away the honor; or not to carie away his life and even in the fury of the fight to put himselfe to death. There are sundrie examples of it; but nete this one. *Philistus*, chiefe Generall of yong *Dionisius* his navie against the Siracusans, presented them the battle, which was very sharply withstood, their forces being alike; wherein, by reason of his prowesse he had the better in the beginning. But the Siracusans flocking thicke and threefold about his gally, to grapple and board him, having performed many worthie exploytes with his owne person, to ridd [...] himselfe from them, disparing of all escape, with his owne hand deprived himselfe of that life, which so lavishly and in vaine he had abandoned to his enemies hands. *Mole [...] Moluch*, King of *Fez*, who not long since obtained that famous victorie against *Sebastian* King of *Portugall*; a notable victorie, by reason of the death of three Kings, and transmission of so great a Kingdome to the crowne of *Castile*, chanced to be grievously sicke, at what time the Portugales with armed hand entred his dominions, and afterward, though hee foresaw it, approaching nearer vnto death, empaired worse and worse. Never did man more stoutly, or more vigorously make vse of an vndanted courage, than he. He found himselfe very weake to endure the ceremonious pompe which the Kings of that Country at their entrance into [382]he Camp, are presented withall, which according to their fashion is full of all magnificence and state, and charged with all maner of action; and therefore he resigned that honour to his brother, yet resigned he nothing but the office of the chiefe Captaine. Himselfe most gloriously executed, and most exactly perfourmed all other necessarie duties and profitable Offices. Holding his body laid along his cowch, but his minde vpright and courage constant, even to his last gaspe; and in some sort after. He might have vndermined his enemies, who were fond-hardily advanced in his dominions: And was exceedingly grieved, that for want of a litle longer life, and a substitute to manage the Warre, and affaires or so troubled a state, he was enforced to seeke a bloody and hazardous battell, having another pure and vndoubted victory in hand. He notwithstanding managed the continuance of his sicknes so miraculously, that he consumed his enemy, diverted him from his Sea-Fleete, and Maritime places, he helde along the Coaste of *Affricke*, even vntill the last day of his life, which by designe he reserved and emploied for so great and renowned a fight.

He ranged his battell in a round, on ev'ry side besieging the Portugals army, which bending round, and comming to close, did not onely hinder them in the conflict) which through the valour of that yong-assailant King was very furious) since they were to turne their faces on all sides, but also hindred them from running away after the rowte. And finding all issewes seized, and all passages closed, they were constrained to turne vpon themselves: *coacervantúrque non solum caede, sed etiam fug [...]. They fall on heapes, not only by slaughter, but by flight.* And so pel-mell to heape one on anothers neck, preparing a most murthrous and compleat victory to the Conquerours. When he was even dying, hee caused himselfe to be carryed and haled, where-ever neede called for him; and passing along the files, hee exhorted the Captaines, and animated the Souldiers one after another. And seeing one wing of the fight to have the worst, and in some danger, no man could hold him, but he would needs with his naked-sword in hand get on hors-backe, striving by all possible meanes, to enter the throng; his men holding him, some by the Bridle, some by the Gowne,

and some by the Stirrops. This toyle and straining of himselfe, made an end of that litle remainder of his life: Then was he laid on his bed: But comming to himselfe again, starting vp, as out of a swowne, each other faculty failing him he gave them warning to conceale his death (which was the necessariest commandement he could give his servaunts, lest the souldiers hearing of his death, might fal into dispaire) and so yeelded the Ghost, holding his fore-fingers vpon his mouth; an ordinary signall to impose silence. What man ever lived so long and so neere death; Who ever died so vpright and vndaunted? The extreamest degree, and most naturall, couragiously to manage death, is to see or front the same, not only without amazement, but without care; the course of life continuing free, even in death. As *Cato*, who amuzed himselfe to studie and sleepe, having a violent and bloody death, present in his hart, and as it were holding it in his hand.

### **The two and twentieth Chapter. Of running Posts, or Curriers.**

I Have beene none of the weakest in this exercise, which is proper vnto men of my stature, well-trust, short and tough, but now I have given it over: It toyles vs over-much, to holde out long. I was even-now reading, how King *Cyrus*, that he might more speedily receave newes 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 hee caused Stations to be set and men to have fresh horses ready, for al such as came to him. And some report, this swift kinde of running, answereth the flight of Cranes. *Caesar* saith, that *Lu [...]**Jius Vibulus Rufus*, making haste to bring *Pompey* an advertisement, rode day and 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 any river hindred his way, he swam it over, and never went out of his way to seeke for a bridge [393]or foarde. *Tib erius Nero* going to visite his brother *Drusus*, who lay sicke in *Germanie*, having three coaches in his companie, ranne two hundred miles in foure and twenty hours. In the Romane warres against King *Antiochus*, *Titus Sempronius Gracchus* (sai [...])*h Titus Livius*) *Livius. per dispositos equos propè incredibili celeritae ab Amphisa tertio dic Pellam pervenit: By horse laide poste, with incredible speede within three dayes he past from Amphisa to Pella.* And viewing the place, it seemeth, they were set Stations for Postes, and not newly appointed for that race. The inuention of *Cecinna* in sending newes to those of his house had much more speede; he carried certaine swallowes with him, and having occasion to send newes home, he let them flie toward their nests, first marking them with some colour, proper to signifie what he meant, as before he had agreed vpon with his friends. In the Theatres of *Rome*, the houshold Masters, carried Pigeons in their bosomes, vnder whose wings they fastened letters, when they would send any word home, which were also taught to bring back an answer. *D. Brutus*, vsed some being besieged in *Mutina*, and otherselfe-where. In *Peru* they went poste vpon mens backes, who tooke their Masters vpon their shoulders, sitting vpon certaine beares or chaires, with such agilitie, that in full running speede the first porters without any stay, cast their loade vpon others who vpon the way waited for them, and so they to others. I vnderstand that the Valachians, which are messengers vnto the great Turk, vse extreame diligence in their businesse, forasmuch as they have authoritie to dis-mount the first passenger they meete vpon the high-way, and give him their tyred Horse. And bicause they shall not be weary, they are wont to swathe 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 meanes employed to a good end**

There is a woonderfull relation and correspondencie found in this vniversall pollicie of Natures workes, which manifestly sheweth, it is neither casuall, nor directed by diverse masters. The infirmities and conditions of our bodies, are likewise seene in states and goverments: *Kingdomes and Commowealths as well as we, are borne, flourish, and fade through age.* We are subject vnto a repleatnesse of humours, hurtfull and vnprofitable, yea be it of good humours (for even Phisitians feare that, and because there is nothing constant in vs, they say, that perfection of health over joyfull and strong, must by arte be abated and diminished, lest our nature vnable to settle it selfe in any certaine place, and for hir amendment to ascend higher, should over-violently recoile backe into disorder; and therefore they prescrib vnto Wrestlers purging and phlebotomie, to substract that superabundance of health from them) or of bad, which is the ordinarie cause of sicknesse. Of such like repletion are States often seene to be sicke, and diverse purgations are wont to be vsed to purge them. As wee have seene some to dismisse a great number of families (chiefly to disburthen the Country) which else where goe to seeke where they may at others charge seare themselves. In this sorte our ancient *French* leaving the high Countries of *Germanie*, came to possesse *Gaule*, whence they displaced the first Inhabitants. Thus grew that infinite confluence of people, which afterward vnder *Brennus* and others, over-ranne *Italie*. Thus the *Gothes* and *Vandalles*, as also the Nations which possesse *Greece*, left their naturall countries, to go where they might have more elbow-roume: And hardly shall we see two or three corners in the worlde, that have not felt the effect of such a remooving alteration. The Romanes, by such meanes, erected their Colonies; for perceiving their Cittie to growe over-populous, they were wont to discharge it of vnnesessarie people, which they sent to inhabite and manure the Countries they had subdued. They have also sometimes maintained warre wi [...]h some of their enemies, not onely thereby to keepe their men in breath, lest Idlennesse, the mother of Corruption, should cause them some worse inconvenience.

[384]

Et patimur longae pacis mala, saevior armis Juven. sa [...]. 6. 192.  
 Luxuria incumbit.  
 We suffer of long peace the soking harmes,  
 On vs lies luxury more fierce then armes.

But also to let the Common-wealth bloud, and somewhat to allay the over vehement heat of their youth, to lop the sprigs, and thin the branches of this over-spreading tree, too much abounding in ranknesse and gaillardise. To this purpose they maintained a good while war with the Carthaginians. In the treaty of *Bretigny*, *Edward* the third, King of *England*, would by no meanes comprehend in that generall peace the controversie of the Dutchie of *Britany* to the end he might have some way to disburthen himselfe of his men of war, and that the multitude of English-men, which he had emploied about the warres of *France*, should not returne into *England*. It was one of the reasons, induced *Philip* our King to consent, that his sonne *Iohn* should be sent to warre beyond the seas, that so he might carry with him a great number of yong hot-blouds, which were amongst his trained military men. There are divers now adaies, which will speake thus, wishing this violent and burning emotion we see and feele amongst vs, might be derived to some neighbour war, fearing lest those offending humours, which at this instant are predominant in our bodie, if they be not diverted elsewhere, will still maintaine our fever in force, and in the end cause our vtter destruction: And in truth *a forraine warre is nothing so dangerous a dis [...]ase as a civill*: But I will not beleeve that God would favour so vnjust an enterprise, to offend and quarrell with others for our commodity.

Nil mihi tam valdè placeat Rhammusia virgo, Cat. epig. el [...].g. 6. 77.  
 Quòd temerè invitis suscipiatur heris.  
 That fortune likes me not, which is constrained,

By Lords vnwilling rashly entertained.

Notwithstanding the weaknesse of our condition, doth often vrge vs to this necessity, to vse bad meanes to a good end. *Lycurgus* the most vertuous and perfect Law-giver that ever was, devised this most vnjust fashion, to instruct his people vnto temperance, by force to make the Helotes, which were their servants, to be drunke, that seeing them so lost and buried in wine, the Spartanes might abhor the excesse of that vice. Those were also more to be blamed, who anciently allowed that criminall offenders, what death soever they were condemned vnto, should by Phisitians all alive be torne in peeces, that so they might naturally see our inward parts, and thereby establish a more assured certainty in their arte: For if a man must needes erre or debauch himselfe, it is more excusable, if he doe it for his soules health, then for his bodies good. As the Romans trained vp, and instructed their people to valour, and contempt of dangers and 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 aliud sibi vult ars impia luds,  
Quid mortes iuuenum, quid sanguine pasta voluptas?  
What else meanes that mad arte of impious fense,  
Those yong-mens deaths, that blood-fed pleasing sense?

which custome continued even vntill the time of *Theodosius* the Emperour.P [...]ud [...]st.  
Sym. l. 2. f.

Arripe delatam tua dux in tempora famam,  
Quóque patris superest successor laudis habeto:  
Nullus in vrbe cadat, cuius sit poena voluptas,  
Iam solis contenta feris infamis arena,  
Nulla cruentatis homicidia ludat in armis.  
The fame defer'd to your times entertaine,  
Enherite praise which doth from Sire remaine,  
Let none die to give pleasure by his paine:  
Be shamefull Theaters with beastes content,  
Not in goar'd armes mans slaughter represent.

Surely it was a wonderfull, example and of exceeding benefit for the peoples institution, to see dayly one or two hundred, yea sometimes a thousand brace of men armed one against another, in their presence to cut and hacke one another in peeces with so great constancy [385]of courage, that they were never seene to vtter one word of faintnesse or commiseration, never to turne their backe, nor so much as to shew a motion of demissenesse, to avoide their adversaries blowes: but rather to extend their neckes to their swords, and present themselves vnto their strokes. It hath hapned to diverse of them, who through many hurts being wounded to death, have sent to aske the people, whether they were satisfied with their duty, before they would lie downe in the place. They must, not onely fight and die constantly, but jocondly: in such sort as they were cursed and bitterly scolded at, if in receiving their death they were any way seene to strive, yea maidnes encited them to it.

— *consurgit adictus*,  
Et quoties victor ferrum iugulo inserit, illa Prud. cont. Sym. lib. 2.  
Delicias ait esse suas, pectúsque iacentis  
Virgo modesta iubet converso pollice rumpi.  
The modest maide, when wounds are giv'n; vpriseth;  
When victors sword the vanquisht throate surpriseth,  
She saith, it is hir sport, and doth command,  
T'embrue the conquer'd breast, by signe of hand.

The first Romans disposed thus of their criminals: But afterward they did so with their innocent servants; yea of their free-men, which were sold to that purpose: yea of Senators, and Roman Knights, and women also.

Nunc caput in mortem vendunt, & fumus arenae, Ma [...]il. astr. l. 4 224.  
Atque hostem sibi quisque parat cùm bella quiescunt.  
They sell mens lives to death and Stages sight,  
When wars doe cease, they finde with whom to fight.  
Hos inter fremitus novósque lusus,  
Stat sexus rudis insciúsque ferri,  
Et pugnás capit improbus viriles.  
Amidst these tumults, these strange sporting sights.  
That Sex doth sit, which knowes not how sword bites,  
And entertaines vnmov'd, those manly fights.

Which I should deeme very strange and incredible; if we were not dayly accustomed to see in our wars many thousands of forraigne 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 twentieth Chapter. Of the Roman greatnesse.**

I Will but speake a word of this infinite argument, and slightly glance at it, to shew the simplicity of those, who compare the seely greatnesse of these times vnto that. In the seaventh booke of *Ciceroes* familiar Epistles (and let Gramarians remove this title of Familiar, if they please, for to say truth it makes but little to the purpose: and they who in lieu of familiar, have placed *ad familiares*, may wrest some argument for themselves, from that which *Suetonius* saith in *Caesars* life, that there was a volume of his Epistles *ad familiares*) there is one directed vnto *Caesar* then being in *Gaule*, in which *Cicero* repeats these very words, which were in the end of a former letter that *Caesar* had written to him: *Touching Marcus Furius, whom thou hast commended vnto me, I will make him King of Gaule, and if thou wilt have me preferre any other of thy friends, send them to me.* It was not new in a simple Roman Citizen (as *Caesar* then was) to dispose of Kingdomes, for as well deprived he King *Deiotarus* of his, to give it to a Gentleman of the City of *Pergamo*, called *Mithridates*. And those who writ his life, mention many Kingdomes sold by him. And *Suetonius* reporteth, that he at one time wrested three millions and six hundred thousand crownes of gold from King *Ptolomeus*, which amounted very neere vnto the price of his Kingdome. Claud. in E [...] trop. li. 1. 20

Tot Galatae, tot Pontus eat, tot lidia n [...]mmis:  
[386] Forsomuch let *Galatia* go,  
Forsomuch *Lidia*, *Pontus* so.

*Marcus Antonius* said, *the greatnesse 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 credit higher. *Antiochus* possessed all *Aegypt*, and was very neere to conquer *Cipres*, and others depending of that Empire. Vpon 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, said, he would deliberate of them. *Popilius* with a wand encircled the place about, where he stood, and thus bespake him; *Give me an answer to carry backe vnto the Senate, before thou goe out of this circle.* *Antiochus* amazed at the rudenesse of so vrging a commandement, after he had pawsed a while, replyed 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 Monarchy, and

forgon the course of so successfull prosperity, 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 war, he restored to those who had lost them, or presented strangers with them: And concerning this purpose, *Tacitus* speaking of *Cogidunus* King of England, by a wonderfull tract makes vs perceive this infinit greatnesse. Cor. Tac. vit. Jul. Agric. and might. The Romans (saith he) were from all antiquity accustomed, to leave those Kings whom they had vanquished, in the possession of their kingdomes, vnder their authority: *Vt haberent instrument a 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 liberality, and give away the kingdome of *Hungary*, and other dominions, did more respect this consideration, then that he was wont to alleage; which is, that he was over wearied 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 men should not counterfeit to be sicke.** ↩

There is an epigram in *Martiall*, that may passe for a good one (for there are of all sortes in him) wherein he pleasantly relateth the storie of *Caelius*, who to avoide the courting of certaine great men in *Rome*, to give attendance at their rising, and to waite, assist and follow them, fained to be troubled with the goute; and to make his excuse more likely, hee caused his legges to bee ointed and swathed, and lively counteifeted the behaviour and countenance of a goutie man. In the end fortune did him the favour to make him goutie indeede.

Tantum cura potest & ars doloris, Mart. lib. 7. epig. 38. 8.  
Desiit fingere Caelius podagram.  
So much the care and cunning can of paine:  
Caelius (growne gowty) leaves the gowt to faine.

As farre as I remember I have read a like History in some place of *Appian*, of one who purposing to escape the proscriptions of the *Triumvirat* of *Rome*, and to conceale himselfe from the knowledge of those who pursued him, kept himselfe close and disguised, adding this other invention to it, which was to counter feit blindnesse in one eye, who when he came somewhat to recouer his liberty, and would have left off the plaister hee had long time worne 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 visual vertue was wholly converted into the other eie: For, we may plainly perceive, that holding one eye shut, it convaieth some part of it's effect into his follow; in such sort as it [387] 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 *Martials* goutie sellow. Reading in *Freisart*, the vowe which a gallant troupe of young English-men had made, to weare their left eyes hoodwink's, vntill such time as they should passe into *France*, and there performe some notable exploite of armes vpon vs, I have often laughed with my selfe to think what they would have imagined if as to the fore aleaged, it had hapned to them, and had all beene blinde of the left eye, at what time they returned to looke vpon their mistresses, for whose sake they had made their vowe and vndertaken such an enterprise. Mothers have great reason to chide their children when they counterset 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 easily receive some ill custome, I know not how, it seemeth that fortune is glad to take vs at our word; And I have heard divers examples of some, who have falne sicke in very deede, because they had purposed to saine sickenes. I have at all times enured my selfe, whether I be on horsebacke or a foote, to carrie a good heavie wand or cudgell in my hand; yea I have endeavored to doe it handsomely, and with an

effected kinde of countenance to continue so. Many have threatned me, that fortune will one time or other turne this my wantonnes into necessitie. I presume vpon this, that I should be the first of my race, that ever was troubled with the gowt. But let vs somewhat amplifie this chapter, and patch it vp with another piece concerning blindnes. *Plinie* reports of one, who dreaming in his sleepe, that he was blinde, awaking the next morning, was found to be starke blinde, having never had any precedent sickenes. The power of imagination may very well further such things, as elsewhere I have shewed; And *Plinie* seemeth to be of this opinion; but it is more likely, that the motions, which the body selt inwardly (whereof Phisitions, may if they please, finde out the cause) and which tooke away his sight, and were the occasion of his dreame. Let vs also adde another storie, concerning this purpose, which *Seneca* reporteth in his Epistles. *thou knowest* (saith he writing vnto *Lucilius*) *that Harpaste my wiues foole, is left vpon me as an hereditarie charge; for by mine owne nature, I am an enemie vnto such monsters, and if I have a desire to laugh at a foole, I neede not seeke one farre; I laugh at my selfe. This foolish woman hath sodainly lost hir sight. I report a sirange thing, but yet very true: She will not beleeeve she is blind; and vrgeth hir keeper vncessantly to lead hir, saying still, my house is very darke. What we laugh at in hir, I entreat thee to believe, that the same h [...]*pneth to each for vs. *No man knoweth himselfe to be covetous, or niggardly. Even the blind require a guide, but wee stray from our selves. I am not ambui [...]*us, say we, but no man can live otherwise at Rome: *I am not sumptuous, but the Cittie requireth great charges: It is not my fault, if I be collerike; If I have not yet set downe a sure course of my life, the fault is in youth. Let vs not seeke our evill out of vs; it is within vs it is rooted in our entrailles. And only because we perceive not that we are sick, makes our recoverie to proue more difficult. If we beginne not betimes to cure our selves, when shall we provide for so many sores, for so many evils? Yet have we a most-sweete and gentle medicine of Philosophie; for of others, no man fees the pleasure of them, but after his recoverie, where as she pleaseth, easeth, and cureth all at once.* Lo here what *Seneca* saith, who hath somewhat diverted me from my purpose: But there is profit in the exchange.

### **The sixe and twentieth Chapter. Of Thumbs.**

*TAcitus* reporteth, that amongst certaine barbarous Kings, for the confermation of an inviolable bonde, or covenant, their manner was, to joyne 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 entersuck't each one the others. Phisicians say, thumbs are the master-fingers of the hand and that their Latin eEtymologie is derived of *Pollere*. The Graecians cal it [...] as a man [388] would say another hand. And it seemeth, the Latins likewise take them sometimes in this sense, *id est*, for a whole hand:

Sed nec vocibus excitata blandis, Mart. lib. 12. epigram. 99. 8  
Molli pollice nec rogata surgit.  
It will not rise, though with sweete words excited,  
Nor with the touch of softest thumb invited.

In *Rome* it was heeretofore a signe of favor, to wring and kisse the thumbs,

Fautor vtroque tuum laudabit pollice ludum: Hor. lib. 1. epist. 18. 66.  
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* Iuven. sat. 3. 36.  
Quemlibet occidunt populariter.—  
When people turne their thumbs away,  
The popularly any slay.

Such as were hurt or maymed in their thumbs, were by the Romanes dispensed from going to warre, as they who had lost their weapons hold-fast. *Augustus* did confiscate all the goods of a Romane Knight, who through malice had cut off the thumbes of two yong children of his thereby to excuse them from going to warre: And before him, the Senate in the time of the Italian warres, had condemned *Caius Vatienus* to perpetuall prison, and confiscated all his goods, forsomuch as he had willingly cut off the thumb of his left hand, so to exempt himselfe from that voyage. Some one, whose name I remember not, having gained a great victorie by Sea, caused all the enemies whom he had vanquished and taken prisoners to have their thumbes cut off, thinking thereby to deprive them of all meanes of fighting, of rowing, or handling their oares. The Athenians likewise caused them to be cut off from them of *Aegina*, to take from them the prehemine in the arte of navigation. In *Lacedaemon*, masters punished their Schollers by byting their thumbs.

### **The seaven and twentieth Chapter. Cowardize, the Mother of Crueltie.**

I Have often heard it reported, that *Cowardize is the Mother of Crueltie*: And have perceived by experience, that this malicious sharpnes, and inhumane severitie of corage, is commonly accompanied with feminine remissenesse: I have seene some of the cruelest subject to weep easily, and for frivolous causes. *Alexander* the tyrant of *Pheres*, could not endure to see tragedies acted in the Theaters, for feare his subjects should see him sob and weepe at the misfortunes of *Hecuba* and *Andromaca*; he who without remorse or pittie caused daily so many poore people to be most cruelly massacred and barbarously murdered. May it be weaknesse of spirit, makes them so pliable to all extremities? valor (whose effect is onely to exercise it selfe against resistance.

Nec nisi bellantis gaudet cervice iuveni. Claud. epist. ad Hadr. v. 39.  
Nor takes he joy to domineere,  
But on the necke of sturdie steere)

refrains it selfe in seeing her enemy prostrate to her mercie: But pusillanimitie, to say that she also is of the feaste, since it cannot bee joynd to the first part, takes for her share the second, which is massacre and blood. Murthers after victories, are commonly effected by the baser kinde of people, and officers that waite vpon the baggage and cariage. And the reason we see so many vnheard-of cruelties in popular warres, is, that this vulgar rascalitie doth martially flesh and enure it selfe to dive in blood vp to the elbowes, and mangle a bodie, or hacke a carcase lying and groveling at their feete, having no manner of feeling of other valor.

Et Lupus & turpes instant morientibus Vrsi. Ovid. Trist. li. 3. [...]. 5. 35.  
[389] — *Et quaecumque minor nobilitate fera est.*  
A Wolfe or filthie Beare the dying man oppresse,  
Or some such beast as in nobilitie is lesse.

As the Craven Curses, which at home or in their Kennels will tugge and bite the skinnes of those wilde beastes, which in the fields they durst not so much as barke-at. What is it that now adaiies makes all our qaurrels mortall? And whereas our forefathers had some degree of reuenge, we now beginne by the last; and at first brunt nothing is spoken of but killing? What is it, if it be not Cowardise? Euery man seeth, it is more bravery and disdain for one to beare his enemy, than make an end of him; and to keepe him at a bay, than make him die. Moreouer, that the desire of revenge is thereby alayed, and better contented; for, it aymeth at

nothing so much as to give or shew a motion or feeling of reuenge onely of her selfe. And that's the reason we doe not challenge a beast or fall vpon a stone, when it hurts vs, because they are incapable to feele our ren [...]. And to kill a man, is to shelter him from our offence. And euen as *Bias*, exclaimed vpon a wicked man; *I know that soone or late thou shalt be punished for thy lewdnes, but I feare me I shall not see it:* And moaned the Orchomenians, because the penance which *Liciscus* had for his treason committed against them, came at such a time, as none of them were living, whome it had concerned, and whom the pleasure of that punishment might most delight: So ought reuenge to be moaned, when he on whom it is inflicted, looseth the meanes to endure or feel it. For, even as the revenger, will see the action of the reuenge, that so he may feele the pleasure of it, so must he on whom he is revenged both see and feele that he may hereby receive both repentance and grieffe. He shall rewe it, say we, And though he receive a stabbe or a blow with a pistoll on his head, shall we thinke he will repent? Contrariwise, if we marke him well, we shall perceiue that in falling, he makes a moe or bob at vs, Hee is farre from repenting, when hee rather seemes to be beholding to vs: In asmuch as we affoord him the favourablest office of life, which is to make him dye speedily, and as it were insensibly. We are left to shift vp and downe, runne and trot, and squat heere and there, and all to avoyde the Officers, or escape the Magistrates that pursue vs; and he is at rest. *To kill a man, is good to escape a future offence, and not reuenge the wrongs past.* It is rather an action of feare, than of bravery; Of precaution, than of courage; Of defence, than of an enterprise. It is apparant, that by it, we quit both the true end of reuenge, and the respect of our reputation: If he live we feare he will 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 *Narsinga*, this expedient would be bootlesse: There, not onely Souldiers, and such as professe armes, but euery meane Artificer, decide their quarels with the Swordes point. The King neuer 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, whosoeuer hath a mind vnto, and will obtaine it, may freely challenge him that weareth the same, and enter combate with him. And hauing overcome one combate hath many following the same, If we thought by vertue to be ever superiors vnto our enemy, and at our pleasure gourmandize him, it would much grieue vs he should escape vs, as he doeth in dying. We rather endeavor to vanquish surely, than honourably. And in our quarrels we rather seeke for the end, than for the glory. *Asinius Pollio* for an honest man, lesse excusable, committed a like fault; Who hauing written certaine invectives against *Plancus*, staide vntill he were dead to publish them. It was rather to flurt at a blind man, and raile in a dead-mans eare, and to offend a sencelesse man, than incurre the danger of his reuenge. And men answered in this behalfe, that *it onely belonged to Hobgoblins to wrestle with the dead.* He who staieth till the Author be dead, whose writings hee will combate, what saith he, but that he is weake and quarrellous? It was told *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 reuenge an iniurie with a lie; a lie with a blowe, a blowe with bloud; and so in order.* They were sufficiently valiant not to feare their adversary though he lived and were wronged: Whereas we quake for feare, so long as we see him a foote. And that it is so, doth not our moderne practize, pursue to death, as well him who hath wronged vs, as him whom we have offended? It is also a kinde of dastardlinesse, which hath brought this fashion into onr single combates, to accompany vs into the field with seconds, thirdes, and fourths. They were aunciently single combates, but now they are skirmishes and battels. To be alone, feared the first that invented it: *Quum in se cui (que) minimum fiducia esset.* [390] *When every man had least confidence in himselfe.* For, what company soever it be, it doth naturally bring some comfort & ease in danger, In ancient time they were wont to employ third persons as sticklers, to see no trechery or disorder were vsed, and to beare witnes of the combates successe. But now this fashion is come vp, let any man be engaged whosoever is envited, cannot well containe himselfe to be a spectator, lest it be imputed vnto him, it is either for

want of affection, or lacke of courage. Besides the injustice of such an action and villany, for your honours protection, to engage other valour and force then your owne, I finde it a disadvantage in an honest and worthie man, and who wholly trusts vnto himselfe, to entermingle his fortune with a second man: every one runneth sufficient hazard for himselfe, and neede not also runne it for another: And hath enough to doe to assure himselfe of his owne vertue for the defence of his life, without committing so precious a thing into third menshandes. For, if the contrarie hath not expressly beene covenanted of all foure, it is a combined party. If your fellow chance to faile, you have two vpon you, and not without reason: And to say, it is a Superchiery, as it is indeed: as being wel armed, to charge a man who hath but a piece of a sword, or being sound and strong, to set vpon a man fore hurt. But if they bee advantages you have gotten fighting, you may vse them without imputation. Disparitie is not considered, 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 vpon you, your other two companions being slaine, you have no more wrong done you, than I should offer in Wars in striking an enemie, whom at such an advantage I should finde grapled with one of my Fellow Souldiers. The nature of societie beareth, where troupe is against troupe (as where our Duke of *Orleans* chalenged *Henry* King of *England*, one hundred against another hundred; three hundred against as many, as did the Argians against the Lacedemonians; three to three, as were the *Horatij* against the *Curatij*) the pluralitie of either side is never respected for more than a single man. Whersoever there is company, the hazard is confused and disordered. I have a private interest in this discourse. For, my brother, the Lord of *Matecoulom*, being desired in *Rome*, to second and accompany a Gentleman, with whom he had no great acquaintance, who was defendant and challenged by another; The fight begunne, my brother by chance found himselfe confronted with one neerer and better knowne to him (I would faine be resolved of these Lawes of honour, which so often shooke and trouble those of reason) whom after he had vanquished and dispatched, seeing the two principalls of the quarrell yet standing and vnhurt, he went to reskew his fellow. What could he do lesse? should he have stooode still, and (if chance would so have had it) see him defeated, for whose defence he was entred the quarrell? What vntill then he had done was nothing to the purpose, and the quarrell was still vndecided. All the curtesie 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 anothers interest depends on it, where you are but accessory, and where the quarrell is not yours. Hee could never be just nor courteous, in hazard of him vnto whom he had lent himselfe. So was he presently delivered out of the Italian prisons by a speedy and solemne letter of commendations from our King. Oh indiscreete Nation! We are not contented to manifest our follies, and bewray our vices to the world by reputation: but wee goe into forraine Nations and there in person shew them. Place three French-men in the deserts of *Libia*, and they will never live one moneth together without brawling, falling out and scratching one another: you would say this peregrination, is a party erected to please strangers with our tragedies; and those most commonly, who reioyce and scoffe at our evils. We travell into *Italie* to learne the Arte of fencing, and practise it at the cost of our lives, before we know it; it were requisite according to the order of true Discipline, we should preferre the Theorike before the practike. We betray our apprenticesage.

Primitiae iuvenum miserae, bellique futuri S [...].t. [...].lv. lib. 5.  
 Dura rudimenta.—  
 The miserable first essayes of youth,  
 And hard beginnings of warre that [...].nsu'th.

I know it is an Arte profitable to her end (in the single combate betweene the two Princes, cosin-Germans, in *Spaine*, the eldest of which (saieth *T. Livius*) by the skill of his weapons, & by craft, over came easily the dismayed forces of the yonger) and as by experience I have knowen, the knowledge and skill whereof, hath puffed vp the hart of some, beyond [391]their

naturall proportion. But it is not properly a vertue, since shee draweth her stay from dexteritie, and takes her foundation from other than from her selfe. *The honour of combatet consisteth in the iealositie of the hart, not of the science.* And therefore have I seene some of my friends, renowned for great Masters in this exercise, in their quarels to make choise of weapons, that might well take the meane of this aduantage or oddes from them; and which wholly depended on fortune, and assurance that their victory might not rather be imputed to their fencing, than ascribed to their valour And in my infancy, our nobility scorned the reputation of a fencer, though neuer so cunning, as injurious; and if any learnt it, they would sequester themselves from company, deeming the same as a mystery of craft and subtilty, derogating from true and perfect vertue.

Non schivar, non parar, non ritirarsi Tass [...] [...]i [...]r. can. 12. [...]. 55.  
 Uoglion costor, ne qui destrezza parte;  
 Non danno i colpi finti hor pie [...]i, hor scarsa;  
 Toglie lirae il furor [...] vso deilarte,  
 Odi le spade horribilmente vrtarsi  
 A mozzo il ferro, il pie d'orma non parte,  
 Sempre è il pie fermo, è la man sempre in moto,  
 Ne scende taglio in van, ne punta à voto.  
 T' avoyde, towarde retiring to give ground  
 They reke not, nor hath nimblenes heere part:  
 Nor give false blowes, nor full, nor scarce, nor sound,  
 Rage and revenge bereave all vse of Arte.  
 Their Swordes at halfe Sword horribly resound  
 You might heare mette: No foote from steppe doth parte:  
 Their foote still fast, their hand still faster mooveth:  
 No stroke in vaine, no thrust in vaine, but prooveth.

*Shooting at Buts, Tiltings, Torneyes, Barriers, the true images of martiall combates, were the exercises of our forefathers.* This other exercise is so much the lesse noble, by how much it respecteth but a private end; which against the lawes of justice, teacheth vs to destroy one another, and euery way produceth euer mischievous effects. *It is much more worthy, and beeter beseeming, for a man to exercise himselfe in things that assure and offend not our Commonwealth; and which respect publike securitie and generall glory.* Publius Consus, was the first that ever instituted the Souldier to manage his armes by dexteritie and skill, and joynd arte vnto vertue, not for the vse of private contentions, but for the wars and Roman peoples quarrels. A popular and civill manner of fencing. And besides the example of *Caesar*, who appointed his Souldier, above all things, to aime and strike at the face of *Pompeyes* men in the battell of *Pharsalia*: A thousand other Chiestaines and Generals have devised new fashions of weapons, and new kindes of striking, and covering of themselves, according as the present affaires required. But even as *Philopoemen* condemned wrestling, wherein hee excelled others, forsomuch as the preparations appertaining to this exercise differed from those that belong to military discipline, to which he supposed, men of honour should amuse and addict themselves. Me thinkes also, that this nimblenesse or agilitie, to which men fashion and enure themselves, their limbes, their turnings, windings, and timble-quick motions, wherein youth is instructed and trained in this new schoole, are not onely vnprofitable, but rather contrary and damageable for the vse of militarie 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 chalenged to fight with Rapier and Dagger, should present himselfe in the equipage of a man at armes; or that another should offer to come with his cloake insteade of a Dagger. It is worthy the noting, that *Lachaz* in *Plato*, speaking of an apprenticeslage, how to manage armes, conformable to ours, saith, he could never see any notable warrior come of a schoole of fence, and especially from among the maisters. As for them our owne experience confirmes as much. And for the rest we may at least say, they are sufficiencies of no relation or

correspondencie. And in the institution of the children of his Common wealth, *Plato* interdicts the artes of striking or playing with fists, devised by *Amycus* and *Epeiuis*, and to wrestle, invented by *Anthoeus* and *Cecyo*: because they aime at another end, then to adapt youth to warlike service, [392]and have no affinitie with it. But I digresse much from my theame. The Emperour *Mauricius*, being forewarned by dreames ■ and sundry prognostications, that one *Phocas* a Souldier at that time yet vnknowne, 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 timorousfellow: The Emperour thereby presently concluded, that he was both cruell and a murtherer. What makes tyrants so bloud-thirstie? it is the care of their securitie, and that their faint-hart yeelds them no other meanes to assure themselves, then by rooting out those which may in any sort offend them; yea silly women for feare they should or bite or scrach them?

Cuncta ferit dum cuncta timet.— Claud in Eutrop. lib. 1. 182.  
 Of all things he afraide,  
 At all things fiercely laide.

The first cruelties are exercised by themselves, thence proceedeth the feare of a just revenge, which afterward produceth a swarme of new cruelties; by the one to stis [...]le the other. *Philip*, the King of *Macedon*, who had so many crowes to pull with the Romanes, agitated by the horrour of so many murthers committed by his appointment, and vnable to make his partie good, or to take any saue resolution against so many families, by him at severall times injured, resolved at last to seize vpon all their children whom he had caused to be murdered, that so he might day by day one after another rid the world of them, and so establish his safety. *Matters of worth are not impertinent wheresoever they be placed*. I, who rather respect the weight and benefite of discourses, then their order and placing, neede not feare to place here at randone a notable storie. When they are so rich of their owne beautie, and may very well vpholde themselves alone, I am content with a hairens end, to fitte or joyne them to my purpose. Amongst others who had beene condemned by *Philip*, was one *Herodicus*, Prince of the Thessalians: After whome he caused his two sonnes in lawe to bee put to death; each of them leaving a yoong sonne behinde him. *Theoxena* and *Arco* were the two widdowes. *Theoxena* although shee were instantly vrged therevnto, coulde never be induced to marry againe. *Arco* tooke to husbände *Poris* a chiefe man amongst the Aenians, and by him had diverse children, all which she left very yoong. *Theoxena* moved by a motherly charitie toward her yoong nephewes, and so to have them in her protection and bringing vp wedded *Poris*. Vpon this came out the proclamation of the Kings Edict. This noble-minded mother, distrusting the kings crueltie, and fearing the mercilesnes of his Satelities or officers towards these noble, hopefull and tender youths, feared not to say, that shee would rather kil them with her owne hands, then deliver them. *Poris* amazed at her protestations, promiseth her secretly to convey them to *Athens*, there by some of his faithfull friends to be kept safely. They take occasion of an yearely feast, which to the honor of *Aeneas* was solemnized at *Aenia*, and thither they goe, where having all day-long assisted to the ceremonies ■ and publike banket: night being come, they convay themselves iuto a shippe, appointed for that purpose, in hope to save themselves by Sea. But the winde fell out so contrarie, that the next morning they found themselves in view of the towne, whence the night before they had hoised sailes, where they were pursued by the guarders and Souldiers of the Porte. Which *Poris* perceiving, laboured to hasten and encourage the Mariners to shift away: But *Theoxena*, enraged through love and revenge, remembering her first resolution, prepared both weapons and poison, and presenting them to their sight, thus shee bespake them: Oh my deere children, take a good heart, death is now the onely meane of your defence and libertie, and shall be a just cause vnto the Gods for their holy justice. These bright-keene blades, these full cuppes shall free you the passage vnto it. Courage therefore, and thou my eldest childe, take this sworde to die the strongest death. Who on the one side hauing so

vndaunted a perswader, and on the other their 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*, proude shee had so gloriouslie provided for her childrens safety, lovingly embracing her husband, saide thus vnto him; Oh my deare heart, let vs follow these boyes, and together with them enjoy one selfe same graue, And so close-claspt-together, they flung themselves in to the maine: So that the ship was brought to shoare againe, but emptie of hir Maisters. Tyrants to act two things together, that is, to kill and cause their rage to be felt, have employed the vtmost of their skill, to [393]devise lingring deaths. They will have their enemies die, yet not so soone, but that they may have leisure to feele their vengeance. Wherein they are in great perplexitie: for if the torments be over-violent, they are short; if lingring, not grievous enough. In this they imploy their wits and devises. Many examples whereof we see in antiquitie; and I wot not, whether wittingly we retaine some spice of that barbari [...]me. *Whatsoever is beyond a simple death, seemeth to mee meere crueltie*. Our justice cannot hope, that he whom the terror of death cannot dismay, be he to be hanged or beheaded, can in any sort be troubled with the imagination of a languishing fire, of a wheele, or of burning pincers. And I wot not, whether in that meane time we bring him to despaire: For, what plight can the soule of a man be in, that is broken vpon wheele, or after the olde fashion, nailed vpon a Crosse, and xxiiij. houres together expects his death? *Iosephus* reporteth, that whilest the Romane warres continued in *Iurie*, passing by a place where certaine Iewes had beene crucified three dayes before, he knew three of his friends amongst them, and having gotten leave to remoove then, two of them died, but the third lived long after. *Chalcondylas* a man of credite, in the memories he left off matters happened in his time and thereabouts, maketh report of an extreame torment, the Emperour *Mechmed* was often wont to put in practise, which was by one onely blow of a Cimitary or broad Persian Sword, to have men cutte in two parts, by the waste of the body, about the Diaphragma, which is a membrane lying ouerthwart the lower part of the breast, separating the heart and lights from the stomake, which caused them to dy two deaths at once: and affirmeth that both parts were seene full of life, to moove and stirre long time after, as if they had beene in lingring torment. I doe not thinke, they felt any great torture in that mooving. *The gastliest torments to looke vpon, are not alwai [...]s the greatest to be endured*: And I finde that much more fiercely-horrible, which other Historians write and which he vsed against certain Lords of *Epirus*, whom faire and leasurely he caused to be fleade all over, disposed by so malicious a dispensation, that their lives continued fifteene daies in that languor and anguish. And these two others; *Croesus* having caused a Gentleman to be apprehended, greatly favoured by *Pantaleon* his brother; led him into a fullers or cloth-workers shoppe, where with Cardes and Teazles belonging to that trade, he made him to be carded, scraped, and teazled so long vntill he died of it. *George Sechell* Ring-leader of the Countrymen of *Polina*, who vnder the title of a *Croysada*, wrought so many mischiefes, having beene defeated in a battell by the *Dayvoda* of *Transilvania*, and taken Prisoner, was for three dayes together tyed naked to a woden-horse, exposed to all maner of tottures, any man might devise against him; during which time divers other prisoners were kept fasting. At last, he yet living, saw *Lueat* his deare brother, and for whose safety he saued and entreated, forced to drinke his bloud, drawing all the envie and hatred of his misdeedes vpon himselfe. And twentie of his most favoured Captaines were compelled to feed vpon his flesh, which with their teeth they must teare off, and swallow their morsels. The rest of his body and entrailles, he being dead, were boiled in a pan, and given for foode to other of his followers.

### **The eight and twentieth Chapter.** **All things have their season. ↩**

THose who compare *Cato* the Censor, to *C [...]o* the yonger that killed himselfe, compare two notable natures, and in forme neare one vnto another. The first exploited his, sundrie waies, and excelleth in militarie exploitcs, and vtillitie of his publike vacations. But the

yongers vertue (besides that it were blasphemie, in vigor to compare any vnto him) was much more sincere and vnspotted. For, who will discharge the Censores of envie and ambition, that durst counter-checke the honor of *Scipio*, in goodnesse and all other parts of excellencie, farre greater and better than 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 so earnest a longing to learne the Greeke tong, as if it had been to quench a long burning thirst: A thing in mine opinion not very honorable in him. It is properly that which we call doting [394] or to become a child againe. All things have their season, yea the good and all. And I may say my *Pator noster* out of season. As *T. Quintius Flaminius* was accused, forasmuch as being Generall of an Army, even in the houre of the conflict, he was seene to withdraw himselfe apart, amusing himselfe to pray God, although he gained the battell.

Imponit finem sapiens & rebus honestis. Iuve. sat. 6. 344  
 A wise-man will vse moderation,  
 Even in things of commendation.

*Eudemondas* seeing *Xenocrates* very old, laboriously apply himself in his Schoole-lectures said, when will this man know something, since he is yet learning? And *Philopoemen*, to those who highly extolled King *Ptolomey*, because he daily hardned his body to the exercise of armes: It is not (said he) a matter commendable in a King of his age, in them to exercise himselfe, he should now really and substancially employ them. Wise men say, that *yoong-men should make their preparations, and old men enjoy them*. And the greatest vice they note in vs, is, that our desires doe vncessantly grow yonger and yonger. We are ever beginning a new to live. Our studies and our desires should sometimes have a feeling of age. We have a foote in the grave, and our appetites and pursuities are but new-borne.

Tusecanda marmora Hor car. lib. 2 od. 18. 17.  
 Locas sub ipsum funus, & sepulcri  
 Immemor, struis domos.  
 You, when you should be going to your grave,  
 Put Marble out to worke, build houses brave,  
 Vnmindfull of the buriall you must have.

The longest of my desseignes doth not extend to a whole yeare; now I onely apply my selfe to make an end: I shake off all my newe hopes and enterprises: I bid my last farewell to all the places I leave, and daily dispossesse my selfe of what I have. *Olim iam nec peris quicquam mihi, nec acquiritur: Plus superest viatici quam viae. It is a good while since I neither loose Sen. epist. 77. p. nor get any thing; I have more to beare my charges then way to goe.*

Vixi, & quem dederat cursum fortuna peregi. Virg. Aen. l. 4. 653.  
 I have liv'd, and the race have past,  
 Wherein my fortune had me plast.

To conclude, it is all the ease I finde in my age, and that it suppresseth many cares and desires in me, wherewith life is much disquieted. The care of the worlds course, the care of riches, of greatnesse, of knowledge, of health and of my selfe. This man learneth to speake, when he should rather learne to hold his peace for ever. A man may alwaies continue his studie, but not schooling. O fond-foolish for an old man to be ever an *Abcedarian*.

Diversos diversa iuuant, non omnibus annis. Catul. eleg. 1. 103.  
 Omnia conveniunt.—  
 Diverse delights to diverse, nor to all  
 Do all things at all yeares convenient fall.

If we must needs study let vs study something sorteable to our condition, that we may answer, as he did, who being demanded what his studies would steade him in his decrepity, answered; *that he might the better, and with more ease leave this world*. Such a study was yoong *Catoes*, in [...]ore feeling his approaching end, who lighting vpon *Platoes* discourse of the soules immortality. Not, as it may be supposed, that long before he had not stored himselfe with all sorts of munition for such a dislodging. Of assurance, of constancy and instruction, he had more then *Plato* hath in all his writings: His Science, and his courage, were in this respect above all Philosophie. Hee vndertooke this occupation, not for the service of his death, but as one, who did not so much as interrupt his sleepe, in a deliberation of such consequence, whoever without choise or change continued his wonted studies, and all other accustomed actions of his life. The same night, wherein the Pretorship was refused him, he passed over in play. That wherein he must die, he spent in reading. The losse of life or office was all one to him.

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### The nine and twentieth Chapter. Of Vertue.↩

I Finde by experience, that there is great difference betweene the sodaine fits and fantasies of the soule, 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; forsomuch as it is more to become impassible of himselfe, then to be so by his originall condition: And that one may joyne a resolution and assurance of God to mans imbecilitie. 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 naturall forces: but they are pranks or parts consonant to truth: and it may hardly be believed, mans soule may so be tainted and fed with those so high-raised conditions, that vnto it they may become as ordinary and naturall. It hapneth vnto our selves, who are but abortiue broodes of men, sometimes to rowze our soule farre beyond her ordinary pitch, as stirred vp by the discourses, or provoked by the examples of others. But it is a kinde of passion, which vrgeth, mooveth, agitateth and in some sorte ravisheth her from out her selfe: for, that gust overblowne, and storme past, we see, it vnawares vnbend and loose it selfe, if not to the lowest pitch, at least to be no more the same she was, so that vpon every slight occasion, for a bird lost, or for a glasse broken, we suffer our selves to be mooved and distempered very neere as one of the vulgar sort. *Except order, moderation and constancie, I imagine all things may bee done by an indifferent and defective man*. Therefore say wisemen, that directly to judge of a man, his common actions must specially be controuled, and he must every day be surprised in his worky-day clothes. *Pyrrho*, who framed so pleasant a Science of ignorance, assaide (as all other true Philosophers) to fashion his life answerable to his doctrine. And forasmuch as hee maintained the weakenesse of mans judgement, to be so extreame, as it could take nor resolution, nor inclination: and would perpetually suspend it, ballancing, beholding and receiving all things, as indifferent: It is reported of him, that he ever kept himselfe after one fashion, looke and countenance: If he had begunne a discourse, he would end it, though the party 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 obstacle somever came in his way; being kept from falls, from cartes or other accidents by his friends. For, to feare or shunne any thing, had beene to shooke his propositions, which remooved all election and certainty from his very senses. He sometimes suffered himselfe to be cut and cautherized, with such constancie, as he was never seene so much as to shrug, twitch, move or winke with his eyes. It is something to bring the minde to these imaginations, but more to joine the effects vnto it, yet is it not impossible. But to joyne them with such preseverance and constancie, as to establish it for an ordinary course; verily in these enterprises so farre from common vse, it is almost incredible to be



done. The reason is this, that he was sometimes found in his house, bitterly scolding with his sister, for which being reproved, as hee that wronged his indifferencie: What? said hee, *must this seely woman also serve as a witnesse to my rules?* Another time, being found to defend himselfe from a dog: *It is* (replied he) *very hard, altogether to dispoyle and shake off 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 seaven or eight yeares since, that a countrie man, yet living, not above two leagues from this place, having long before beene much vexed and troubled in minde, for his wives jealousie; one day comming home from his worke, and she after her accustomed maner welcomming and entertaining him with brawling and scowlding, as one vnable to endure her any longer, fell into such a moodie rage, that sodainely with a Sickle, which he held in his hand, he cleane cut off those parts, that were the cause of her jealousie, and flung them in her f [...]ce. And it is reported, that a yong gentleman of *France*, amorous and lustie, having by his perseverance at last mollified the hart of his faire mistresse, desperate, because comming to the point of his so long sued-for busnesse, he found himselfe vnable and vnprepared, and that

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—*non viriliter* T [...]b. l. ad Pri ap. v 4.  
Iners senil [...] penis extulerat caput.

as soone as he came home, he deprived himselfe of it: and sent it as a cruell and bloody sacrifice for the expiation of his offence. Had he done it by discourse or for religions sake, as the priestes of *Cybele* were wont to do, what might we not say of so haughty an enterprise? Not long since at *Bragerac*, five leagues-distance from my house, vp the river of *Dordaigne*, a woman, having the evening before beene grievously tormented, and sore beaten by hir husband; froward and skittish by complexion, determined, though it should cost hir the price of hir life, by one meane or other, to escape his rudenesse, and rising the next morning, went as she was accustomed to visite hir neighbours to whom in some sort she recommended the state of hir affaires, than taking a sister of hers by the hand, ledde hir along vntill shee came vpon the bridge that crosseth the River, and having bid hir hartily farwell; as in the way of sport without shewing any maner of change or alteration, headlong threw herselfe downe into the River, where she perished. And which is more to be noted in hir, is, that this hir determination ripened a whole night in hir head. But the Indian Wives, may not here be forgotten as worthy the noting: Whose custome is, that Husbands have many Wives and for hir that is dearest vnto hir Husband, to kil herselfe after him: Every one in the whole course of hir life, endevoereth to obtaine this priviledge and advantage over al hir fellow-wives: And in the good offices and duties they shew their hubands, respect no other recompence, than to be preferred to accompany them in death.

Vbi mortifero iacta est fax vltima laecto, Propert. lib. 3. el. 12. 17.

—*Vxorum fusis, stat pia turba comis:*

Et certamen habent Laethi, quae viva sequatur

—*Coniugium, pudor est non licuisse mori:*

Ardent victrices, & flammae pectora praebent,

—*Imponunt que suis or a perust a viris.*

When for his death-bed last flame is appli'de

With loose haire many kind wives stand be side,

And strive for death, which alive may be next

Hir wedlocke, who may not is sham'd and vex't

They that orecome, are burn'd, to flames give way,

Their bodies burnt on their burnt husbands lay.

A late Writer affirmeth, that himselfe hath seene this custome highly reputed in the new discovered East Indiaes, where not only the wives are buried with their husbands, but also such slaves as hee hath enjoyed; which is done after this manner. The husband being deceased, the widdow may, if she will (but fewe doe it) request two or three Moneths space to dispose of hir busines. The day come, adorned as a sumptuous bride, she mounteth on horsebacke, and with a cheerful countenance, tell eth every body, she is going to lie with hir bride groome, holding in her left hand a looking-glasse, and an arrow in the right. Thus having a while rid vp and downe in great pompe and magnificence, accompanied with her friendes and kins-men, and much concourse of people, in feast and jolitie, 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 neere vnto it an vpraised scaffold, with foure or five steppes to ascend, vpon which she is brought, and served with a stately and sumptuous banket, Which ended, she beginneth to dance and sing, and when she thinks good commandeth the fire to be kindled. That done, she commeth downe againe, and taking the nearest of hir Husbands kindred by the hand, they goe together to the nex River, where shee strippes hir selfe all naked, and distributeth hir jewels and clothes among hir friends, then plungeth herselfe in the Water, as if she meant to wash away hir sins; then comming out she enwrappeth herselfe in a yellow piece of linnen cloth, about the length of fourteene yards; And giving hir hand againe vnto hir Husbands Kins-man, they returne vnto the Mount, where she speakes vnto the people, to whom (if she have any) she recommendeth hir Children. Betweene the Pitte and Mount, there is commonly a Curtaine drawne, lest the sight of that burning furnace might dismay them: Which many, to shew the greater courage, will not have it drawne. Her speech ended, a Woman presenteth her with a Vessell ful of Oyle, therewith to annoint hir head and body, which done, she casteth the rest into the fire, and [397]there withall sodainely flings herselfe into it: Which is no sooner done, but the people cast great store of Faggo [...]s and Billets vpon hir, lest she should languish over-long: and all their joy is converted into grieffe and sorrow. If they be persons of meane quality, the dead mans body is carried to the place where they intend to bury him, and there he is placed sitting; his Widdow kneeling before him with hir armes close about his middle, and so keepeth herselfe, whilst a Wall is erected vp about them both, which raised to the height of her shoulders, some of her kindred taking her by the head behind, wrings her neck about; and having given the last gaspe, the wall is immediately made vp close over their heades, wherein they remaine buried. In the same Country, there was something like to this in their Gymnosophists, or wise-men, who not by meanaces-or compulsions of others, nor by the violence of a sodaine humour but by the expresse and voluntary profession of their rule, their maner was according as they attained vnto a certaine age, or saw themselves threatned by some sicknesse, to cause a pile of Wood to be erected, and vpon it▪a rich bedde; and having cheerefully feasted their friends and acquaintance, with such a resolution laide themselves downe in that bedde, that fire set vnto it, they were never seene to stirre nor hand nor foote? and thus died one of them, named *Calanus*, in the presence of all the army of *Alexander* the Great. And who had not so made himselfe away, was neither esteemed holy nor absolutely happy amongst them? sending his soule purged and purified by fire, after it had consumed whatsoever was mortall and itterestriall in it. This constant premeditation of al the life, is that which makes the wonder. Amongst our other disputation, that of *Fatum*, hath much entermedled it selfe: and to joyne future things, and our will it selfe vnto a certaine vnavoidable necessity, wee yet stand vpon that argument of former times: since God foreseeeth all things must thus happen as vndoubtedly he doeth: They must then necessarily happen so. To which our Clarks and Maisters answere, that to see any thing come to passe, as we doe, and likewise God (for hee being present in full essence, rather feeth than foreseeeth) is not to force the same to happen: yea we see, because things come to passe, but things happen not because we see. The hapning makes the science or knowledge, and not knowledge the happening. What we see come to passe, happeneth; but it might come to passe otherwise. And God in the eternall

register of the causes of happenings, which he hath in his prescience, hath also those, which are called casuall; and the voluntary, which depend of the liberty, he hath given vnto our free wil, and knoweth we shall faile, because our will shall have beene to faile. I have seene diverse encourage their troupes with this fatall necessitie: 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 recoyle the same.

This may well be saide, but seeke you who shall effect it: And if it be so, that a strong and lively faith, doth likewise draw action after it: truly this faith (wherewith wee so much fill our mouths) is marvelous light in our times: except the contempt it hath of workes, make her disdain their company. So it is, that to the same purpose, the Lord of *Ioinville*, as credible a witnesse as any other, tells vs of the Bedoins, a nation entermingled with the Saracine, with whom our King Saint *Lewes* 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 eternitie, by an inevitable preordinance, that they went all bare and naked to the warres, except a Turkish Glaive in their hand, and their body covered but with a white linnen-cloth: And for the the bitterest curse, if they chanced to fall out one with another, they had ever in their mouth: *Cursed be thou, as he that armeth himselfe for feare of death*. Here is another maner of triall or a beliefe or faith, then ours, In this rank may likewise be placed that which those two religious men of *Florence*, not long since gave vnto their countrymen. Being in some controversie betweene themselves about certaine points of learning; they accorded to goe both into the fire, in the 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, an execution to be performed, but that by an vnexpected accident it was interrupted. A yong Turkish Lord, having atchieved a notable piece of service in armes, and with his owne person, in full view of the two battels betweene *Ammurath* & *Huniades* ready to be joyned together, being demanded by *Ammurath* his Prince, who (being so yong and vnexperienced, for is was the first warre o [...] service he had seene before) had replenished him with so generous and vndanted vigor of courage? answered, that a Hare had beene his soveraigne maister and onely teacher of valour; and [398]thus began his speech. *Being one day a hunting, I found a Hare sitting in her forme, and although I had a brace of excellent good gray-houndes with me in a slip or leash, I thought it good, because I would be sure of my game to vse my bow; for she was a very faire marke I beganne to shoot [...] my arrowes at her, which I did to the number of fortie (for in my quiver were iust so many) yet could I never hurt her, no not so much as start her: After all this, I let slip my gray-hounds, who could doe no more then I had done: by which I learnt, that she had beene sheltred and defended by her destinie; and that no glaives nor arrowes never hit, but by the permission of our fatalitie, which it lieth not in vs to avoide or advance*. This storie 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 dignity and in learning, vaunted himselfe vnto me, that he was induced to a certaine most important change of his religion, by a strange and fantasticall incitation: and in all things so il-concluding that I deemed the same stronger and more forcible, being taken contrary. He termed it a miracle, and so did I, but in a different sense. Their historians say, that perswasion having popularly beene scattered amongst the Turkes, of the fatall and inflexible prescription of their dayes, doth apparantly ayde to warrant and emboulden them in dangers. And I know a great Prince, who happily thrives by it, be it he beleive it, or take it for an excuse to hazard himselfe extraordinarily; provided fortune be not soone wearie to favour and backe him. There hath not happened in our memorie a more admirable effect of resolution, than of those two villaines that conspired the death of the Prince of *Orange*: It is strange how, the last, who perfourmed the same could be induced or encouraged to vndergoe such an enterprise, wherein his fellow (though he had resolutely attempted it, and had all might be required for such an action) had so ill successe, and miscarried. And *in these steps, and with the same weapons, to goe and vndertake a Lord, armed with so late an instruction of distrust; mighty*

*in friends and followers; puissant of bodily strength; in his owne hall; amidst his servants and garde; and in a Citty wholly at his devotion. It must of force be saide, that in performing it, he employed a well-directed and resolute hand, and a dreadlesse courage mooved by a vigorous passion.* A Poynard is more sure to wound a man, which forsomuch as it requireth more motion and vigor of the arme, than a pistole, it's stroke is more subject to be hindred or avoided. That the first ranne not to an assured death, I make no great doubt, for the hopes wherewith hee might be entertained could not harbour in a well settled and resolute minde; and the conduct of his exploit, sheweth, hee wanted no more that, then courage. The motions of so forcible a perswasion may be diverse; for, our fantasie disposeth of her selfe and of vs as she pleaseth. The execution committed neere *Orleans* had no coherence with this, wherein was more hazard, then vigor; the blow was not mortall, had not fortune made it so: and the enterprize to shoote 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 misse of his effect, then faile to save himselfe. What followed did manifestly shew it. For, he was so amazed & drunken with the thought of so haughty an execution, as he lost all his senses, both to worke his escape, and direct his tongue in his answeres. What needed he have done more, then recover his friends by crossing of a river; It is a meane, wherin I have cast my selfe in farre lesse dangers, and which I thinke of small hazard, how broade soever, alwayes provided your horse finde an easie entrance, and on the further side you foresee an easie and shallow landing, according to the course of the streame of the water. The second, when the horrible sentence was pronounced against him, answered stowtly, *I was prepared for it, and I shall amaze you with my patience.* The Assassines, a nation depending of *Phaenicia*, are esteemed among the Mahometists of a soveraigne devotion and puritie of maners; they hold, that the readiest and shortest way to gaine Paradise, is to kill some one of a contrary religion: therefore hath it often beene seene, that one or two in their bare doublets have vndertaken to assault mightie enemies, with the price of an assured death, and without any care of their owne danger. And thus was our Earle *Raymond* of *Tripoli* murdered or assassinated (this word is borrowed from their name) in the midst of his Citty, during the time of our warres in the holy land: And likewise *Conrade* Marquis of *Montferrato*, his murderers being brought to their torture, were seene to swel with pride, that they had performed so worthy an exploit.

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### **The thirtieth Chapter. Of a monstrous Child,**

This discourse shall passe single, for I leave it to Phisitions to treat of. I sawe two dayes since a childe, whom two men and a nurce (which named themselves to be his father, his Vnckle, 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 stode vpon his feete, went and pratled in a maner as all others of his age: Hee would never take nourishment, but by his nurces breast; and what in my presence was offred to be put in his mouth, he chewed a little, and put it all out againe. His puling differed somewhat from others: He was just fourteene moneths olde. Vnder his paps he was fastned and joyned to an other childe, but had no head, and who had the conduite of his backe stopped, 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 h [...]e childe would embrace another somewhat bigger. The joyning and space whereat they were closed together, was but foure inches b [...]loade, or thereabouts; insuch sort that if you thrust vp the imperfect childe, you might see vnder the others navill: And the seame was betweene the paps and his navill. The navill of the imperfect one could not be seene but all the rest of his belly [...]ght, Thus, what of the imperfect one was not joyned, as armes buttocks, thighes and legges did hang and shake

vpon the other, whose length reached to the middle-leg of the other perfect. His Nurce tolde me, hee made water by both privities. The members of the little one were nourished, living▪ and in the same state as the others, except only, they were lesse and thinner. This double body, and these different members, having reference to one onely head, might serve for a favorable prognostication to our King, to maintaine the factions and differing parties of this our kingdome vnder an vnitie of the lawes. But, least the successe should prove it contrarie, it is not amisse Cic. divin. lib. 2. to let him runne his course: For in things alreadie past their neede no divination. *Ut quum factasunt, tum ad coniecturam aliqua inter pretatione revocantur*: So as when they are done, they then by some construction should be revoked to coniecture: As it is reported of *Epimenides*, who ever divined backward, I come now from seeing of a shepheard at *Medoc*, of thirtie yeares of age, or thereabouts, who had no signe at all of genitorie parts: But where they should be, are three little holes, by which his water doth continually trill from him. This poore man hath a beard, and desireth still to be fumbling of women. *Those which we call monsters are not so with God, who [...] the immensitie of his worke feeth the infinitie of forme therein contained.* And it may be thought, that any figure doth amaze vs, hath relation vnto some other figure of the same kinde, although vnknowne vnto man. *From out his all-seeing wisdomed proceedeth nothing but good, common regular and orderly; but we neither see the sorting, nor conceive the relation.* *Quod crebrò videt, non miratur, etiam si, our fiat nescit. Quod antè non videt, id, si evenerit, ostentum* Cic. divin. lib. 2. *esse censet. That which he often seeth, he doth not wonder at, though he know not why it is done; But if that happen, which he never saw before, he thinkes it some portentuous wonder.* Wee call that against nature, which commeth against custome: There is nothing, whatsoever it be, that is not according to hir. Let therefore this vniversall and naturall reason, chase 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.↵**

*PLutarke* is every where admirable, but especially where he judgeth of humane actions. The notable things he reporteth, may be perceived in the comparison of *Lycurgus* and [400] *Numa*, speaking of the great simplicitie we commit, in leaving yong children vnder the government and charge of their fathers and parents. Most of our policies, or Commonwealths, saith *Aristotle* (as the Cyclopes were wont) commit the conduct of their wives, and charge of their children, to all men, according to their foolish humor or indiscreete fantazies. And wel-nigh, none but the Lacedemonian and Cretensian, have resigned the discipline of children to the lawes. *Who seeth not, that in an estate all things depend of nurture and education?* And all the while, without discretion, it is wholly left to the parents mercie, how foolish and wicked soever they be. Amongst other things, how often (walking through our streetes) have I desired to have a play or comedie made in revenge of yoong boyes, which I sawe thumpt, misused▪ and well nigh murdered by some hare-brained, moodie, and through choller-raging Fathers and Mothers, from out whose eyes a man might see sparkles of rage to startle,

—*rabie iecur incendente feruntur* I [...] sat. 6. 548  
 Praecipites, vt saxa iugis abrupta, quibus mons  
 Subtrahitur, cli [...]òque latus pendente recedit:  
 They headlong runne with rage, which doth enflame their livers  
 Like stones that broken fall from mountaine tops in shivers,  
 The hill withdrawes, and they are rould  
 From hanging cliffes which leaves their hold.

(And according to *Hypocrates*, the most dangerous infirmities, are those which disfigure the face) and with a loud thundring voice often to follow children that came but lately from nurse; Which after prove lame, maimed, blockish and dull-pated with blowes: And yet our lawes make no account of it, as if these spraines, and vnjoyntings of lims, or these maimes were no members of our Common-wealth.

Gratum est quód patriae civem populóque dedisti,  
 Si facis vt patriae sit, idoneus vtilis agris, I [...]. sat. 14. 70.  
 Utilis & bellorum & pacis rebus agendis.  
 That you to th'countrie give a man, 'tis acceptable,  
 If for the countrie fit you make him, for field's able,  
 Of peace and warre for all achievements profitable.

*There is no passion so much transports the sinceritie of iudgement, as doth anger.* No man would make conscience to punish that Iudge by death; who in rage or choller had condemned an offender▪ And *why should fathers be allowed to beate, or schoolemaesters be suffered to whip children, or to punish them being angrie?* It is no longer correction, but revenge. *Punishment [...] vnto children as phisike;* and would any man endure a phisicion, that were angrie and wroth against his patient? Our selves (did wee well) during the time of our anger, should never lay hands one our servants. So long as our pulse panted, and wee feele any concitation, so long remit we the partie: And things will seeme farre otherwise vnto vs, if we once come to our senses againe, and shall better bethinke vs. Then is it passion that commandes. It is passion that speaketh and not wee. Athwart it, faults seeme much greater vnto vs, as bodies doe athwart a foggie mist. Whoso is hungrie, vseth meate, but who so will vse chastisement, should 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 hee shall never thinke to have beene justly condemned, by a man who is transported by rage and choller, and for his justification alleadgeth the extraordinary motions of his maister, the inflammation of his face, his vnwonted othes, his chafing, his vnquiernesse and hi [...] ra [...]h precipitation.

Ora tument ira, nigrescunt sanguine venae,  
 Lumina Gorgoneo saeuus igne micant. Ovid. art. Am. lib. 3. 53.  
 The face with anger swelles, the veines growe blacke with blood,  
 The eyes more fiercely shine then *Gorgons*, fierie moode.

*Suetonius* writeth, that *Caius Rabirius*, having by *Caesar* beene condemned, nothing, did him so much good toward the people (to whom he appealed) to make him obtain his sute, 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 sermon apart and the preacher severall.* Those have made themselves good sport, who in our daies have gone about to checke the veritie of our [401]Church, by the ministers vice: She fetcheth hir testimonie from elsewhere. It is a foolish manner of arguing, and which would soone reduce all things to a confusion. *An honest man may sometimes have false opinions, and a wicked man may preach truth: Yea such a one as beleeves it not.* Verely, *it is a pleasing harmonie, when doing and saying goe together.* And I will not deny, but saying, when deedes follow, is of more efficacie and authoritie: As said *Eudamidas*, when he heard a Philosopher discourse of warre: *These speeches are good, but he that speakes them, is not to be beleaved,* For his eares were never accustomed to heare the clang of trumpets, nor rattling of drums. And *Cleomenes* hearing a Rethoritian speake of valour, burst out into an extreame laughter: Whereat the other being offended, he said vnto him: *I would doe as much if it were a Swallowe should speake of it, but were he an Eagle, I should gladly heare him.* Me seemeth 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 listen to *Brutus*, their very

wordes will tell you and sound in your eare, the latter was a man raedie to purchase it with the price of his life. Let *Cicero*, that father of eloquence treat of the contempt of death, and let *Seneca* discourse of the same; the first drawes 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 hart, for himselfe hath none: Whereas the other doth rowze, animate and inflame you. I never looke vpon an Author, be they such as write of vertue and of actions, but I curiously endeavor to finde out what he was himselfe. For, the *Ephori* of *Sparta*, hearing a dissolute liver propose a very beneficiall advise vnto the people, commaunded him to hold his peace, and desired an honest man to assume the invention of it vnto himselfe and to propound it. *Plutarke*s compositions, if they be well favored, doe plainly manifest the same vnto vs: 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 falne into this discourse, by reason of the thanks I owe vnto *Aulus Gellius*, in that he hath left vs written this storie of his manners, which fitteth my subiect of anger. A slave of his, who was a lewd and vicious man, but yet whose eares were somewhat fedde with Philosophicall documents, having for some faults by him committed, by the commandement of *Plutarke* his master, beene stripped naked, whilst another servant of his whipped him, grombled 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 master, vpbraiding him, that he was not a true Philosopher, as he wanted himselfe to be, and how he had often heard him say, that, *it was an vnseemely thing in a man to be angrie*. And that he had made a booke of it: And now all plunged in rage, and engulfed in choller to cause him so cruelly to be beaten, was cleane contrarie to his owne writing. To whom *Plutarke* with an vnaltered, and milde-settled countenance, said 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 speech give thee any testimonie, that I am either mooved or chollerike? Me seemeth, mine eyes are not staringly-wilde, nor my face troubled, nor my voice frightfull or distempered: Doe I waxe redde? Doe I foame at the mouth? Dooth any word escape me I may repent heereafter? Doe I startle and quake? Doe I rage and ruffle with anger? For, to tell thee true, these are the right signes of choler and tokens of anger. Then turning to the party that whipped him, continue still thy worke, quoth he whilst this fellow and I dispute of the matter. This is the report of *Gellius*. *Architas Tarentinus* returning from a war, where he had been Captaine generall, found his house all out of order, husbandrie all spoiled, and by the ill government of his Baily, his ground all waste and [...]manured; and having called for him, said thus; *Away bad man, for if I were not angrie, I would have the whipt for this*. *Plato* likewise, being vexed and angrie with one of his slaves, commaunded *Speusippus* to punish him, excusing himselfe, that now being angrie he would not lay hands vpon him. *Charillus* the Lacedemonian, to on *Ilelot* or cuntrey hinde behaved himselfe over insolently and audaciously towards him; *By the Gods* (said he) *If I were not now angrie, I would presently make thee die*. It is a passion which pleaseth and flattereth it selfe. How many times being moved by any false suggestion, if at that iustant 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. *Piso* in divers other respects, a man of notable vertue, being angrie, and chafing with one of his Souldiers, who returning from forage or boot-haling, could not give him an accoumt [402] where hee had left a fellow-Souldier of his, and thereupon concluding hee had killed or made him away, foorthwith condemned him to be hanged. And being vpon the gallowes readie to die; behold his companion, who had stragled abroad, comming home, whereat all the army rejoyced very much, and after many embracings and signes of joy betweene the two souldiers, the hangman brought both vnto *Piso*; all the companie hoping, it would bee a great pleasure vnto him; but it fell out cleane contrarie▪ for through shame & spite his wrath still burning was redoubled, and with a slie devise his passion instantly presented to his mind, he made three guiltie, forsomuch as one of them was found innocent; and caused them all three to be dispat

[...]h [...]d. The first Souldier because he was aliedie condemned; the second, which had strag [...]ed abroade, by reason he was the cause of his fellowes death; and the hangman, for that he had not fulfilled his Generalles commaundement. Those who have to deale with froward and skittish women have no doubt seen what rage they wil fal into, if when they are most angrie and cha [...]ing, a man be silent and patient, and disdaine to foster their anger and wrath, *Celius* the Orator was by nature exceeding fretfull and cholerike. To one who was with him at supper, a man of a milde and gentle conversation, and who because he would not moue him, seemed to approve what ever he said, and yeelde to him in every thing; as vnable to endure his peevishnes should so passe without some nourishment, burst out into a rage, and said vnto him. *For the love of God deny me something, that we may be two.* So women are never angrie, but to the end a man should againe be angrie with them, therein imitating the lawes of Love. *Phocion* to a man who troubled his discourse with brawling and skolding at him, in most injurious manner, did nothing else but holde his peace and given 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 off, *There is no reply so sharpe as such silent contempt.* Of the most chollerike and teastie man of *France* (which is ever an imperfection, but more excusable in a military man; for it must needes be granted, there are in that profession some men who cannot well avoyde it) I ever say, hee is the patientest man I knowe to bridle his choller; it mooveth and trannsporteth him with such furie and violence,

—*magno veluti cùm flamma sonore* Virg. *Ae* [...]. lib. 462.

Virgea suggeritur cost is vndantis aheni,  
 Exultantque aestu latices, furit in [...]us aquai  
 Fumidus atque al [...]è spumis exuberat amnis,  
 Nec iam se capit vnda, volat vapor ater ad auras,  
 As when a fago [...] flame with hurring sounds  
 Vnder the ribbes of boyling cauldron lies,  
 The water swelles with heat beyond the bounds,  
 Whence steeming streames raging and foming rise,  
 Water out-runns it selfe, blacke vapors flye to skies.

that hee must cruelly enforce himselfe to moderate the same. And for my part, I knowe noe passion I were able to [...]mother with such temper and abide with such resolution. I would not set wisdom at so high a rate. I respect not so much what hee doth, as how much it costs him not to doe worse. Another boasted in my presence, of his behauiours order and mildnesse, which in truth is singular: I tolde him, that indeede it was much, namely in men of so eminent qualitie, as himselfe was, on whome all eyes are fixed, alwayes to shew himselfe in a good temper: but that the chieftest point consisted in providing inwardly and for himselfe; and that in mine opinion, it was noe discrete parte inwardly to fret: which, to maintaine that marke and formall outward apparence, I feared hee did. *Choller is incorporated by concealing and smothering the same*, as *Diogenes* saide to *Demosthenes*, who fearing to be seene in a Taverne, withdrew himselfe into the same: The more thou recoylest backe, the further thou goest into it. I woulde rather perswade a man, though somewhat out of season, to give his boy a whirret on the ea [...], then to dissemble this wise, sterne or severe countenance, to vex and fret his minde. And I woulde rather make shew of my passions, then smother them to my cost: which being vented and exprest, become more languishing and weake: Better it is to let it's pointe worke outwardly, then bend it against our selves. *Omnia vitia in aperto leviora* Sen. episti 56. *sunt: & tunc perniciosissimae, quum simulata sanitate subsidunt.* All vices are then lesse perillous when they lie open to bee seene, but then most pernicious, when they lurke vnder counterfeited [403] soundnesse. I ever warne those of my houshold, who by their offices-authoritie may sometimes have occasion to be angry, first to husband their anger; then not to employ it vpon every slight cause; for that empeacheth the effect and worth of it. Rash and ordinary brawling is converted to a custome, and that's the reason each man contemnes it: That which you employ against a servant for



any theeving, is not percei [...]jed, because it is the same he hath sundry times s [...]jene you vse against him, if hee have not washt a glasse well o [...] misplaced a stoole. Secondly, that they be not angry in vaine, but ever have regard their ch [...]ding come to his eares with whom they are offended: for, commonly some will brawle before hee come in their presence, and chide a good while after he is gone,

& secum petulans amentia ce [...] tat. Claud. in [...] 1. 48.  
 Madnesse makes with it selfe a fray,  
 Which fondly doth the wanton play.

and wreake their anger against his shadow, and make the storme fall where no man is either chastised or interressed, but with the rumour of their voice, and sometimes with such as cannot doe withall. I likewise blame those who being angry, will brave and mutime when the partie with whome they are offended is not by. These *Rodomantados* must be employed on such as feare them.

Mugitus veluti cùm prima in praelia taurus Vir Aen. l. 12. 1. 03.  
 Terrificos [...]jiet, atque ir asci in cornua tentat,  
 Arborts obnixus trunco, ventósque lac [...]ssit  
 Ictibus, & sparsa ad pugnam proludit arena.  
 As when a furious Bull to his first combate mooves  
 His terror-breeding lowes, his horne to anger prooves,  
 Striving against a trees trunke, and the winde with strokes,  
 His preface made to fight with sca [...]tered sand, provokes.

When I chance to be angry, it is in the earnest [...]st manner that may be, but yet as briefly and as secretly, as is possible. I loose my selfe in hastinesse 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 cheape in great matters, then in small trifles. Slight occasions surprise me, and the michiefe is, that after you are once falne into the pit, it is no matter who thrusts you in, you never cease till you come to the bottome. The fall presseth, hasteneth, mooveth and furthereth it selfe. In great occasions I am pleased, that they are so just. that every body expects a reasonable anger to insue. I glorify my selfe to deceive their expectation. Against these I bandy 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 keepe my selfe from falling into them, and if I stay for them, I am stronge enough to reject the impulsion of this passion, what violent cause soever it hath. But if it seize vpon and once preoccupate me, what vaine cause soever it hath, it doth cleane transport me: I condition thus with those that may contest with me, when you perceve me to be first angry, be it right or wrong, let me hold-on my course, I will do the like to you, when ever it shall come to my lot. The rage is not engendred but by the concurrencie of cholers, which are easily produced one of another, and are not borne at one instant. Let vs allow every man his course, so shall we ever be in peace. Oh profitable prescription, but of an hard execution! I shall some time seeme to be angry for the order and direction of my house, without any just emotion. Accoding as my age yeeldeth my humours more sharpe or peevish, so doe I endeavour to oppose my selfe against them, and if I can I will hereafter enforce my selfe to be lesse froward and not so teasty. As I shall have more excuse and inclination to be so; although I have heretofore beene in their number that are least. A word more to conclude this Chapter: *Aristotle* saith, *Choller doth sometimes serve as armes vnto Vertue and Valour*. It is very likely: notwithstanding such as gainesay 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.

**The two and thirtieth Chapter.**  
**A defence of *Seneca* and *Plutarke*.** ↪

The familiarity I have with these two men, and the ayde they affoord me in my olde age, and my Booke meerey framed of their spoiles, bindeth me to wed and maintaine their honour. As for *Seneca*, amongst a thousand petty-Pamphlets, those of the pretended reformed religion have published for the defence of their cause, which now and then proceede from a good hand, and which, pittie it is, it should not be employed in more serious and better subjects: I have heeretofore seene one, who to prolong and fill vp the similitude, he would finde betweene the government of our vnfortunate late king *Charles* the ninth and that of *Nero*, compareth the whilom lord Cardinall of *Loren* [...] vnto *Seneca*; their fortunes to have beene both chiefe men in the government of their Princes, and therewithall their manners, their conditions and their demeanours: wherein (in mine opinion) hee doth the saide lorde Cardinall great honour: for, although I bee one of those that highly respect his spirite, his woorth, his eloquence, his zeale toward his religion and the service of his King; and his good fortune to have beene borne in an age, wherein hee was so new, so rare, and there withall so necessarie for the common-wealth, to have a Cleargie-man of such dignitie and nobilitie, sufficient and capable of so weightie a charge: yet to confesse the truth, I esteeme not his capacitie such, nor his vertue so exquisitely vnspotted, nor so entire or constant, as that of *Seneca*. Now this Booke whereof I speake, to come to his intention, maketh a most injurious description of *Seneca*, having borrowed his reproaches from *Dion* the Historian, to whose testimony I give no credite at all: For besides, he is inconstant, as one who after hee hath called *Seneca* exceeding wise, and shortly after termed him a mortall enemy to *Neroes* vices, in other places makes him covetous, given to vsurie, ambitious base-minded, voluptuous and vnder false pretences, and fained shewes, a counterfet Philosopher; his vertue appeareth so lively, and wisdom so vigorous in his writings; and the defence of these imputations is so manifest, as well of his riches, as of his excessive expences, that I beleeve no witness to the contrarie. Moreover, there is great reason wee should rather give credite to Romane Historians in such things, then to Graecians and strangers, whereas *Tacitus* and others speake very honourably of his life and death, and in all other circumstance declare him to have beene a most excellent and rarely-vertuous man. I will alleadge noe other reproch against *Dions* judgement, then this, which is vnayoydable: that is, his vnderstanding of the Roman affaires, is so weake and ill advised, as he dareth defend and maintaine *Iulius Caesars* cause against *Pompey*, and bl [...]sheth not to justifie *Antonius* against *Cicero*. But let vs come to *Plutarke*; *Iohn Bodine* is a good moderne Author▪ and endowed with much more judgement then the common-rabble of Scriblers and blur-papers which now adayes stuffe Stationers shops, and who deserveth to bee judged, considered and had in more then ordinary esteeme. Neverthelesse I finde him somewhat malapert and bolde in that passage of his *Method of Historie*, when he accuseth *Plutarke*, not onely of ignorance (wherein I woulde have let him say his pleasure, for that is not within my element) but also that he often writeth, things, altogether incredible and meerey fabulous (these are his very words) If he had simply said things otherwise than they are, it had beene no great reprehension: for, what we have not seene, we receive from others and vpon trust: And I see him sometime, wittingly and in good earnest report one and same story diversly: As, the judgemenns of three best captaines that ever were, spoken by *Hanibal*, is otherwise in *Flaminius* his life, & otherwise in *Pyrrhus*. But to taxe him, to have taken incredible and impossible things for ready payment, is to accuse the more judicious author of the World of want of judgement. And see heere his example: As (saith he) when he reports, that a Childe of *Lacedemon* suffered all his belly and guttes to be torne out by a Cubbe or yoong Foxe, which he had stolne. and kept close vnder his garment, rather than he would discouer his theft. First, I finde this example ill chosen: Forasmuch as it is verie heard to limit the powers of the soules-faculties, whereas of corporall

[405]forces, we have more law to limite and know them: And therefore, had I beene to write of such a subject I would rather have made choyce of an example of this second kinde. And some there be lesse credible. As amongst others, that which he reportes of *Pyrrhus*, who being fore wounded, gave so great a blow with a sword vnto one of his enemies, armed at all assayes, and with all pieces, as he cleft him from the Crowne of the head downe to the groine, so that the body fell in two pieces. In which example I finde no great wonder, nor doe I admit of his excuse, wherewith he cloaketh *Plutarke*, to have added this Word, (as it is said) to forewarne vs, and restraine our beliefe. For, if it be not in things received by authoritie and reverence of antiquity or religion, neither would himselfe have received, nor proposed to vs▪ to believe things in themselves incredible: And that (as it is saide) hee doeth not heere sette downe this phrase to that purpose, may easily bee perceived, by what himselfe in other places telleth vs vpon the subject of the Lacedemonian Childrens patience, of examples happened in his time, much harder to be perswaded: As that which *Cicero* hath also witnessed before him because, (as he saith) he had beene there himselfe: That even in their times there were Children found prepared to endure all maner of patience, whereof they made triall before *Dianaes* Aulter, and which suffered themselves to bee whipped, till the blood trilled downe all partes of their body, not onely without crying, but also without sobbing: and some who voluntarily suffered themselvs to bee [...]courged to death. And what *Plutarke* also reporteth, and a hundreth other witnesses averre, that assisting at a sacrifice, a burning coale happened to fall into the sleeve of a Lacedemonian childe, as he was busie at incensing, suffered his arme to burne so long, vntill the smell of his burnt flesh came to all the by-standers. There was nothing according to their custome, so much called their reputation in question, and for which they endured more blame and shame, than to be surprized stealing. I am so well instructed of those mens greatnesse of courage, that this report, doth not onely not seeme incredible to mee, as to *Bodine*, but I doe not so much as deeme it rare, or suppose it strange: The Spartane story is full of thousands of much more rare and cruell examples; then according to this rate, it containeth nothing but myracle. Concerning this point of stealing, *Marcellinus* reporteth, that whilest hee lived, there could never be found any kinde of torment that might in any sort compell the Aegyptians surprized filching (which was much vsed amongst them) to confesse and tell but their names. A Spanish Peasant being laide vpon the racke, about the complices of the murther of the Pretor *Lucius Piso*, in the midst of his torments cried out, his friends should not stir, but with all securitie assist him, & that it was not in the power of any grieffe or paine to wrest one word of confession from him: and the first day nothing else could possibly be drawne from him: The next morrow as he was led toward the racke, to be tormented a new, he by strong violence freed himselfe from out his keepers hands, and so furiously ranne with his head against a Wall, that he burst his braines out, and presently fell downe dead. *Epicharis*, having glutted & wearied the moody cruelty of *Neroes* Satellites or officers, and stoutly endured their fire, their beatings, & their engins a whole day long, without any one voyce, or word of revealing hir conspiracy, & the next day after, being againe brought to the torture, with hir limbs bruized & broken, convayed the lace or string of hir Gowne over one of the pillers of the Chaire wherein she sate, with a sliding knot in it, into which sodainely thrusting hir head, she strangled herselfe with the weight of hir body: Having the courage to dye so, and steale from the first torments; seemeth shee not purposely to have lent hir life to the triall of hir patience of the precedent day, only to mocke that Tyrant, and encorage others to attempt the like enterprize against him? And he that shall enquire of our Argolettiars or Free-booters, what experiences they have had in these our late Civill wars, shall no doubt find effects & examples of patience, of obstinacy and stif-neckednesse in these our miserable dayes, and amidst the effeminate, and puling worldlings farre beyond the Aegyptian, and well worthy to be compared to those already reported of Spartan vertue. I know, there have beene found seely boores, who have rather endured to have their feet broiled vpon a Greedyron, their fingers ends crusht and wrung with the locke of a Pistole, their eyes all bloody to be thrust out of their heades with wringing and wresting

of a corde about their foreheads, before they would so much as be ransomed. I have seene and spoken with one, who had beene left all naked in a ditch for dead, his necke all brused and swolne, with a halter about it, wherewith he had beene dragged a whole night at a horses taile through thick & thinne, with a hundred thrusts in his body, given him with daggers, not to kil him outright, [406]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 promise any ransome; yet was he one of the wealthiest husbandmen in all his countrie. How many have bin seene, who have patiently endured to be burnt and rosted for vnknowne and wilful opinions, which they had borrowed of others: My selfe have knowne a hundred and a hundred women (for, the saying is, Gaskoine 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 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 threates or stripes, would leave to call her husband pricke-lowse, and being cast into a pond and duckt vnder water, lifted vp her hands, and joyning her two thumbs-nailes in act to kill lice above her head, seemed to call him lousie still, devised a fable, whereof in truth we dayly see the expresse image in divers womens obstinacie and wilfulnesse. And yet *obstinacie is the sister of constancy*, at least in vigor and stedfastnesse.

A man must not judge that which is possible, and that which is not, according to that which is credible and incredible to our sense and vnderstanding, as I have already saide elsewhere. And it is a great fault, wherein the greater number of men doe dayly fall (I speake not this of *Bodine*) to make a difficultie in believing that of others, which themselves neither can nor would doe. Every man perswades himselfe, that the chiefe-forme of humane nature is in himselfe; according to her, must all others be directed. The proceedings that have no reference to hers, are false and fa [...]jed. Is any thing proposed vnto him of anothers mans faculties or actions; The first thing he calls to the judgement of his consultation▪ is his owne examples; according as it goeth in him, so goeth the worlds order. Oh dangerous sottishnesse, and intolerable foppery! I consider some men a farre-off, beyond and above my selfe, namely amongst those ancient ones: and though I manifestly acknowledge mine owne insufficiencie to follow or come neere them by a thousand paces; I cease not to keepe them still in view, and to judge of those wardes and springs that raise them so high; the seedes whereof I somewhat perceive in my selfe: as likewise I doe of the mindes extreame basenes, which amazeth me nothing at all, and I misbelieve no more. I see the turne those give to wind vp themselves, and I admire their greatnesse, and those starts which I perceive to be so wondrous faire, I embrace them: and if with man wrenth I reach not vnto them, at least my judgement doth most willingly apply it selfe vnto them. The other example, he alledgeth of things incredible, and altogether fabulous, reported by *Plutarke*, is, that *Agésilau* was fined by the Ephories, because he had drawne tee harts and good wills of all his fellow-cittizens into himselfe alone. I knowe not what marke of falshood, or shew of impossibiiltie 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 as it was not strange in *Geece*, to see men punished and exiled, onely because they were too popular, and pleased the common people over much. Witnessse the *Ostracisme* amongst the Athenians, and the *Petalisme* among the Siracusans. There is another accusation in the same place, which for *Plutarke*s sake doth somewhat touch me, where he saieth, that he hath very well and in good trueth sorted the Romanes with the Romanes, and the Graecians amongst themselues, but not the Romanes with the Graecians, witnessse (saith he) *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, and *Aristides*, *Syll* [...] and *Lysander Marcellus* and *Pelopidas*; *Pompey* and *Agésilau*, deming thereby that hee hath fauoured the Graecians, in giving them so vnequall companions. It is a just reproving of that, which is most excellent and commendable in *Plutarke*: Eor, in his comparisons (which is the most admirable part of his worke, and wherein in mine opinion hee so much pleased himselfe) the faithfulnessse and

sinceritie of his judgement equalleth their depth and weight. Hee is a Philosopher that teacheth vs vertue. But let vs see, whether wee can warrant him from this reproch of prevarication and false-hood. That which I imagine hath given occasion or ground to this judgement is, that great and farre-spreading lustre of the Romane names, which still are tingling in our eares, and never out of our mindes. Wee doe not thinke, *Demosthenes* may equall the glory of a Consull, of a Pro [...]ousull and a Questor of this great Common wealth of *Rome*. But hee that shall impartially consider the truth of the matter, and men in themselves, which *Plutarke* did chiefly aime at, and more to balance their custome, their [407]naturall dispositions and their sufficiencie, then their fortune: I am of a cleane opposite opinion to *Bodine*, and thinke that *Cicero* and old *Cato* are much behinde or short of their parallels. For this purpose, I would rather have chosen the example of yong *Cato* compared to *Phocion*: for in that paire might well be found a more likely disparitie for the Romanes advantage. As for *Marcellus*, *Sylla* and *Pompey*, I see very well, how their exploites of warre, be more swolne, glorious and pompous, then the Craecians, whom *Plutarke* compareth vnto 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 smothered vnder the brightnesse of other names of lesser desert: witnesse *Labienus*, *Ventidius*, *Telesinus* and diverse others. And to take him in that sense, were I to complaine for the Graecians, might not I say, that *Camillus* is much lesse comparable vnto *Themistocles*, the *Gracchi* to *Agis* and *Cleomenes*, and *Numa* to *Lycurgus*? But it is follie at one glance to judge of things with so many and diverse faces. When *Plutarke* compares them, he doth not for all that equall them. Who could more eloquently, and with more conscience note their differences? Doth he compare the victories, the exploites of armes, the power of the armies conducted by *Pompey* and his triumphs vnto those of *Agesilaus*? I doe not believe (saith he) that *Xenophon* himselfe (were he living) though it were granted him to write his pleasure for the advantage of *Agesilaus*, durst ever dare to admit any comparison betweene them. Seemeth he to equall *Lysander* to *Sylla*? There is no comparison (saith he) neither in number of victories, nor in hazard of battels betweene them: for, *Lysander* onely obtained two sea-battels, &c. This is no derogation from the Romanes. If he have but simply presented them vnto the Graecians, what ever disparitie may be betweene them, he hath not in any sort wronged them. And *Plutarke* doth not directly counterpoise them. In some there is none preferred before others; He compareth the parts and the circumstances one after another▪ and severally judgeth of them. If therefore any would goe about to convince him of favour, hee should narrowly sift out some particular judgement; or in generall and plaine termes say, he hath missed in sorting such a Graecian to such a Romane, forasmuch as there are other more sortable and correspondent, and might better be compared, as having more reference one vnto another.

### The three and thirtieth Chapter.

#### The History of *Spurina*.↵

PHilosophy thinketh, she hath not ill employed hir meanes, having yeelded the soveraine rule of our minde, and the authoritie to restraine our appetites, vnto reason. Amongest 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 possessed with them: so that health it selfe depended of them, and phisike is sometimes constrained to serve them insteede of a Pandership. But contrariwise, a man might also say, that the commixture of the body doth bring abatement and weakenesse vnto them; because such desires are subject to sacietie and capable of materiall remedies. Many who have endeavored to free and exempt their mindes from the continuall alarumes, which this appetite did assaile them with, have vsed incisions, yea and cut-off the mooving, turbulent and vnruely parts. Others have alayed the force and fervency of them by frequent applications of cold things, as snow and vineger. The haire-cloths which our forefathers vsed to weare for this purpose, wherof some made shirts, and some waste-bands or girdles, to torment their reignes. A Prince told me not long

since, that being very yoong, and waiting in the Court of King *Francis* the first, vpon a solemne feastival day, when all the Court endeavored to be in their best clothes, a humor possessed him to putte-on a shirt of haire-cloth, which he yet keepeth, and had beene his fathers; but what devotion soever possessed 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 vse of this receipt would coole and alay; of which he perhappes never [408]assayed the strongest: For, experience sheweth vs, that such emotion doth often maintaine it selfe vnderbase, rude and slovenly cloathes: and haire-cloathes doe not ever make those poore that weare them. *Zenocrates* proceeded more rigorously? for, his Disciples to make triall of his continencie, having conveyed that beauteous and famous curtizan *Lais* naked into his bed, saving the weapons of hir beauty, wanton alurements, and amorous or love-procuring pocions, feeling that maugre all Philosophicall discourses, and strict rules, his skittish body beganne to mutinie, he caused those members to be burned, which had listened to that rebellion. Whereas the passions that are in the minde, as ambition, covetousnesse and others, trouble reason much more: for, it can have no ayde but from it's owne meanes; nor are those appetites capable of sacetie, but rather sharpened by enjoying, and augmented by possession. The example alone of *Iulius Caesar* may suffice to shew vs the disparitie of these appetites, for neuer was man more given to amorous delights. The curious and exact care he had of his body, is an authentically witness of it, forsomuch as hee vsed the most lascivious meanes that then were in vse, as to have the haire of his body smeared and perfumed all over, with an extreame and labored curiositie; being of himselfe a goodly personage, white, of a tall and comely stature, of a cheerfull and seemly countenance, his face full and round, and his eies browne lively; if at least *Suetonius* may be believed: For, the statues which nowadayes are to be seene of him in *Rome*, answer not altogether this portraiture wee speake of. Besides his wiues, which he changed foure times, without reckoning the bies, or Amours in his youth with *Nicomedes* King of *Bythinia*, hee had the Maiden-head of that so farre, and highly-renowned Queene of *Aegypt*, *Cleopatra*; witness yong *Caesarion*, whom he begotte of hir. He also made love vnto *E [...]*no [...]*]* Queene of *Mauritania*, and at *Rome*, to *Posthumia*, wife vnto *Servius Sulpitius*: to *Lolio*, wife to [...]*Jabinus* to *Tertulla*, of *Crassus*; yea vnto *Mutia*, wife to great *Pompey*, which as Historians say, was the cause hir Husband was divorced from her. Which thing *Plutarke* confesseth not to have knowne. And the *Curious* both father and sonne twitted *Pompey* in the teeth, at what time he tooke *Caesars* Daughter to wife, that he made himselfe Sonne in law to one, who had made him Cuckold, and himselfe was wont to call *Aegystus*. Besides all this number, he entertained *Servilia* the sister of *Cat [...]*, and mother to *Marcus Brutus*, whence (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 vnlikely he might be borne of him. Thus, (as me seemeth) have I good reason to deeme him a man extreamly addicted to all amorous licenciousnesse, and of a wanton-lascivious complexion. But the oother passion of ambition, wherewith he was infinitely infected, and much tainted, when he came once to withstand the same, it made him presently to give ground. And touching this point, when I call *Mahomet* to remembrance (I meane him that subdued *Constantinople*, and who brought the final extermination of the name of Graecians) I know not where these two passions are more equall ballanced: equally an indefatigable lecher, and a never-tired souldier. But when in his life they seeme to strive and concurre one with another, the mutinous heate, doeth ever gourmandize the amorous flame. And the latter, although out of naturall season did never attaine to a full and absolute authority, but when he perceived himselfe to be so aged, that he was vtterly vnable longer to vndergoe the burthen of Warre. That which is alleaged, as an example on the contrary side of *Ladisla [...]*s King of *Naples*, is very well worth the noting, who though he were an excellent, couragious and ambitious Captaine, proposed vnto himselfe, as the principall scope of his ambition, the execution of his sensuality, and enjoying of some rare and vnmached beauty. So was his death: Having by a continuall tedious siege brought the City of *Florence* to so narrow a

pinch, that the inhabitantes were ready to yeeld him the victory, he yeelded the same to them, vpon condition they would deliver 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 so by a private injury to warrant the publike ruine of the Citty. Shee was the Daughter of a notable rare Phisicion, and whilst he lived chiefe of his profession: Who seeing himselfe engaged in so stuprous a necessity, resolved vpon an haughtie enterprize; Whilst all were busie adorning his daughter, and besetting her with costly jeweles, that shee might the more delight and please this new Kingly lover, he also gave her an exquisitely-wrought, and sweetly-perfumed handkircher, to vse in their first approaches and embracements, a thing commonly in vse amongst the Women of that Country. This Handkercher strongly empoysoned according to the [409]cunning skill of his Art, comming to wipe both their enflamed secret parts and open pores, did so readily conuay and disperse it's poyson, that having sodainely changed their heate into colde, they immediately deceased one in anothers aimes. But I will now returne to *Caesar*. His pleasures could never make him loose one minute of an houre, nor turne one step from the occasions, that might any way further his advancement. This passion did so sovereignly oversway all others, and possessed his minde with so vncontrouled an authority, that shee carried him whither shee list. Truely I am grieued, when in other things I consider this mans greatnesse, and the wondrous partes that were in him; so great sufficiencie 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 diverse have preferred his eloquence before *Ciceroes*: And himselfe (in mine opinion) in that facultie thought himselfe nothing short of him. And his two *Anti-Catoes*, were especially written to overballance the eloquence which *Cicero* had employed in his *Cato*. And for all other matters; was ever minde so vigilant, so active, and so patient of labour as his? And doubtlesse, it was also embellished with sundry rare seedes of vertue. I meane lively, natural and not countersets. He was exceeding sober, and so homely in his feeding, that *Oppius* reporteth: how vppon a time, through a certaine Cookes negligence, his meat being dressed with a kinde of medicinable Oyle, in stead of Olive-oyle, and so brought to the boorde, although he found it yet he fed hartily of it, only because hee would not shame his Hoste. Another time he caused his Baker to bee whipped, because hee had served him with other, than common houshold bread, *Cato* himselfe was wont to say of him, that hee *was the first sober man, had addrest himself to the ruine of his country*. And wheras the same *Cato* called him one day drunkard, it hapned in this maner, Being both together in the Senate house, where *Catilines* conspiracie was much spoken of, wherein *Caesar* was greatly suspected to have a hand; a note was by a friend of his brought, & in very secret sort delivered him, which *Cato* perceiuing, supposing it might be something, that the Conspiratours aduertized him of, instantly summoned him to shew it, which *Caesar* to auoide a greater suspition, refused not: It was by chance an amorous letter, which *Servilia Catoes* sister 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 disdaine and anger, than an expresse reproch of this vice; as often we nicke-name those that anger vs, with the first nicke-names of reproaches, that come into our mouth, though meerly impertinent to those with whom we fall out. Considering, that the vice wherewith *Cato* charged him, hath neare coherencie vnto that, wherein he had surprised *Caesar*: for *Venus* and *Bacchus* (as the vulgar Proverb saith) agree well together; but with me *Venus* is much more blithe and game-some, being accompanied with sobrietic.

The examples of his mildnesse and clemencie, towards such as had offended him, are infinite: I meane, besides those he shewed during the civill warres, which (as by his owne writings may plainly appeare) he vsed to blandish and allure his enemies, to make them feare his future domination and victorie the lesse. But if any shall say, those examples are not of validitie to witnes his genuine and naturall affabilitie, we may lawfully answer, that at least they shew vs a wonderfull confidence, and greatnesse of courage to have beene in him. It hath often befallne him, to send whole armies backe againe to his enemies, after he had

vanquished them, without dayning to binde them so much, as with an oth, if not to favour, at least not to beare armes against him. He hath three or foure times taken some of *Pompeys* chiefe Captaines prisoners, and as often set them at libertie againe. *Pompey* declared all such as would not follow and accompanie him in his wars, to be his enemies; and he caused those to be proclaimed as friends, who either would not stirre at all, or not effectually arme 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 Citties 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 battaile of *Pharsalia*, he expresly inhibited, that vnlesse they were driven to vnavoidable extremitie, no man should lay hands vpon any Romane cittizen. In my judgement these are very hazardous partes, and it is no wonder, if in the civill warres or tumultuous broiles, we have now on foote, those that fight for the ancient lawes and state of their countrie, as he did, doe not follow and imitate the example. They are extraordinarie meanes, and which onely belongs to *Caesars* fortune, and to his admirable fore-sight, succesfully to direct, and happily to conduct them. [410]When I consider the incomparable greatnesse and vnvaluable worth of his minde, I excuse *Victorie*, in that shee could not well give him over, in this most vnjust and vnnaturall cause. But to returne to his clemencie; wee have divers genuine and lively examples, even in the time of his al-swaying government, when all things were reduced into his handes, and hee needed no longer to dissemble. *Caius Memmius*, had written certaine detracting and railing orations against him, which hee at full and most sharpely had answered, neverthesse hee shortly after helped to make him Consull. *Caius Calvus*, who had composed divers most injurious Epigrams against him having employed sundrie of his friendes to bee reconciled to him againe, *Caesar* descended 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, *Caesar* that very night made him to suppe at his owne table. Having beene advertised how some were overlavish in rayling against him, all hee did was but in a publike oration to declare how hee was advertised of it. His enemies, he feared lesse 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 enformed of them, and never prosecuted the Authors. Touching the respect hee ever bare vnto his friendes; *Caius Oppius* traveling with him, and falling very sicke, having but one chamber he resigned the same vnto him, and himselfe was concentered to lie all night abroad and vpon the bare ground. Concerning his justice, he caused a servant of his whom hee exceedingly loved, to be executed, for somuch as he had laine with the wife of a Roman Knight, although noe man sued 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 giftes, woorthy qualities, were altered smothered and eclipsed by this furious passion of ambition; by which he suffered himselfe to be so farre mis-ledde, that it may be well affirmed, she onely ruled the Sterne of all his actions. Of a liberall man, she made him a common thee [...],e, that so hee might the better supply his profusion and prodigality; and made him vtter that vile and most injurious speech; that if the wickedst and most pernicious men of the world, had for his service and furtherance beene faithfull vnto him, hee would to the vtmost of his power have cherished and preferred them, as well as if they had beene the honestest: It so besotted, and as it were made him drunke with so extreame vanitie, that in the presence of all his fellow cittizens hee durst vaunt himselfe, to have made that great and farre-spread Romane Commonwealth, a shapelesse and bodilesse name; and pronounce, that his Sentences or Answeres should thence forward serve as Lawes: And sitting, to receive the whole bodie of the Senate comming 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) lost, and overthrew in him the fairest naturall and richest in genuitie that ever was; and hath made his memorie abhominable to all honest mindes,




insomuch as by the ruine of his countrey, and subversion of the mightiest State and most flourishing Common-wealth, that ever the worlde shall see, hee went about to procure his glorie. A man might contrariwise finde diverse examples of greate persons, whome 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 equall balance. and with like forces mate one another, I will never doubt, but *Caesar* would gaine the prize and goale of the victorle. 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 whippe vs for the interest of our neighbors, not only to shake off this sweete pleasing passion, which tickleth vs with selfe-joying pleasure, wee apprehend and feel to see our selves grateful to others, and of all men beloved and sued vnto: but also to hate and scorne those graces, which of it are the cause; and to condemne our beauty, because some others will be set on sire with it, I have seene few examples like to this. *Spurina* a yong Gentleman of *Thuscanie*,

Qualis gemma micat flavum quae dividit aurum, Virg Ae [...]. 10. 134.  
 Aut collo decus aut capiti, vel quale per artem,  
 Inclusum buxo aut Ericia terebintho,  
 Lucet ebur.  
 As when a precious stone cleare rayes doth spread.  
 Set in Pure golde, adorning necke or head:  
 [411] Or as faire I v'ry shines in boxe enclos'd,  
 Or workemanly with Mountaine gumme dispos'd.

being endowed with so alluringly-excessive and singular beautie, that the chastest eyes could not possibly gainstand or continently resist the sparkling glances thereof; not contented to leave so great a flame succourlesse, or burning fever remedillesse, which hee in all persons, and every where enkindled, entred into so furious despite against himselfe, and those rich gifts, nature had so prodigally conferred vpon him (as if they must beare the blame of others faults) that with gashes, and skars, he wittingly mangled, & voluntarily cutthat perfect, proportion and absolute feature, which nature had so curiously observed in his vnmatched face; whereof to speake my opinion, such out rages are enemies to my rules. I rather admire, then honour such actions. His intent was commendable, and his purpose consciencious, but in my seeming somewhat wanting of wisdome. What? if his deformitie or vglinesse was afterward an instrument to induce others to fall into the sinne of contempt and vice of hatred, or fault of envy for the glory of so rare commendation; or of slander, interpreting his humour to bee a franticke ambition; Is there any forme, whence vice (if so it please) may not wrest an occasion, in some maner to exercise it selfe? It had beene more just, and therewithall more glorious, of so rare gifts of God, to have made a subject of exemplar vertue and orderly methode. Those which sequester themselves from publike offices, and from this infinite number of thornie and so many-faced rules, which in civill life, binde a man of exact honesty and exquisite integritie: in mine opinion reape a goodly commoditie, what peculiar sharpnesse soever they enjoyne themselves. *It is a kinde of death, to avoide the paine of well-doing, or trouble of well-living.* They may have another prise, but the prise of vneasines 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 vpright and vntainted, answering loyally and truely discharging all members and severall parts of his charge. It is happily more easie for one, in honest sort to neglect and passe over all the sexe, then duely and wholly to maintaine himselfe in his wives companie. And a man may more incuriously fall into povertie, then into plenteousnesse; being justly dispensed. Custome, according to reason, doth leade to more sharpnesse then abstinence hath. *Moderation is a vertue much more toylesome, then sufferance.* 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 exquisite and accomplished, exceede in profite 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 Generals in warre, that they have particularly affected some peculiar booke or other: as *Alexander* the great highly esteemed *Homer*; *Scipio Affricanus*, *Xenophon*: *Marcus Brutus*, *Polybius*; *Charles* the fifth, *Philip de Comines*: And it is lately averred, that in some places, and with some men, *Machiavell* is much accompted of: But our late Marshall *Strozzi*, who had made especiall choise to love *Caesar*; without doubt, I thinke of all other chose best: for truely he ought to be the Breviarie of all true Souldiers, as beeing the absolute and perfect chiefe patterne of Military profession And God hee knowes with what grace, and with what decorum, hee hath embellished this rich subject, with so pure a kinde of speech, so pleasing and so absolutely perfect, that to my taste, there are no writing in the world, which in this subject may bee compared to his. I will heere register certaine particular and rare parts concerning his maner of warre, which yet remaine in my memory. His Armie beeing some what afrighted, vpon the report that ranne of the great forces, which king *Iuba* brought against him, instead of abating the opinion his soldiers had conceived of it, and to diminish the meanes or forces of his enemie, having caused them [412]to be assembled altogether, thereby to assure and incourage them, he tooke a cleane contrary course, to that which in like cases we are accustomed to do: for he bad them troble themselves no more to finde out the number of the forces, which his enemies brought against him, for himselfe had already true knowledge & certaine intelligence of them: and told them a number farre exceeding both the truth and report of them: following what *Cyrus* commandeth in *Xenophon*. For a smuch as the deceit is not of like interrest, for a man to finde his enemies in effect weaker then he hoped, then stronger indeede, having once conceived an opinion of their weakenesse. He enured all his Souldiers simply to obey, without controlling, gainesaying, or speaking of their captaines desseignes, which he never communicated vnto them, but vpon the last point of execution: and was pleased, if by chance they had any inkling of them, so to deceive them, presently to change his opinion: And having prefixt a place to quarter-in at night, hee hath often beene seene to march further, and lengthen his journey, namely if the weather were foule, or if it rained. The Swizzers in the beginning of his warres in *Gaule*, having sent toward him to give them free passage through the Roman countries, and he being resolved by force to empeach them, did notwithstanding shew them very good looks, and tooke, certaine dayes respit to give them an answer, during which time he might have leasure to assemble his Armie together. These poore people knew not how well he could husband time: For he often repeated, that *the skill to embrace occasions in the nicke, is the chiefest parte of an absolute Captaine*: And truely the diligence he vsed in all his exploits, is incredible; and the like was never heard of. If he were not over consciencious in that vnder colour of some treatie, parlie or accord, to take any advantage of his enemies: hee was as little scrupulous, in that *he required no other vertue in his Souldiers but valour*; and except mutinie and disobedience, he punished not grealy other vices. After his victories, hee often gave them the reines to all licentiousnesse, for a while dispensing them from all rules of military discipline; saying moreover his souldiers were so well instructed, that though they were in theit gayest clothes, pranked vp, musked and perfumed, they would notwithstanding runne furiously to any combate. And in truth hee loved to see them richly armed, and made them weare gilt, graven and silvered armours, that their care to keepe them cleane and bright, might make them more fierce, and readie to defend themselves. Speaking to them, hee ever called them by the name of Fellow-souldiers; a name vsed at this day by some Captaines; which his successour *Augustus* afterward reformed, esteeming hee had done it for the necessitie of his affaires, and to flatter the hearts of those which followed him but voluntarily;

—*Rheni mihi Caesar in vndis*. Lucan. l. 5. 289.  
 Dux erat, hic socius facinus quos inquinat, aequat.  
 When *Caesar* past the *Rheine* he was my Generall,  
 My Fellow heere: sinne, whom it staines, makes fellowes-al.

but that this custome was over-lowelie for the dignitie of an Emperour, and chiere Generall of an Armie, and brought vp the fashion againe to call them onely Souldiers. To this curtesie, *Caesar* did notwithstanding intermixe a great severity, to suppress & keep them humble. His ninth Legion having mutined neere vnto *Placentia*, hee presently cassied the same with great ignominie vnto it, notwithstanding that *Pompey* were yet on foote and strong; and would not receive it into favour, but with humble petitions and entreatie. Hee did more appease them by authoritie and audacitie, then by mildnesse and affabilitie. Where hee speaketh of his passage over the river of *Rheine*, towards *Germanie*, hee saith, that deeming it vnworthy the honour of the Romane people, his Army should passe over in shippes, he caused a bridge to be built, that so it might passe over drie-foote. Their hee erected that admirable bridge, whereof he so particularly describeth the frame: For hee never more willingly dilates himselfe in describing any of his exploits, then where hee endeuoreth to represent vnto vs the subtiltie of his inventions, in such kindes of manuell workes. I have also noted this in his booke, that hee much accompteth of his exhortations he made to his Sculdiers before any fight: for where he would shew to have beene either surprised or vrged, he ever alledgeth this, that hee had so much leasure as to make an oration to his Souldiers or Armie: Before that great battell against those of *Tournay*; *Caesar* (saith he) having disposed of the rest, ranne sodainely whither fortune carried him, to exhort his men: and meeting with the tenth Legion hee had not leasure to say any thing else vnto them, but that *they should* [413] *remember their former wonted vertue, they should nothing be danted, they should stoutly resist the encounter of their adversaries*; and forasmuch as the enimie was come within an arrow-shoote vnto 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 himselfe saith of it in that place. Verely his tongue hath indivers places much bestead, and done him notable service, and even whilst hee lived, his militarie eloquence was so highly regarded, that many of his Armie were seene to copie and keepe his orations; by which meanes divers volumes were filled with them, and continued many ages after his death, His speech had particular graces, so that his familiar friends, and namely *Augustus*, hearing that rehearsed, which had beene collected of his, knew by the Phrases and words, what was his or not. The first time that with any publike charge hee issued out of *Rome*, hee came in eight dayes to the river of *Rhone*, having ever one or two Secretaries before him, who continually writ what hee endited, and one behinde 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 *Gaule*, and following *Pompey* to *Brundisium*, in eightene dayes he sabdued all *Italie*; returned from *Brundisium* to *Rome*, and thence went even to the hart of *Spaine*, where he past many extreame difficulties, in the warres betweene *Afranius* and *Petreius*, and at the long siege of *Marseille*: from whence he returned into *Macedon*, overthrew the Romane Armie at *Pharsalia*; thence pursuing *Pompey* hee passed into *Aegipt*, which he subdued; from *Aegipt* he came vnto *Syria*, and into the countrie of *Pontus*, where he fought with *Pharnaces*; thence into *Affrica*, where he defeated *Scipio* and *Iuba*, and thence through *Italie* he returned into *Spaine*, where he overthrew *Pompeyes* children. Lucan. l. 4 505. Virg. Ae [...]. li. 12 684.

O cior & caeli flammis & tigride foeta.  
 Ac veluti montis saxum de vertice praeceps  
 Cùm ruit avulsum vento, seu turbidus imber  
 Proluit, aut annis solvit sublapsa vetustas,  
 Fertur in abruptum magno mons improbus actu  
 Exult átque solo, silvas, armenta, virósque,

Involvens secum.  
 Swifter then breed-yong Tiger, or heav'ns flash,  
 And as from mountaines top a headlong stone  
 Rent-off by winde, or by stormes troublous dash  
 Washt-off, or loos'd by age of yeares are gone,  
 Crosse-carried with great force that hill-like masse  
 Bounds on the earth, and rowles with it in one.  
 Woods, heards, and men, and all that neere-it was.

Speaking of the siege of *Avaricum*, he saith, that it was his custome, both day and night, ever to be neere and about such workemen, as he had set a worke. In all enterprises of consequence hee was ever the first skout-man, or survayer of any place: and his Armie never approached place, which hee had not viewd or survayed himselfe. And if wee may believe *Suetonius*, at what time hee attempted to passe over into *England*, he was the first man that sounded the passage. He was wont to say, *that he esteemed that victorie much more, which was conducted by advise, and managed by counsell, then by maine strength and force*. In the warre against *Petreius* and *Afranius* ■ Fortune presenting an apparant occasion of advantage vnto him, he saith, that he refused it, hoping with a little more time, but with lesse hazard, to see the overthrow of hisemie. Where he also plaide a notable part, to command all his Armie to swimme over a river, without any necessitie, *Lucan. l. 4. 151.*

—*rapuitque ruens in praeli [...] miles,*  
 Quod fugiens timisset iter, mox vdareceptis  
 Memb [...] foyent armis, gelidósque à gurgite cursu  
 Restituunt artus.  
 The Souldier rids that way in haste to fight,  
 Which yet he would have fearde in haste of flight;  
 His limbs with water wet and cold before,  
 With armes he covers, running doth restore.

I finde him somewhat more warie and considerate in his enterprises, then *Alexander*; for [414]the latter seemeth to seeke out, and by maine force to runne into dangers, as an impetuous or raging torrent, which without heede, discretion, or choise, shockes and checkmates what [...]r [...] it meeteth withall.

*Sic tauri formis volvitur Aufidus, Her. car. lib. 4. [...]d. 14 25.*  
 Qui Regna Dauni perfluit Appuli  
 Dum saevit, horrendámque cultis  
 Diluviem meditatatur agris.  
 So Bull-fac't *Aufidus* still rowling growes,  
 Which through *Apulias* ancient kingdome flowes,  
 When he doth rage in threatning meditation  
 To bring on faire fields fearefull inundation.

And to say truth, his hap was to bee most employed in the spring-time, and first heate of his age: whereas *Caesar* was well stricken in yeares, when he beganne to follow armes. *Alexander* was of a more cholérique, sanguine and violent constitution, which humour hee stirred vp with wine, whereof *Caesar* was very abstinent. But where occasions of necessitie were offered, and where the subject required it, there was never man that so little regarded his person. As for me, me seemeth I reade indivers of his exploits, a certaine resolution rather to loose himselfe, than to abide the brunt or shame to bee overthrowne. In that great battell, which he fought against those of *Turnay*, seeing the vangarde of his Armie somewhat enclining to route, even as hee was, without shield or target, hee ranne headlong to the front of hisemies: Which many other times happened vnto him. Hearing once how his men were besieged, hee past disguised through the midst and thickest of hisemies campe, so to encourage and awe them with his presence. Having crossed the way to *Dyrrhachium*, with

verie few forces, and perceiving the rest of his Armie (the Conduct whereof hee had left vnto *Antonius*;) to bee somewhat slowe in comming, hee vndertooke all alone, to repasse the Sea, notwithstanding a violent and raging Tempest; and secretly stole himselfe away to fetch the rest of his forces: All the havens on that side, yea and all the Sea being possessed by *Pompey*, And concerning the enterprises hee vnder-went with armed hand, there are divers of them, which in respect of the hazard, exceede all discourse of militarie reason: for, with how weake meanes vndertooke hee to subdue the Kingdome of *Aegypt*, and afterward to front the forces of *Scipio* and *Iuta*, which were tenne partes greater than his? Mee thinkes such men have had a kinde of more than humane confidence of their fortune: And himselfe was wont to say, that *Haughtie enterprises were to be executed and not consulted vpon*. After the battell of *Pharsalia*, having sent his Armie before into *Asia*, and himselfe with onely one ship passing through the straite of *Hellespont*, hee mette on the Seas with *Lucius Cassius*, attended on with tenne tall ships of Warre; he was so farre from shunning him, that hee durst not onely stay for him but with all haste make toward and summon him, to yeeld himselfe to his mercie; which hee did. Having vndertaken that furious siege of *Alexia*, wherein were fourescore thousand men of Defence, and all *France* vp in armes, with a resolution to runne vpon him and raise the siege, and having an Arm [...]e on foote of one hundred and nine thousand horse, and two hundred fortie thousand foote; What a fond hardy and outragious confidence was it in him, that hee would never give over his attempt and resolve in two so great difficulties together? Which hee notwithstanding vnder went: And after he had obtained so notable a battell of those which were without, hee soone reduced those that were besieged in the Towne to his mercy. The verie like happened to *Lucullus* at the siege of *Tigranocerta*, against King *Tigranes* but with an vnlike condition, seeing his enemies demissenesse, with whom *Lucullus* was to deale. I will heere note two rare and extraordinarie events, touching the siege of *Alexia*; the one, that the French men beeing all assembled together with a purpose to meete with *Caesar*, having diligently survaied and exactly numbred all their forces, resolved 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 feare to bee over many; yet if it be well taken, it is very likely, that *The bodie of an Armie ought to have a well proportioned greatnesse, and ordered to indifferent bounds*. Whether it be for the difficulty to feed the same, or to lead it in order and keepe it in awe. And we may easily verifie by examples, that *These numerous and infinite Armies haue seldome brought any not able thing to passe*: According to *Cyrus* his saying in *Xenophon*. *It is not the multitude of men, but the number of good men that causeth an advantage*: [415]The rest rather breeding confusion and trouble, than helpe or availe. And *Baiazeth* tooke the chieftest foundation of his resolution, against the advise of all his Captaines, to joyne fight with *Tamburlane*, onely because the innumerable number of men, which his enemy brought into the field, gave him an assured hope of route and confusion. *Scanderbeg*, a sufficient and most expert Iudge in such a case, was wont to say, that tenne or twelve thousand trusty and resolute fighting men, ought to suffice any sufficient Chieftaine of Warre, to warrant his reputation in any kinde of military exploite. The other point, which seemeth to be repugnant both vnto custome and reason of Warre, is, that *Vercingetorix*, who was appointed chiefe Generall of all the forces of the revolted *Gaules*, vndertooke to immure and shutte himselfe into *Alexia*. For, *He that hath the commaundement of a 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 lest 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 *Caesar*, hee became in time somewhat more slow, heedy, 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 loose. It is that the Italians are wont to say, when they will or blame or reproach any man with this overdaring, or rash fond-hardinesle, which is often seene in yong men, calling them, *Bisognosid honore*, as much to say as needie of

honour: And that being yet hungrie, 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 same. There may be some just moderation in this desire of glory, and some societie in this appetite, as well as in others; Divers doe so practize it. He was farre from that religion of the auncient Romans, who in their Warres would never prevaile but with meere and genuine vertue: But rather joynd more conscience vnto it, than now-adayes wee should doe; And would never allow of all meanes, were he never so certaine to get the victory. In his Warres against *Ariovistus*, 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 *Ariovistus* horsmen. In which hurlie-burlie *Caesar* found himselfe to have a great advantage over his en [...]emies. which notwithstanding he would not embrace, for feare he might be taxed or suspected to have proceeded falsly, or consented to any trechery. At what time soever hee went to fight, he was accustomed to weare a verie rich garment, and of a sheene and garish colour, that so he might the better be marked. When his Souldiers were neere vnto their enemies, he restrained and kept them very short. When the ancient Graecians would accuse or tax any man of extreame insufficiencie, they vsed this common Proverbe; *That he could neyther read nor swimme*: And himselfe was of this opinion, that the arte of swimming was most necessary and beneficiall in Warre, and a Souldier might reape divers commodities by it. If hee were in haste, and to make speede, he would ordinarily swimme over al the Rivers hee met withal: and loved greatly to travell on foote, as *Alexander* the Great was wont. In *Aegypt* being on a time forced (to save himselfe) to leape into a little Whirry or Boate, and so many of his people following him, that he was in danger to sinke, hee rather chose to fling 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 hee being well stricken in yeares. No Generall of Warre had ever so much credit with his Souldiers. In the beginning of his civill warres, his Centeniers offered him every one, at their owne charges to pay and finde him a man at Armes, and his foote men to serve him for nothing and those that were best able, to defray the poore and needie.

Our late Admirall of *France* Lord *Chastillion*, in our late civill warres shewed such an example: For, the French-men 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 bee found amongst those that follow the old manner of warre, and strictly hold themselves vnder the ancient pollicie of their lawes. *Passion hath more sway over vs, then reason*: Yet hath it chanced in the warres against *Hanniball*, that imitating the example of the Romane Peoples liberalitie in the Cittie, the Souldiers and Captaines refused their pay, and in *Marcellus* his campe, those were called mercenarie, that tooke any pay. Having had some defeate [416]neere vnto *Dyrrachium*, his Souldiers came voluntarily before him, and offred themselves to be punished; so that he was more troubled to comfort, then to chide them. One onely of his *Cohortes* (whereof ten went to a Legion) held fight above foure howres with foure of *Pompeies* whole Legions, vntill it was well-nigh all defeated with the multitude and force of arrowes: And in his trenches were afterward found one hundred and thirtie thousand shafts. A Souldier of his, named *Scava*, who commanded one of the entrances, did so invincibly defend and keepe himselfe, that he had one of his eyes thrust out, and one shoulder and one thigh thrust through, and his sheild flawed and pearced in two hundred and thirtie severall places. It hath befallne to many of his Souldiers, being taken prisoners, to chuse rather to die then promise to follow any other faction, or receive any other entertainment. *Granius Petronius* taken by *Scipio* in *Affricke*: After *Scipio* had caused all his fellowes to bee put to death, sent him word that hee gave him his life, forsomuch as hee was a man of ranke and a Questor: *Petronius* answered, that *Caesars Souldiers were wont to give life to others, and not accept it themselves*; And therewithall with his owne handes killed himselfe. Infinite

examples there are of their fidelitie. That part, which they acted, who were besieged in *Salona*, a Cittie which tooke partwith *Caesar* against *Pompey*, must not be forgotten, by reason of a rare accident that there hapned. *Marcus O [...]**tavius*, having long time beleagred the Towne, they within were reduced to such extremitie and pinching necessitie of all things, that to supply the great want they had of men, most of them being alreadie or hurt or dead; they had set all their slaues at libertie, and for the behoofe of their engines, were compelled to cut-off all their womens haire, to make ropes with them; besides a wonderfull lacke of victualles resolving notwithstanding never to yeeld themselves: After they had a long time lingered the siege, and that *Octavius* was thereby become more carelesse, and lesse heeding or attentive to his enterprise; they one day about high noone (having first ranged their wives and children vpon the walles, to set the better face vpon the matter) rushed out in such a furie vpon the beseigers, that having put to rout and defeated the first, the second, and third *corps de garde*; then the fourth and the rest; and having forced them to quit their trenches, chased them even to their shippes: and *Octavius* with much adoe saved himselfe in *Dyrrachium*, where *Pompey* was. I remember not at this time, to have read of any other example, where the beleagred doe in grosse beate the beleagrers, and get the maistrye and possession of the field; nor that a sallie hath drawne a meere and absolute victory of a battell into consequence

### **The five and thirtieth Chapter. Of three good women.**

They are not to be had be dozens, as each one knowes, namely in rights and duties of mariage; For, it is a bargaine full of so many thornie circumstances, that it is hard the will of a woman should long keepe hir selfe whole and perfect therein. And although men have somewhat a better condition in the same, yet have they much to doe. The touchstone and perfect triall of a good mariage, respects the time that the societie continueth; whether it have constantly beene milde loyall and commodious. In our age, they more commonly reserve to enstall their good offices, and set foorth the vehemence of their affections toward their lost husbands: And then seeke they at least to yeeld some testimonie of their good wil. Oh late testimony & out of season, whereby they rather shew, they never love them but when they are dead. Our life is full of combustion and scolding, but our disease full of love and of curtesie. As fathers conceale affection toward their children; so they to maintaine an honest respect, cloake their love toward their husbands. This mysterie answereth not my taste. They may long enough scratch and dishevell themselues; 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 maerent, quae minus dolent, They keepe a [...]**owling with most [417] ostentation, who are lesse sorrowfull at heart*. Their lowring and puling is hatefull to the living, and vaine to the dead. *Wee shall easily dispence with them to laugh at vs when we are dead, vpon condition they smile vpon vs while we live*. Is not this the way to reviuue a man with spite; 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 honour for a woman to weepe for hir husband, it belongs to hir that hath smiled vpon 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 blubred eyes, nor that pittie-mooving voyce; but view that demeanor, that colour and cheerefull good plight of those cheekes, vnder their great vailles; thence it is she speakes plaine French. There are few whose health doth not daily growe better and better; a qualitie that cannot lie. This ceremonious countenance looketh not so much backward, as forward: It is rather a purchase then a payment. In mine infancie, an honest and most faire Ladie (who yet liveth, the widdowe of a Prince) had somewhat more of I wot not what in hir attires, then the lawes of widowehood would well permit. To such as blamed hir for it: [...]*t is (said shee) because I intend no more new acquaintances, and have no mind at all to marry againe. Because I will not altogether dissent from out custome, I have heere made choise of three*

women, who have also employed the vtmost endeavor of their goodnes and affection, about their husbandes deathes. Yet are they examples somewhat different and so vrging that they hardly drawe life into consequence. *Plinie* the yonger, had dwelling neere vnto a house of his in *Italie* a neighbour wonderfully tormented with certaine vlcers, which much troubled him in his secret parts. His wife perceiving him to droope and languish away, entreated him she might leasurly search and neerely view the qualitie of his disease, and she would more freely then any other tell him what hee was to hope for: Which having obtained, and curiously considered the same, shee found it impossible ever to be cured, and all he might expect was but to lead a long, dolorous, and languishing life; and therefore for his more safetie and soveraigne remedie, perswaded him to kill himselfe. And finding him somewhat nice and backward to effect so rude an enterprise: Thinke not my deare friend (quoth shee) but that the sorrowes and griefes, I see thee feele, touch me as neere and more, if more may be, as they selfe, and that to be rid of them, I will applie the same remedie to my selfe, which I prescribe to thee. I will accompanie thee in thy cure, as I have done in thy sicknesse: remoove all feare, and assure they selfe, we shall have pleasure in this passage, which shall deliver vs from all torments, for we will happily goe together: That said, and having cheared vp her husbands courage she determined they should both headlong throw themselves into the sea from out a window of their house, that over looked the same: and to maintaine this loyall, vehement and never to be severed affection to the end, wherewith shee had during his life embraced him, shee would also have him die in her armes; and fearing they might faile her, and through the fall, or feare or apprehension her hold-fast might be loosed, shee caused herselfe to be fast bound vnto him by the middle: And thus for the ease of her husbands life shee was contented to forgoe her owne. She was but of meane place and low fortune: and amidde such condition of people, it is not so strange to see some parts of rare vertue and exemplare goodnesse.

—*extrema per illos*

Iustitia excedens terris vestigia fecit. Virg. Georg. II. 2. 473.

Justice departing from the earth did take

Of them her leave, through them last passage make.

The other two are noble and rich; where examples of vertue are rarely lodged. *Arria* wife vnto *Cecinna Paetus*, a man that had beene consul was mother of another *Arria*, wife to *Thrasea Paetus*; whose vertue was so highly renowned during the time of *Nero*; and by meane of his sonne-in-lawe, grandmother to *Fannia*: For, the resemblance of these mens and womens names and fortunes hath made diverse to mistake them. This first *Arria*, her husband *Cecinna Paetus*, having beene taken prisoner by the Souldiers of *Claudius* the Emperour, after the overthrow of *Scribonianus*, whose faction hee had followed, entreated those who led him prisoner to *Rome* ■ to take her into their ship, where for the service of her husband shee should be of the lesse charge and incommoditie to them, then a number of other persons, which they must necessarily have, and that she alone might supply and steade him in his chamber, in his kitchin and all other offices; which they vtterly refused, and so hoised sailes, but shee [418]leaping into a Fishers boate, that she immediately hired, followed him aloofe from the further shoare of *Sclavonia*. Being come to *Rome*, one day, in the Emperours presence, *Iunia* the widdow of *Scribonianus*, by reason of the neerenesse and societie of their fortunes, familiarly accosted her, but she rudely, with these wordes, thrust her away. What (quoth shee) shall I speake to thee, or shall I listen what thou saiest: Thou, in whose lappe *Scribonianus* thy husband was slaine, and thou yet livest? and thou breathest? These words with divers other signes, made her kinsfolkes and friendes perceive, that shee purposed to make herselfe away, as impatient to abide her husbands fortune. And *Thrasea* her sonne in law, taking hold of her speeches, beseeching her that she wold not so vnheedily spoile her selfe, he thus bespake her. What? If I were in *Cecinnaes* Fortune or the like, would you have my wife your daughter to doe so? What else? make you a question of it? (answered she) Yes



mary would I, had she lived so long and in so good-agreeing sort 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 neerely to looke vnto her. One day, after she had vttered these wordes to her keepers; you may looke long enough to mee, well may you make mee die worse but you shall never be able to keepe me from dying: and therewith furiously flinging her selfe out of a chaire (wherein shee fate) with all the strength shee had, she fiercely ranne her head against the next wall; with which blowe having sore hurt her selfe, and falling into a dead swowne, after they had with much adoe brought her to her selfe againe: Did I not tell you (quoth she) that if you kept me from an easie death, I would choose another, how hard and difficult soever? The end of so admirable a vertue was this. Her husband *Paetus* wanting the courage to doe himselfe to death, vnto which the Emperors crueltie reserved him; one day, having first employed discourses and exhortations, befitting the counsell she gave him to make himselfe away, shee tooke a Dagger that her husband wore, and holding it outright in her hand, for the period of her exhortation: Doe thus *Paetus* said shee) and at that instant, stabbing herselfe mortally to the heart, and presently pulling the Dagger out againe, shee reached the same vnto her husband, and so yeilded vp the ghost, vttering this noble, generous and immortall speech▪ *Paete non dolet*, shee had not the leasure to pronounce other than these three wordes, in substance materiall and worthy her selfe, *Holde Paetus, it hath done me no hurt.*

Casta suo gladium cùm traderet Arria Paeto. Ma [...]t. li. 1. epig. 14. 1.  
 Quem de visceribus traxerat ipsa suis:  
 Si qua fides, vulnus quod feci, non dolet, inquit.  
 Sed quod tu facies, id mihi Paete dolet.  
 Chast *Arria* when she gave her *Paetus* 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,  
 Griev's not, said she, but that which will be made by you.

It is much more lively in his owne naturall, and of a richer Sense; for both her husbands wound and death, and her owne hurts, shee was so farre from grieving to have beene the counselor and motive of them, that shee rejoiced to have performed so haughtie and couragious an act, onely for the behoofe of her deere 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 *Paetus* beholding, he immediatly wounded himselfe with the same dagger, ashamed (as I suppose) to have had need of so deare an instruction, and precious a teaching. *Pompea Paulina*, an high and noble-borne yong Roman Lady, had wedded *Seneca*, being very aged. *Nero* (his faire disciple) having sent his Satellites 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 any man of qualitie to death, they were wont to send their officers vnto him, to chuse what death he pleased, and to take it within such and such a time, which according to the temper of their choller, they prescribed 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 seemed in any sort to strive against their will, they would often send men of purpose to execute him, either cutting the v [...]li [...]s of his armes and legs, or compelling him to take and swallow poison. But men of honor stayed not that enforcement, but to that effect vsed their own Phisitions or [419]Surgeons. *Seneca*, with a reposed and vndanted countenance listned attentively to their charge, and presently demanded for paper and inke to make his last will and testament, which the Captaine refusing him, hee turned toward his friends, and thus bespake them. S [...]h (my loving friends) I cannot bequeath you any other thing in remembrance or acknowledgement of what I owe you, I leave you at least the richest 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 and purchase the name of truly sincere

and absolutely-true friends And therewithall som [...]mes appeasing the sharpnes of the sorow he saw them endure for his sake, with mild and gentle speaches, sometimes raising his voyce to chide th [...]m; Where are (said he) those memorable precepts of Philosophy? What is becom of those provisions, which for so many yeares together we have laid vp, against the brunts and accidents of Fortune? Was *Nero* [...]s innated cru [...]ly vnknownen vnto vs? What might we expect or hope-for at his hands who hath murdered his Mother and massacred his Brother, but that he would also do his Tutor and Governor to death that hath fostred and brought him vp? Having vttered these words to all the by-standers, he turned him to his wife, as she was ready to sinke downe, and with the burthen of hir grieffe to faint in heart and strength; hee coll [...]d and e [...]braced her abou [...] the necke, and heartily entreated hir, for the love of him, somewhat more patiently to beare this accident; and that his houre was come, wherein he must sh [...]w no longer by discourse and disputation, but in earnest effect, declare the fruite he had reaped by his studie; and that vndoubtedly he embraced death, not onely without grieffe, but with exceeding joy? Wherefore my deere-deere heart, doe not dishonour it by thy teares, I [...]st thou seeme to love thy selfe more than my reputation. Asswage thy sorrowes, and comfort thy selfe in the knowledge thou hast had of mee and of my actions; leading the rest of thy life by the honest occupations to which thou art addicted. To whom *Paulina*, having somewhat rouzed hir drooping spirites, and by a thrice-noble affection awakened the magnanimitie of her high-setled courage, answered thus: No *Seneca*, thinke not that in this necessitie I will leave you with out 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 it or better, or more honestly, or more to mine owne liking, then with your selfe? And be resolved I will goe with you, and be partaker of your fortune. *Seneca* taking so 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 dea [...]h, to his enemies mercie and crueltie: Oh my deare *Paulina*, I had (quoth hee) perswaded thee what I thought was convenient, to leade thy life more happily, and doost thou then rather choos [...] the honour of a glorious death? Assuredly I will not envy thee: Be the constancie and resolution answerable to our common end; but be the beautie and glory greater on thy side. That said, the vei [...]es of both their a [...]mes were cut, to the end they might bleede to death; but because *Senecaes* were somewhat shrunken vp through age and abstinence, and his blood could have no speedy course, he commaunded the veines of his thighes to be launced: And fearing lest the torments he felt, might in some sort entender his wifes heart; as also to deliver [...]himselfe from the affliction, which greatly yearned him to see her in so pitteous plight: after he had most lovingly taken leave of her, he be [...]ought her to be pleased shee might be caried into the next chamber, which was accordingly performed. But all those incisions being vnable to make him die, he willed *Statius Annous* his Phisition to give him some poysoned potion, which wrought but small effect in him, for through the weaknesse and coldnesse 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, hee 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 esteeme and honor amongst the better sort of men, as Oracles; but they were afterward lost, and great pittie it is they never came vnto our handes. But when he once beganne to feele the last pangs of death, taking some of the water, wherein he lay bathing, all bloody, he therewith washed his head, saying, I vow this water vnto *Iupiter* the Deliver [...]. *Nero* being advertised of all this, fearing lest *Paulinaes* death (who was one of the best allied Ladies in *Rome*, and to whome hee bare no particular grudge) might cause him some reproach, sent in all poste [420]haste to have her incisions closed vp againe, and if possibly it could be, to save her life; which hir servants by vnwriting vnto her, performed, she being more than halfe dead and voyde of any sence. And that afterward, contrary to her intent, shee lived, it was very

honourable, and as be [...]tited her vertue, shewing by the pale [...]lew and wanne colour of her face, how much of her life shee had wasted by her incisions. Loe heere my three true Stories, which in my concei [...]e are as pleasant and as tragicall, as any wee devise at our pleasures, to please the vulga [...] sort with al: and I wonder, that those who invent so many fabulous tales, do not rather make choise of infinite excellent, and quaint Stories, that are found in Books, wherein they should have lesse trouble to write them, and might doubtlesse proove more pleasing to the hearer, and profitable to the Reader. And whosoever would vndertake to frame a compleate and well-joynted bodie of them, neede neither employe nor adde any thing of his owne vnto it except the [...]ligaments, as the [...]oldring of another mettall, and by this meanes might compact sundry events of all kindes, disposing and diversifying them, according as the beauty and lustre of the worke should require: And very neere, as *Ovid* hath sowed and contrived his *Me [...]amorhosis*, with that strange number of divers fables. In the last couple, this is also worthy consideration, that *Paulina* offreth willingly to leave her life for hir husbands sake, & that hir husband had also other times quit death for the love of hir. There is no great counterpoyze in this exchange for vs: but according to his Sto [...]ke humour, I suppose hee perswaded himselfe to have done as much for hir prolo [...]ging his life for hir availe, as if hee had died for hir. In one of his letters, he writeth to *Lucilius*, after he hath given him to vnderstand how an ague having surprised him in *Rome* ▪ contrary to his wives opinion, who would needs have stayed him, hee sodainely tooke his Coach, to goe vnto a house of his into the Country; and how he tolde hir that the ague he had, was no bodily fever, but of the place: and followeth thus: *At last shee let me goe, earnestly recommending my health vntome. Now I who knowe, how her life lodgeth in mine, beginne 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 loose it; when-ever I call to minde, that in this aged corps there harboureth a yong woman, to whome I bring some profite. Since I cannot induce her to love me more courageously, shee induceth me to love my selfe more carefully; for something must be I [...]nt to honest affections, and sometimes, although occasions vrge vs to the contrary, life must be revoked againe, yea with torment. The soule must bee held fast with ones teeth, since the lawe to live in honest men, is not to live as long as they please, but so long as they ought. He who esteemeth not [...]is wife or a friend so much, [...] that he will not lengthen his life for th [...]m, and will ob [...]inately die, that man is over-nice, and too [...]ff [...]minate: The Soule must commaund that vnto her selfe, when the vtilitie of our friends requireth it: we must sometimes lend our selves vnto our friends, and when we woulde die for vs, we ought for their sak [...]s to interrupt our desaigne. It is a testimony of high courage to returne to life for t [...]e respect of other [...] as diverse notable men have done: and to preserve age is a parte of singular integritie (the chiefest commoditie whereof, is the carelesnesse of her continuance, and a more couragi [...]us and disdain [...]ull vse of life) if a man perceiue such an office to bee pleasing, acceptable and profitable to any well-affected friend. And who dooth it, receiveth thereby a gratefull m [...]de and pleasing rec [...]mpence: for what can bee sweeter, than to be so deare vnto his wife, that in respect of her a man become more deere vnto himselfe; So my *Paulina*, hath not onely charged me with her feare, but also with mine. It hath not beene sufficient for mee to cons [...]der, how resolutely I might dye, but I have also considered how irresolutely shee might endure it. I have enforced my selfe to live: And to live is somtimes magnanimitie:* Reade heere his owne wordes, as excellent as is his vsage.

### **The sixe and thirtieth Chapter. Of the worthiest and most excellent men. ↩**

IF a man should demaund of mee, which of all men that ever came to my knowledge, I would make choise-of, me seemeth, I finde three, who have beene excellent above all others. The one is, *Homer*, not that *Aristotle* or *Varro*, (for example sake) were not peradventure

[421]as wise and as sufficient as he: Nor that *Virgil*, (and possibly in his owne arte) be not comparable vnto 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 perswaded, the Muses themselves did ever goe beyond the Roman.

Tal [...] facit carmen docta t [...]studine, quale Propert. li. 2. [...]: 34. 79.

—*Cynthius impositis temperat articulis.*

He on his learned Lu [...]e such verse doth play,

As *Phoebus* should thereto his fingers lay.

In which judgement, this must notwithstanding not be forgotten, that *Virgil* doth especially derive his sufficiencie from *Homer*, and hee is his guide and School [...]master; and that but one only glance or sentence of the *Iliads*, hath given both bodie and matter to that great and divine Poem of the *Aeneid*. My meaning is not to accoump [...] so: I entermix divers other circumstances, which yeeld this man most admirable vnto me, and as it were beyond humane condition. And truely I am often amazed, that he who hath produced, and by his authoritie brought so manie Deitie [...] 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 redacted into strict rules and certaine observations, hee had so perfect knowledge of them, that all those which since his time have labored to establish Pollicies or Common-wealths, to manage warres, and [...]o write either of Religion or Philosophie, in what Sect soever or of all A [...]tes, have made vse of him, as of an 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 purchrum ■ quid turpe, quid v [...]ile, quid non, [...]or. li. epist. 23

Pl [...]ntus ac melius Chrysippo ac Crantore dicit.

What is faire, What is foule, What p [...]ofit may, What no [...],

Better than *Crantor* or *Chrysippus*, *Homer* wrot.

And as another saith:

—à quo ceu fonte perrenni Ovid. Am. li 3. [...]l. 8. 25.

Vatum Pierijs labra rigantur aquis.

By whom, as by an ever-flowing-filling spring,

With Muses liquor Poets lippes are bath'de to sing.

And another:

Adde Heliconiadum comites, quorum vnus Homerus Lucr. l ■ 3. 1081.

Astrapotitus.

Muses companions adde to these, of all

One onely *Homer* hath in heav'n his stall.

And another:

— cuiusque ex ore profuso Ma [...]il [...]st. l. 2. 8.

Omnis posterit as latices in carmina duxit,

Amnémque in tenu [...]s, a [...]sa est deducere rivos:

Vnius foecunda bonis.

From whose large mouth for verse all that since live

Drew water, and grew bolder to derive,

Into thinne shallow rivers his deepe floods:

Richly luxuriant in one mans goods.

It is against nature's course ■ that he hath made the most excellent production, that may be; for, the ordinarie birth of things is imperfect: They are augmented by encrease, and corroborated by growth. He hath reduced the infancie of Poesie, and divers other Sciences to be ripe perfect and compleate. By which reason he may be termed the first and last of Poets, following the noble testimony, antiquitie hath left vs of him, that having had no man before him, whom hee might imitate, so hath hee had none after him, could imitate him ■ His wordes (according to *Aristotle*) are the onely words that have motion and action: they are the onely substantiall Wordes. *Alexander* the Great, having lighted vpon a rich casket amongst *D [...]rius* his spoyles, appoynted the same to be safely kep [...] for himselfe, to keepe his *Homer* in: saying, he was the best adviser, and faithfullest counselor he had in his military affaires. By the same reason said *C [...]eom [...]nes*, sonne to *Anaxandridas*, that hee was the Lacedemonians [422]Poet; for he was an excellent good teacher or Master of Warre like discipline. This singular praise and particular commendation hath also beene given him by *Plutarke*, where he saith, that he is the only Author in the world, who yet never distasted Reader, or gluttoned man; ever shewing himselfe other, and different to the Readers; and ever flourishing with a new grace. That Wagge *Alcibiades*, demanding one of *Homers* bookes of one who possessed letters, because he had it not, gave him a whirrit one the care; as if a man should finde one of our Priests, without a Breviarie. *Xenophanes* one day made his moane to *Hieron* the Tyrant of *Siracusa*, that he was so poore as hee had not wherewithall to finde two 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 *Panaetius* vnsaide, when he named *Plato* the *Homer* of Philosophers? Besides what glory may be compared to his? There is nothing, liveth so in mens mouthes as his name and his workes; nothing so knowne and received as *Troy*, as *Helen* and her Warres, which paradventure never were. Our Children are yet called by the names hee invented three thousand yeeres since and more. Who knoweth not *Hector*? Who hath not heard of *Achilles*? Not onely some particular races, but most nations seeke to derive themselves from his inventions. *Mach [...]m [...]t*, asecond of that name, Emperour of Turkes, writing to Pope *Pius* the second: I wonder (saith he) how the Italians will bandie against me, seeing we have our common off-spring, from the Troians; and I as well as they have an interest to revenge the blood of *Hector* vpon the Graecians, whom they favour against mee. Is it not a woorthy Comedie, whereof Kings, Commonwealths, Principalities and Emperours, have for many ages together played their parts, and to which this great Vniverse serveth as a Theatre: seven cities of *Greece* strived amongst themselves about the places of his birth. So much honour his very obscuritie procured him.

Smyrna, Rhodos, Colophon, Salamis, Chios, Argos, Athenae, A. Gel. [...]ct. Att.  
 13 c. II.  
 Rhodos, Salamis, Colophon, Chios, Argos, Smyrna, with *Athens*,

The other is *Alexander* the great. For, who shall consider his age, wherein hee beganne his enterprises; the small meanes he had to ground so glorious a desseigne vpon the authoritie he attained unto in his infancie, amongst the greatest Commaunders, and most experienced Captaines in the world, by whom he was followed: the extraordinarie favour, wherwith fortune embraced him, and seconded so many of his haughtie-dangerous exploits, which I may in a manner call rash or fond-hardie.

Impellens quicquid sibi summapetenti Lucan. l. 1. 148.  
 Obstaret, gaudens (que) viam fecisse ruina.  
 While he shot at the high'st, all that might stay  
 He for'st, and joy de with ruine to make way.

That eminent greatnesse, to have at the age of thirtie yeares passed victorious through all the habitable earth, and but with halfe the life of a man to have attained the vtmost endeavour of humane nature; so that you cannot imagine his continuance lawfull, and the lasting of his increase 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 [...]ssue from out the loines of his Souldiers, leaving the world after his death to be shared betweene foure succes [...]ours, onely Captaines of his Armie, whose succeeders, have so long time since continued, and descendents maintained that large possession. So infinite, rare and excellent vertues that were in him, as justice, temperance, liberalitie, integritie in words, love toward his, and humanitie toward the conquered. For in truth, his maners seeme to admit no just cause of reproach: indeed 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 grose, by the mistris end of their actions. The ruine of *Thebes*; the murther of *Menander*, and of *Ephestions* Phisitian; the maslacre 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 Cosseyans and their little children, are escapes somewhat hard to be excused. For, concerning *Clitus*, the fault was expiated beyond it's merite; and that action, as much as any other, witnesseth the integritie and cheerefulnes 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 [423]the point, that he was somewhat to lavish a boaster, and over-impatient to heare himselfe ill-spoken-of; and touching those mangers, armes, and bits, which He caused to be scattered in *India*, 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, though *Ha [...]balls* authority had not taught it vs, he hath been the first and chief of men: the rare beauties, matchlesse features, and incomparable conditions of his person, beyond all comparison, and wonder-breeding; his carriage; demeanor, and venerable behaviour, in a face so yoong, so verm [...]ill, and heart-enflaming:

Qualis vbi Occani perfusus Lucifer vnda, Virg Aen. l. 8. 589.  
 Quen [...] Venus ante alios astrorum diligit ignes.  
 Extulit os sacrum caelo, tenebrá squire solvit,  
 As when the day starre washt in Ocean-streames,  
 Which *Venus* most of all the starres esteemes,  
 Shewes sacred ligh, tshakes darkenesse-off with beames.

The excellencie of his wit, knowledge and capacitie; the continuance and greatnesse of his glorie, vnspotted, vntainted, pure and free from all blame or envie: insomuch as long aftet his death, it was religiously beleived of many, that the medalls or brooches representing his person brought good lucke vnto such as wore or had them about them. And that more Kings and Princes have written his gestes and actions, then any other historians, of what qualitie soever, have registred the gests, or collected the actions of any other King or Prince that ever was: And that even at this day, the Mahometists, who contemne all other histories, by speciall priviledge, allow, receive, and onely honour his. All which premises duely considered together, hee shall confesse, I have had good reason to preferre him before *Caesar* himselfe who alone might have made me doubt of my choise. And it must needes bee granted, that in his exploites there was more of his owne; but more of fortunes in *Alexanders* atchievements. They have both had many things mutually alike, and *Caesar* happily some greater. They were two quicke and devouring fires, or two swift and surrounding streames, able to ravage the world by sundrie wayes.

Et velut immissi diversis partibus ignes Lib. 12 521.  
 Arentem in silvam, & virgulta sonantia lauro:  
 Aut vbi decursu rapido de montibus altis  
 Dant sonitum spumosi amnes, & in aequora currunt,  
 Quisque suum populatus iter.  
 As when on divers sides fire is applied  
 To crackling bay-shrubs, or to woods Sunne dried,  
 Or as when foaming streames from mountaines hie,  
 With downe-fall swift resound, and to sea flie;  
 Each-one doth havoc [...]e-out his way thereby.

But grant *Caesars* ambition were more moderate, it is so vnhappy, in that it met with this vile subject of the subversion of his countrie, and vniversall empairing of the world; that all parts imparcially collected and put together in the balance, I must necessarily bend to *Alexanders* side. The third, and in my judgement, most excellent man, is *Epaminondas*. Of glorie he hath not so much as some, and is farre short of diverse (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 wisdom and reason may settle in a well disposed minde, hee had as much as may be imagined or wished for. Hee hath in mine opinion, made as great triall of his vertues, as ever did *Alexander* or *Caesar*: for although his exploits of warre bee not so frequent, and so high-raised, yet being throughly considered, they are as weightie, as resolute, as constant, yea and as authentically a testimonie of hardines and militarie sufficiencie, as any mans else. The Graecians, without any contradiction afforded him the honour, to entitle him the chiefe and first man among themselves: and *to be the first and chiefe man of Greece is without all question to bee chiefe and first man of the world*. Touching his knowledge and worth, this ancient judgement doth yet remaine amongst vs, that *never was man who know so much, nor never man that spake lesse then he*. For he was by Sect a Pythagorian; and what he spake, no man ever spake better: An excellent and most perswasive Orator was hee. [424] And concerning his manners and conscience therein hee farre outwent all that ever medled with managing affaires: For in this one part, which ought especially to bee 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, chiefe, constant, vniforme and incorruptible. In comparison of which, it seemeth in *Alexander* subalternall, vncertaine, variable, effeminate and accidentall. Antiquine judged that precisely to sift out, and curiously to prie 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 vertue and sufficiencie, every where compleate and alike; which in all offices of humane life, leaveth nothing more to bee wished-for. Bee it in publike or private; in peaceable negotiations or warlike occupations; be it to live or die, greatly or gloriously, I know no forme or fortune of man, that I admire or regard, with so much honour, with so much love. True it is, I finde this 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 sharpe; so as I would nor wish, nor desire the imitation thereof in me, according to the forme it was in him. *Scipio Aemilianus* alone (would any charge him with as fierce, and noblie-minded an end, and with as deepe and vniversall knowledge of Sciences) might be placed in the other scale of the ballance against him. Oh what a displeasure hath swift-gliding Time done me, even in the nicke, to deprive our eyes, of the chiefest paire of lives, directly the noblest that ever were in *Plutarke*, of these two truelyworthy personages: by the vniversall consent of the world, the one chiefe of Graecians, the other principall of Romanes. What a matter, what a workeman! For a man that was noe Saint, but as we say, a gallant-honest man, of civill maners and common customes; of a temperate haughtinesse; the richest lise I know (as the vulgar saying is) to have lived amongst the living, and fraughted with the richest qualities, and most to bee desired parts (all things imparcially considered) in my humour, is that of *Alcibiades*. But

touching *Epaminondas*. for a patterne of excessive goodnesse, I will here insert certaine of his opinions, The sweetest contentment he had in all his life, he witnesseth to have beene, the pleasure he gave his father and mother, of his victorie vpon *Le [...]etra*: he staketh much, in preferring their pleasure, before his content, so just and full of so glorious an action. *Hee thought it vnlawfull, yea were it to recover the libertie of his cuntry. for any one to kill a man, except hee knew some iust cause.* And therefore was he so backward in the enterprise of *Pelopidas* his companion, for the deliverance of *Thebes*. Hee was also of opinion, that in a battel a man should avoide to encounter his friend, being on the contrary part; and if he met him, to spare him. And his humanity or gentlenes, even towards his very enemies, having made him to be suspected of the [...]otians, for so much as after he had miraculously forced the Lacedemonians to open him a passage, which at the entrance of *Mor [...] neere Corinth*, they had vndertaken to make-good, hee was contented, without fur ther pursuing 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 shame it was to them, soone after to bee forced by necessitie to advance him to his first place: and to acknowledge how their glorie, and confesse that their safetie did onely depend on him: victory following him as his shadow, whither soever hee went: and as the prosperitie of his cuntry was borne by and with him, so it died with and by him.

### **The seaven and thirtieth Chapter.** **Of the resemblance betweene children and fathers.** ↩

This [...]udling vp of so much trash, or packing of 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 contrived at severall intervalls, as occasions have sometime for many months together, heere and [425]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, then take any thing away. My purpose is, to represent the Progresse of my humours, that every part be seene or member distinguished, as it was produced. I would to God I had begunne sooner, and knew the tracke of my changes, and course of my variations. A boy whom I employed to write for me, supposed, he had gotten a rich bootie, when he stole some parts, which he best liked. But one thing comforts me that he shall gaine no more, then I lost by them. I am growne elder by seaven or eight yeares since I beganne them; nor hath it beene without some new purchase. I have by the liberalitie of yeares acquainted my selfe with the stone chollike. Their commerce and long conversation, is not easiely past-over witho [...] some such-like fruite. I would be glad, that of many other presents, they have ever in store, to bestow vpon such as waite vpon them long, they had made choise of some one, that had beene more acceptable vnto me: for they could never possesse me with any, that, even from my infancie, 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 necessitie, in the end, stumble vpon some such vnpleasing chance. I perceived plainely, and protested sufficiently, it was high time to depart, and that according to the [...]ule of skillfull chirurgions, who when they must cut off some member, life must be seared to the quicke, and cut to the sound flesh. *That nature is wont to make him pay vntollerable vsurie, who doth not yeeld or pay the same in due time.* I was so farre from being readie to make lawfull tender of it, that in eighteene months, or thereabouts, I have continued in so yrkesome and vnpleasing plight, I have already learn't to apply my selfe vnto it; and am now entring into covenant with this chollicall kinde 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 way continue in the same.* Heare *M [...]cen [...]*.



Debilem facito ma [...], Sen. epist. 101. f  
 Debilem pede, coxa,  
 Lubricos quate dentes,  
 Vita dum superest, bene est.  
 Make me be weake of hand,  
 Scarse on my legges to stand,  
 Shake my loose teeth with paine,  
 T'is well, so life remaine.

And *Tamburlane* cloked the fantastical crueltye, he exercised vpon Lazars or Leprousmen, with a foolish kinde of humanitie, putting all he coulde finde or heare-of, to death, (as he saide,) to ridde them from so painefull 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, than not to be at all. And *Antisthenes* the Stoick, being very sicke, and crying out: *Oh who shall deliver me from my tormenting evils?* *Diogenes*, who was come to visite him, foorth with presenting him a knife; *Mary*, this, said he, and that very speedily, i [...] thou please: I meane not of my life, replied hee, but of my sicknesse. The sufferances which simply touch vs in minde, doe much lesse afflict me, then most men: Partly by judgement; For the Worlde deemeth diverse things horrible, or avoydable with the losse of life, which to me are in maner indifferent: Partly, by a stupide and insensible complexion, I have in accidents, that hit 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 taste very sensibly: Yet is it, having othertimes fore-apprehended them with a delicate and weake sight and by the enjoying of this long health and happy rest, which God hath lent me, the better part of my age, somewhat empaiied: I had by imagination conceiued them so intolerable, that in good truth, I was more afraide, than since I have found hurt in them: Wherevpon, I dayly augment this opinion: That most of our soules faculties (as we employ them) doe more trouble than steade the quiet repose of life. I am continually grappling with the worst of all diseases, the most grievous, the most mortall, the most remedillesse and the most violent. I have already had triall of five or sixe long and painefull fittes of it: Neverthelesse, eyther I flatter my selfe, or in this plight there is yet something, that would faine keep life and soule together, namely in him, whose minde is free from feare of death, and from the threats, [426]conclusions and consequences, which phisicke is ever buzzing into our heads. But the effect of paine it selfe, hath not so sharpe a smarting, or so pricking a sharpnesse, that a settled man should enter into rage or fall into despaire. This commoditie at leaste, I have by the chollicke, that what I could never bring to passe in my selfe, which was, altogether to reconcile, and throwly to acquaint my selfe with death, shee shall atchieve, shee shall accomplish: for, by how much more shee shall importune and vrge me, by so much lesse shall death bee fearefull vnto mee, I had already gotten, not to bee beholding to life, but onely in regrad of life, and for lives sake: She shall also vntie this intelligence, and loose this combination. And God graunt, if in the end her sharpnesse shall happen to surmount my strength, shee cast [...]ce not into the other extremitie, no lesse vicious, no lesse bad, that is, to love and desire to die

Summum nec metuas diem, nec optes. Mart. l. 10. [...] pig. 47. v [...]t.  
 Nor feare thy latest doome,  
 Nor wish it ere it come.

They are two passions to be feared, but one hath her remedy neerer than the other. Otherwise, I have ever found that precept ceremonious, which so precizely appoints a man to set a good countenance, a settled resolution, and disdainefull carriage, vpon the sufferance of evils. Why doth Philosophy, which onely respecteth liveliness and regardeth effects, ammuze it selfe about these externall apparances? Let her leave this care to Mimikes, to Histrions, and to Rhethoricke Masters, who make so great account of our gestures. Let her

hardly remit this vocall lithernesse vnto evill, if it be neyther cordiall, nor stomacall▪ And let her lend her voluntary plants to the kinde of sighes, sobbes, palpatations and palenesse, which nature hath exempted from our puissance, Alwayes provided, the courage be without feare, and wordes sance dispaire; let her be so contented. *What matter is it if wee bend our armes, so wee writhe not our thoughts?* She frameth vs for our selves, not for others: to be, not to seeme. Let her applie her selfe to governe our vnderstanding, which shee hath vndertaken to instruct. Let her in the pangs or fittes of the chollike, still maintaine the soule capable to acknowledge hir selfe and follow her accustomed course, resisting sorrow and enduring grie [...]e▪ and not shamefully to prostrate her selfe at his feete: Mooved and chafed with the combate, not basely suppressed nor faintly overthrowen: Capable of entertainment and other occupations, vnto a certaine limite. In so extreame accidents, it is crueltie, to require so composed a warde at our hands. *If wee have a good game, it skills not, though wee have an ill countenance.* If the body be any whit eased by complaining, let him doe it: If stirring or agitation please him, let him turne, rowle and tosse himselfe as long as hee list: If with raising his voyce, or sending it forth with more violence, hee thinke his grieffe any thing alayed or vented (as some Phisitians affirme, it some what easeth women great with childe, and is a meane of ea [...]ie or speedie delivery) feare hee not to doe it; or if hee may but entertaine his torment, let him mainly cry out. Let vs not commaund our voyce to depart, but if she will, let vs not hinder it. *Epicurus* doth not only pardon his wise man to crie-out, when hee is grievedCi [...]. T [...]sc. qu. l. 2 or vexed, but perswadeth him to it. *Pugiles etiam quum feriunt, in iactandis cestibus inge [...]iscunt, quia profundenda voce omne corpus intenditur, venit que plaga vehementior.* Men when they fight with sand-baoges or such heavy Weapons, in fetc [...]ing their blowe and driving it, wil give a groane with all, because by stretching their voyce all their body is also strayed, and the stroke commeth with more vehemence. We are vexed and troubled enough with the euill, without troubling and vexing our selves with these superfluous rules. This I say to excuse those, which are ordinarily seene to rage in the fittes and storme in the assaults of this sicknesse: for, as for mee, I have hitherto past it over with somewhat a better countenance, and am content to groane without braying and exclaiming. And yet I trouble not my selfe, to mainetaine this exterior decency; 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 beare it with more constancy than the vulgare sorte. Indeede I must confesse, when the sharpe fittes or throwes assaile me, I complaine, and vex my selfe, but yet I never fall into despaire, as that fellow:

Eiulatu, questu, gemitu, fremitibus C [...]. *ibid.*  
 Resanando multum flebiles v [...]ces refert.  
 with howling, groaniug, and complaint of fates,  
 Most lamentable cries he imitates.

[427]

I feele my selfe in the greatest heate of my sicknesse; 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 constantly, because my paine doeth much trouble and distract mee. When I am thought to bee at the lowest, and that such as are about me spare me, I often make a triall of my forces, and propose them such discourses as are furthest from my state. There is nothing impossible for mee, and me thinks I can doe all things vppon a sodaine fitte, so it continue not long. Oh why have not I the gift of that dreamer; mentioned by *Cicero*, who dreaming, that hee was closely embracing a yong wench; found himselfe ridde of the stone in his sheets! Mine doe strangely dis-wench me. In the intermission or respites of this outrageous pairre, when as my Vreters (through which the vrine passeth from the reines to the bladder) languish without gnawing mee, I sodainely returne into my ordinarie forme: forsomuch as my mind taketh no other allarume, but the sensible and corporall. All which I certainly owe vnto the care I have

had to prepare my selfe by reason and discourse of such accidents:

—laborum Virg. Aen. l. 6. 103.  
Nulla mihi nova nuncfacies inopinâque surgit,  
Omnia praecept, at que animo mecum antè peregi.

No new or vnexpected forme is cast  
Of travels in my brest: all I forecast,  
In my minde with selfe I all forepast.

I am handled somewhat roughly for a Prentise, and with a violent and rude change; being at one instant falne from a very pleasing, calme, and most happy condition of life, vnto the most do [...]orous, yrkesome and painefull, that can possibly be imaginad: For, besides that in it selfe it is a disease greatly to be feared, it's beginnings or approaches are in mee sharper or more difficult▪ than it is wont to trouble others withall. The pangs and fittes thereof doe so often assaile mee, that in a manner I have no more feeling of perfect health. Notwithstanding I hitherto keepe my spirite so seated, as if I can but joyne constancy vnto it, I finde my selfe to be in a much better state of life, than a thousand others, who have neither ague nor other infirmitie, but such as for want of discourse they give themselves. There is a certaine fashion of subtile humilitie, which proceedeth of presumption: As this: That in many things wee acknowledge our ignorance, and are so curteous to avowe, that in Natures workes, there are some qualities and conditions, which to vs are imperceptible, and whereof our sufficiencie cannot discover the meanes, nor finde out the causes. By this honest and conscientious declaration, wee hope to gaine, that wee shall also be beleevd in those, we shall say to vnderstand. Wee neede not goe to cull out myracles, and chuse strange difficulties: mee seemeth, that amongst those things wee ordinarily see, there are such incomprehensible rarities, as they exceede all difficulty of myracles. What monster is it, that this teare or drop of seed, wherof we are ingendred brings 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 droppe of water containe or lodge this infinite number of formes? And how beare they these resemblances, of so rash, and vnruely a progresse, that the childe childe shall be answerable to his grandfather, and the nephew to his vnckle? In the family of *Lepidus* the Roman, there have beene three, not successively, but some between, that were borne with one same 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 launce; and such as had it not, were judged as mis-begotten and deemed vnlawfull. *Aristotle* reporteth of a certaine Nation, with whome all women were common, where children were allotted their fathers, only by their resemblances. It may bee supposed, that I am indebted to my father for this stonie 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 elsewhere: and vntill then had lived in very prosperous health, and little subject to infirmities, and continued seven yeares and more with that disease training a very dolorous lives-end. I was borne five and twenty yeares before his sicknesse, and during the course of his healthy state his third child. Where was al this while the propension or inclination to this defect, hatched? And when he was so farre from such a disease, that light part of his substance wherewith he composed me, how could it for hir part, beare so great an impression of it? And how so [428]closely covered, that fortie five yeares after, I have begunne to have a feeling of it? And hitherto alone, among so many brethren and sisters, and all of one mother. He that shall resolve me of this progresse, I will believe him as many other miracles as he shall please to tell mee: alwayes provided (as commonly they doe) hee goe not about to pay me, with a doctrine much more difficult and fantastical, then is the thing it selfe (let Physitians somewhat excuse my libertie:) for by the same infusion and fatall inffination, I have received

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 foureteene yeares: My grandfather three score and nine; my great grandfather very neere foure score, and never fasted or tooke any kinde of Physicke. And whatsoever was not in ordinary vse amongst them, was deemed a drug. *Phisicke is grounded vpon 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 registers, they are able to finde me three more, borne, bred, brought vp, and diceased, vnder one rooffe, in one same chimnie, that by their owne direction and regiment have lived so long. Wherein they must needes grant me, that if it be not reason, at least it is Fortune that is on my side. Whereas among Phisitions fortune is of more consequence, then reason. Low-brought, and weake as I am now, let them not take me at an advantage, nor let them not threaten me: for that were insulting a [...]rogance. And to say truth, I have by my familiar examples gained enough vpon them although they would take hold and stay there. Humane things have not so much constancie: It is now two hundred yeares; wanting but eighteene, that this Essay continueth with vs: For, the first was borne in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred and two, Some reason there is why this experience should now beginne to faile vs. Let them not vpbraide me with those infirmities, which now have seized vpon me: Is it not sufficient to have lived seaven and fortie yeares in good and perfect health for my part? Suppose it be the end of my carriere, yet it is of the longest, Mine ancestors by some se [...]ret instinct and naturall inclination have ever l [...]athed all maner of Phisicke: for the very sight of drugs bred a kinde of horror in my father. The Lord of *Gaviac* mine vnckle by the fathers side, a man of the church, sickish even from his birth, and who notwithstanding made his weake life to hold out vntill sixtie seaven yeares; falling once into a dangerous and vehement continuall feaver, it was by the Phisitions concluded, that vnlesse he would aide himselfe (for they often [...]erme that aide, which indeede is impeachment) hee was but a dead man. The good soule, afrighted as he was, at that horrible sentence, answered thus, why when I am a dead man: But shortly after God made their prognostications to prooue vaine. The Lord of *Bussaguet* last of the brethren (for they were foure) and by much the last, he alone submitted himselfe to that arte, as I imagine by reason of the frequence he had in other Sciences; for he was a Counsellor in the Court of Parliament, which prospered so ill with him, that though he were in shew of a very strong complexion, he died long before the others, except one, the Lord of Saint *Michaell*. It may well be, I have received of them that naturall dyspathie vnto Phisicke. Yet if there had beene no other consideration but this, I would have endeoured to force it. For, all these conditions, which without reason are borne in vs, ate vicious. It is a kinde of maladie a man must fight withall. It may be I had such a propension, but I have settled and strongthned the same by discourses, which in me have confirmed the opinion I have of it. For, I have also the consideration to refuse Phisicke by reason of the sharpenesse of it's taste. It would not easily agree with my humour, who thinke *health worthie to bee purchased, with the price of all cautheries and incisions, how painefull so ever.* And following *Epicurus*, mee seemeth that *all maner of voluptuousnesse should be avoided, if greater griefes follow them:* And griefes to be sought after, that have greater volup [...]uousnesse ensuing them. Health is a very precious jewell, and the onely thing, that in pursuite of it deserveth, a man should not onely employ, time, labour, sweate and goods, but also life to get it; forasmuch as without it, life becommeth injurious vnto vs. Voluptuousnes, Science and vertue, without it tarnish and vanish away. And to the most constant & exact discourses, that Philosophie wil imprint in our mindes to the contrarie, wee need not oppose any thing against it but the image of *Plato*, being visited with the falling sicknesse, or an Apoplexie; and in this presupposition chalenge him to cal the richest faculties of his minde to helpe him.

All meanes that may bring vs vnto health, can not be esteemed of mee either sharpe or [429]deare. But I have some other apparances, which strangely make me to distrust all this ware. I doe not say but there may be some arte of it: It is certaine, that amongst [...]o many of

Natures workes, there are some things proper for the preservation of our health. I knowe there are some simples, which in operation are moistning and some drying: My selfe have found by experience that radish-roots are windie, and senie-leaves breede loosenesse in the belly. I have the knowledge of diverse such experiments, as I knowe that Mutton nourisheth that Wine warmeth me. And *Solon* was wont to say, *that eating was as all other Drugges are, a medicine against the disease of hunger*. I disallow not the vse we drawe [...]m the world, nor doubt I of Natures power and fruitefulnessse, and of her application to our neede. I see, that the Pickrell ■ fish, and the Swallowes live well by her lawes. I greatly distrust the inventions of our wit, of our arte and of our Science: in favour of which we have forsaken Nature, and abandoned her rules; wherein we can neither observe limitation, nor keepe moderation. As wee terme [...]justice, the composition of the first lawes that come vnto our hands, and their practise and dispensation very often most wicked and vnconvenient. And as those which mocke and condemne it, intend neverthelesse to wrong this noble vertue; but onely to condemne 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 mankinde: but what it desseigneth amongst vs, I neither honour nor respect. [...], experience makes mee feare it, for of all I knowe, *I see no kinde of men so soone sicke, nor so late cured, as those who are vnder the urisdiction of Physicke*. Their very health is distempered and corrupted by the constraint of [...]their prescriptions. Physitions are not contented to have the government over Sickenesse, but they make Health to be sicke, lest a man should at any time escape their authoritie. Of a constant and perfect health, doe they not frame an argument of some future daungerous sicknesse? I have often beene sicke, and without any their helpe, I have found my sicknesse (though I never medled with the bitterness of their prescriptions) as easie to be tolerated, and as short, as any mans else, and yet I have felt diverse. My health is free and sound, without any rules or discipline) except of my owne custome and pleasure. I finde noe difference in places, all are alike to me to dwell in: forbeing sicke, I neede no other commodities, then those I must have when I am in health. I am nothing passionated, though I be without Physition, without Apothecary, or without physicall helpe; whereat I see some as much troubled in minde, as they are with their disease, *What? doth the best Physition of them all make vs perce [...]ve any happinesse or continuance in his life, as may w [...]nesse some manifest effect of his skill and l [...]rning?* There is no Nation, but hath continued many ages without physicke: 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 vse of it. Infini [...]e Nations knowe it not; where they live both more healthie and much longer then we doe: yea and amongst vs, the common [...]ort live happily without it. The Romanes had beene sixe hundred yeares before ever they received it: by meanes or interposition of *Cato* the Censor, they banish [...] it their Cittie, who declared how easily man might live without it, having lived himselfe foure score and five yeeres, and his wife vntill she was ex [...]reamely old, not without Physicke, but indeede without any Physition: For, *whatsoev [...]r is by experience found healthie for our body and health, may be termed physicke*. He entertained (as *Pi [...]tarke* saith) his familie in health, by the vse (as farre as I remember) of Hares milke: As the Arcadians (saith *Plinic*) cure all malladies with Cowes milke. And the Lybians (saith *Herodotus*) doe generally enjoy a perfect health, by observing this custome, which is, so soone as their children are about foure yeeres olde, to cauterize and seare the veines of their head and temples, whereby they cut-off the way to all rheumes and defluxions. And the countrie-people where I dwell, vse nothing against all diseases, but some of the strongest wine they can get, with store of saffron and spice in it; and all with one like fortune. And to say true, of all this dive [...]siti [...] of rules, and confusion of prescriptions, 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 residents of her ex [...]rements, 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 vomit [...]es, and fluxes, and voyde great store

of excrements, without any praecedent neede, or succeeding benefite: yea with some empairing and prejudice. I learn't of *Plato* not long since, that of three motions, which belong to vs, the last and worst, is that of purgations, and that [430]no man, except hee be a foole, ought to vndertake it; vnlesse it be in great extreamitie. The evill is troubled and 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 twinges of the drug and maladie are ever to our losse; since the quarrell is cleared in vs, and the drug a trustlesse helpe; by it's 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-boe; it may well make vs hoarse, but it will nothing advaunce it. It is a prowde and impetuous order. Our feare and our despaire, in lieu of enviting the same vnto it, doth distaste and delay it out of our helpe: he oweth his course to evill, as well as to sicknesse. To suffer himselfe to be corrupted 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 phisicke together. Cause a purgation to be prepared for your braine; it will bee 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 physicke-* And *Adrian* the Emperour, as he was dying, ceased not to crie out, that *the number of Physitions had killed him.* A bad wrestler became a Physition. *Courage*, saide *Diogenes* to him, *thou hast reason to doe so, for now shalt thou helpe to put them into the ground, who have heeretofore ayded to lay thee on it.* But according to *Nicoles*, they have this happe, *That the Sunne doth manifest their successe, and the earth doth cover their fault,* And besides, they have a very advantageous fashion among themselves, to make vse of all manner of events; for, whatsoever either Fortune or Nature, or any otherstrange cause (whereof the number is infinite) produceth in vs, or good or healthfull, it is the priviledge of Physicke to ascribe it vnto herselfe. All the fortunate successes that come to the patient, which is vnder their government, it is from nature he hath them. The occasions that have cured me, and which heale a thousand others, who never send or call for Physitions to helpe them, they vsurpe them in their subjects. And touching ill accidents, either they vtterly 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 coach;

—*rhedarum transitus arcto Iuv*▪ sat. 3. 236.

*Vicorum inflexu.*

Coaches could hardly passe,

The lane so crooked was.

His Window was left open all night; Hee hath laine vpon the left side, or troubled his head with some heavie thought. In some, a word, a dreame, or a looke, is of them deemed a sufficient excuse, to free themselves from all imputation: Or if they please, they will also make vse 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 assurance, that if their remedies had not beene, it would have beene much woorse. He, whom but from a colde they have brought to a Cotidian Ague, without them shoulde have had a continuall feaver. *They must needes thrive in their businesse, since all illis redownd to their profit.* Truly they have reason to require of the pacient an application of favourable confidence in them; which must necessarily be in good earnest, and yeelding to apply itselfe vnto imaginations, over-hardly to be believed, *Plato* said very well and to the purpose, that *freely to lie belonged onely to Physitions*, since our health dependeth on their vanitie and falsehood of promises. *Aesope* an Authour of exceeding rare excellence, and whose graces few discover, is very pleasant in representing this kinde of tyrannicall authoritie vnto vs.

which they vsurpe vpon poore soules, weakened by sicknesse, and over-whelmed through feare; for he reporteth, how a sicke man being demaunded by his Physition, what operation hee felt by the Physicke he had given him. I have sweate much, answered he; that is good, replied the Physition, 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 Physition againe, The third time he demaunded of him, how he felt himselfe; He answered, I swell and puffe-vp as it were with the dropsie; That's not amisse, saide the Physition. A familiar friend of his comming afterward to visite him, and to know how hee did? Verely (said hee) my friend I [431]die with being too too well. There was a more equall Law in *Aegypt*, by which for the first three dayes the Phisition tooke the patient in hand, vpon the patients perrill and fortune; but the three dayes expired, it was at his owne. For, *What reason is there, that Aesculapius their patrone must have beene strucken with Thunder, forsomuch as hee recovered Hippolitus from death to life?*

Nampater omnipotens aliquem indignatus ab vmbris,  
 Mortalem infernis, ad lumina surgere vitae. Vi [...]g. Ae [...] l. 7. 770.  
 Ipse repertorem medicinae talis, & artis  
 Fu [...]mine Phoebigenam slygias detrusit advndas,  
*love scorning that from shades infernall night,*  
*A mortall man should rise to lifes new light*  
*Apolloes sonne to hell he thunder-threw.*  
 Who such an arte found out, such med'cine knew,

*and his followers must be absolved, that send so many soules from life to death? A Phisitian boasted vnto Nicocles, that his Arte was of exceeding great authoritie, It is true (quoth Nicocles) for, it may kill so many people without feare of punishment by Law. As for the rest, had I beene of their counsel, I would surely have made my discipline more sacred and mysterious. They had begunne very well, but the end hath not answered the beginning. It was a good ground, to have made Gods and Doemons Authors of their Science, to have affi [...]med a peculiar language and writing to themselves. Howbeit Philosophie supposeth it to be folly to perswade a man to his profit, by wayes not vnderstood: *Ut si quis medicus imperet vt sumat: As if a Physition should bid a man take.**

Terrigenam ■ herbigradam, demiportam, sanguine cassam, Ci [...]. divin. lib. 2.  
 One earth-borne, goe-by grasse, house-bearing ■ slimilie, bloodlesse.

It was a good rule in their arte, and which accompanieth all fanaticall, vaine, and supernaturall artes, that *the patients believe must by good hope and assurance preoccupate their effect and operation.* Which rule they holde so farre forth, that the most ignorant and bungling horseleach is fitter for a man that hath confidence in him, than the skilfullest and learnedst Physition. The verie choyce of most of their Drugges, is somewhat mysterious and divine. *The left fonte of a Tortoyze; The stale of a Lizard; The dongue of an Elephant; The liver of a Mole, Blood drawne from vnder the right wing of a white Pigeon;* And for vs who are troubled with the stone-cholike (so disdainfully abuse they our misery) *Some Rattes pounded to small powder;* and such other foolish trash, which rather seeme to be magike-spells or charmes ■ than effects of any solide science. I omit to speake of *The odde number of their pilles; The destination of c [...]rtaine dayes and feastes of the yeere; The distinction of houres to gather the simples of their ingredients; And the same rewbarbative and severely-grave looke of theirs, and of their port and countenan [...];* Which [...]l [...]i [...] himselfe mocketh at. But, as I was about to say they have failed, forsomuch as they have not added this to their faire beginning, to make their assemblies more religious, and their consultations more secret. No prosane man should have accesse vnto them, no more than to the secret ceremonies of *Aesculapius*. By which meanes it commeth to passe, that their irresolution, the weakenesse of their Arguments, divinations and grounds, the sharpenesse of their

contestations full of hatred, of jealousy and particular considerations, being apparant to all men; a man must needs be starke blinde, [...] he who falleth into their handes, see not himselfe greatly endangered. *Who ever saw Phisition vse his fellowes receipt, without diminishing or adding somewhat vnto it?* Whereby they greatly betrai [...] their Arte; And make vs perceive, they rather respect their reputation, and consequently their profit, than the well-fare or interest of their pacients. Hee is the wis [...]st amongst their Doctors, who hath long since prescribed them, that one alone should meddle to cure a sicke man; for, if it prosper not with him, and he doe no good, the reproch will not be great to the Arte of Phisicke, through the fault of one man alone; and on the other side, if it thrive well with him, the Glorie shalbe the greater. Whereas if they be mani [...], everie hand-while they discover their mysterie, because *They oftner happen to d [...]e ill than well*. They should have beene content with the perpetuall dis-agreeing, which is ever found in the opinions of the principall Masters and chiese Authors of their Science, knowen but by such as are conversant in Bookes, without making apparant shew of the controversies, and inconstanties of their judgement, which they foster and continue amongst themselves. Will wee have an [432]example of the ancient debate of Physicke? *Hirophil [...]*s placeth the originall cause of sicknesse in the humours: *Erasistratus*, in the blood of the A [...]te [...]i [...]s: *As [...]*l [...]ad [...]s, in the [...]invisible Atomes that passe into our pores: *Al [...]*meon, in the abundan [...]r de [...]ence of co [...]porall forces: *Diocles*, in the inequal [...]ie of the bodies elements, and in the [...] of the a [...]e, wee breathe: *Strato*, in the abundance, cruditie and corruption of the [...]o [...]shment we take: *Hipocrates* doth place it in the spirits. There is a friend of the [...]rs, whom they know better than I, who to this purpose crieth out; that the most important science in vse amongst vs (as that which hath charge of our health and preservation) is by ill hap, the most vncertaine, the most confused, and most agitated with infinite changes. There is no great danger to mistake the height of the Sunne, or misse-reckon the fraction of some As [...]n [...]m [...]cal [...] s [...]pputation; but herein, whereon our being and chiefe free-hold doth wholly depend it is no wisdome to abandon ou [...] selves to the mercy of the agitation of so ma [...]old [...]on rari [...] wind [...]s. Before the Peloponesian warre, there was no great newes of this science. *Hipocrates* brought it into credite. Whatsoever hee established, *Chrysippus* overthrewe, Afterward *Erasistrat [...]*s Grand-Childe to *Aristotle*, re-enve [...]st what ever *Chrysippus* had written of it. After these, start vp the Empeirikes, who concerning the managing of this Arte, tooke a new cou [...]se ■ altogether different from those ancient fathers. And when their credite began to growesta [...]e; *Hirophilus* brought another kinde of Physicke into vse, which *As [...]*l [...]piades when his [...]u [...]ne came, impugned, and in the end subverted. Then came the opinions of *Themis [...]*on to bee in great authoritie, then those of *Musa*, and afterward those of *Dect [...]*s *D [...]*l [...]ns, a famous Phisition, by reason of the acquaintance hee had with *Messalina*. During the time of *N [...]*ro, the soveraintie of Phisicke fell to the handes of *Thessalus*, who abolished and condemned whatsoever had beene held of it before his time. This mans Doctrine was afterward wholly overthrowne by *Crinas* of *Mars [...]*jille, who a new revived and framed, that all men should direct and rule medicinable operations to the *Ephemerides* and motions of the star [...]es, to eate, to drinke, to sleepe at what houre it should please *Luna* and *M [...]*rcu [...]ie. His authoritie was soone after supplanted by *Charinus*; a Phisition of the same towne of *Mars [...]*jilles, who not onely impugned ancient Phisicke, but also the vse of warme and publike bathes, which had beene accustomed so many ages before. Hee caused men to bee ba [...]h [...]d in cold Water; yea, were it in the deepe of Winter hee plunged and dived sicke men into the running streame of Rivers. Vntill *Plinies* time noe Romane had ever da [...]ned to exercise the Arte of Phisicke, but was ever vsed by strangers and Graecians, as at this daie it is vsed in *France* by Latinizers. For, as a famous Phisition saith, wee doe not easily admit and allow that Physicke, which we vnderstand, nor those Drugs we gather our selves. If those Nations from whom wee have the Wood *Guaiacum*, the *Salsapar [...]*jille, and the Wood *Desqu [...]*ne, have any Phisition amongst them, how much thinke wee by the same commendation of the



strangenesse, rarenesse and d [...]a [...]th, they will rejoyce at our coleworts and pa [...]sly? For, who dar [...]th contemne things sought and fetch so farre-off with the hazard of so long and dangerous a peregrination? since these auncient mutations of physicke, there have beene infinite others, that have continued vnto our dayes, and most often entire and vniversall mutations; as are those which *Paracelsus*, *Fioravanti* and *Argenterius* have produced: for (as it is told me) they doe not only change a receipt, but also the whole contexture and policie of phisickes whole bodie, accusing such as hitherto have made profession thereof, of ignorance and cousinage. Now I leave to your imagination, in what plight the poore patient findeth himselfe. If we could but be assured, when they mistake themselves, their phisicke would do vs no harme, although not profit vs; *It were a reasonable composition, for a man to hazard himselfe to get some good, so hee endangered not himselfe to loose by it.* *Aesope* reporteth this storie; that one who had bought a Mooreslave, supposing his blacke hew had come vnto him by some strange accident, or ill vsage of his former Maister with great diligence caused him to bee medicined with divers bathes and sundry potions: It fortun'd the Moore did no whi [...] mend or change his swarthie complexion, but lost his former health. *How often commeth it to passe, and how many times see we physitions charge one another with their patients death.* I remember a popular sickenesse, which some yeares since, greatly troubled the Townes about me, very mortall and dangerovs; the rage whereof being over-past, which had carried away an infinite number of persons: One of the most famous physitions in all the country, published a booke, concerning that disease; wherein hee adviseth himselfe, that they had done amisse to vse phl [...]botomie ■ and confesseth, [433]it had beene one of the principall causes of so great an inconvenience. Moreover, their Authors holde, that *there is no kinde of Physicke, but hath some hurtfull part in it.* And [...] those that f [...]t ou [...] turne, doe in some sort harme vs; what must those doe, which are given vs to no purpose, and out of season? As for me, if nothing else belonged thereunto, I deeme it a matter very dangerous ■ and of great prejudice for him who loathes the taste, or abhorres the smell of a potion, to swallow it at so vnconvenient houres, and so much against his heart. And I thinke it much d [...]stempereth a sicke man, namely in a season he hath so much neede of rest. Besides, consider but the occasions, on which they ordinarily ground the cause of our sicknesses; they are so light and delicate, as thence I argue, *That a very small error in compounding of their Drugges, may occasion vs mu [...]h de [...]riment.* 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 parts, divers considerations and severall circumstances to proportion his desseigne iustly. He ought to know the sicke mans complexion, his temper, his humours, his inclinations, his actions, his thoughts and his imaginations. He must be assured of externall circumstances; of the nature of the place; the condition of the aire; the quality of the weather; the situation of the Planets, and their influences. In sicknesse, he ought to be acquainted with the causes, with the signes, with the affections and criticall daies: In drugges [...] should vnderstand their weight, their vertue and their operation, the country, the figure, the age, the dispensation.* In all these parts, he must know how to proportion and referre them one vnto another; thereby to bege [...] a perfect Symmetrie or due proportion of each part: wherein if he misse never so little, or if amongst so many wheeles and severall motions, the least 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 malady being capable of an infinite number of signes; How many debates, doubts and controversies have they amongst themselves about the interpretations of Urine? Otherwise whence should that continuall alt [...]ation come we see amongst them, about the knowledge of the disease? How should we excuse this fault, wherein they fall so often, to take a Martin for a Fox? In those diseases I have had (so they admitted any difficulty) I could never yet finde three agreeing in on [...] opinion. I more willingly note examples that concerne my selfe. A Gentleman in *Paris* was not long since cut off the stone by the appointment of Phisitions, in whose bladder they found

no more stone, then in his hand: Where also a Bishop, who was my very good friend, had by his Phisitions beene earnestly sol [...]cited to be cut; and my selfe, because they were of his counsell, vpon their words, aided to perswade him to it; who being deceased and opened, it was found, he had no infirmity but in his reines. They are lesse excusable in this d [...]sease, forsomuch as it is in some sort palpable. Whereby I judge the arte of Chirurgery much more certaine; For it seeth and handl [...]th what it doth; and therein is lesse conjecture and divination. Whereas Phisitions have no *speculum matricis*, to discover our braine, our [...]lungs and our l [...]ver vnto them. *The very promises of phisicke are incredible.* For being to provide for divers and contrary accidents, which often trouble vs together, and with a kinde of necessary relation one vnto another; as the heate of the liver, and the cold of the stomake, they will perswade vs, that with their ingredients, this one shall warme the stomacke, and this other coole the liver; the one hath charge to goe directly to the reynes, yea even to the bladder, without enstalling his operation any where else, and by reason of it's secret propriety, keeping his force and vertue, all that long way, and so full of stops or lets, vntill it come to the place, to whose seruice it is destined. Another shall drie the braine, and another moisten the lungs. Of all this hotch-pot having composed a mixture or potion, *is it not a kinde of raving, to hope their severall vertues shall devide and seperate themselves from out such a confusion or c [...]mmixture, to run to so diverse charges?* I should greatly feare they would loose or change the [...]r tickets and trouble their quarters. And who can imagine, that in this liquid confusion, these faculties be not corrupted, confounded and alter one another? What? that the execution of this ordenance depends from another officer, to whose trust and mercy we must once more forsake our lives? As we have doublet and hose-makers to make our clothes, 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 foode, some of our great Lords, for their more commodity and ease have severall cookes, as some only to dresse boyled meates, and some to roste, others to bake, whereas if one Cooke alone would supply [434]all three in generall, he could never doe it so exactly. In like sort for the curing of all diseases, the Aegyptians had reason to reject this generall mysterie of Physitians, and to sunder this profession for every maladie, allotting each part of the body his distinct workman. For, every particular part was thereby more properly attended, and lesse confusedly governed, and for so much as they regarded but the same especially. Our Physitians never remember, that *he who will provide for all, provideth for nothing;* and that the totall and summarie policie of this little world, is vnto them vndig estible Whilst they feared to stop the course of a bloody flux, because he should not fal into an ague, they killed me a friend of mine, who was more worth then all the rabble of them; yea were they as many more. They ballance their diuinatious of future things, with present cuils, and *because they will not cure the braine in preiudice of the stomacke, they offend the stomacke and empaire the braine, and all by their seditious and tumultuary drugs.* Concerning the variety and weaknes of the reasons of this Art, it is more apparet then in any other Art. Aperitive things are good for a man thats troubled with the collike, because that opening and dilating the passages, they addresse this slimie matter whereof the gravell and stone is ingendred, and so convey downward whatsoever beginneth to harden and petrifie in the reines: A peritive things are dangerous for a man thats troubled with the collike, because that opening and dilating the passages, they addresse towards the reines, the matter engendring gravell, which by reason of the propensions they have with it, easily seizing on the same, must by consequence stay great store of that which is convaied vnto them. Moreover, if by chance it fortune to meet with a body, somewhat more grosse then it ought to be, to pas [...]e all those strait turnings, which to expell the same they must glide thorow; that body being mooved by those soluble things, and cast in those strait chanel, and comming to stop them, it will doubtlesse hasten a certaine and most dolorous death. They have a like constancie about the counsels they giue vs, touching the regiment of our life. It is good to make water often; for by experience we see, that permitting the same idley to lie

still, we give it leisure to discharge it selfe of her lees and excrements, which may serve to breed the stone in the bladder: It is good to make water but seldome, for the weightie dregs it drawes with it, are not easily caried away, except by violence: as by experience is seene in a torrent that runneth very swift, which sweepeth and clenseth the place through which he passeth, much more then doth a slow-gliding streame. Likewise it is good to have often copulation with women; for that openeth the passages, and convaieth the gravell away: It is also hurtfull; for it heateth, wearieth, and weakneth the reines. It is good for one to bathe himselfe in warme water; for so much as that looseth and moistneth the places where the gravel and stone lurketh: It is also bad; because this application of externall heat helpeth the reines to concoct, to harden and petrifie the matter disposed vnto it. To such as are at the bathes, it is more healthfull to eat but little at night, that the water they are to drinke the next morning, finding the stomacke empty, and without any obstacle, it may worke the greater operation: on the other side, it is better to eat 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 stomacke so suddenly, after this other travell, and leave the office of digesting vnto the night, which can better do it then the day; the body and spirit being then in continuall motion and action. Loe heere how they in all their discourses juggle, dally, and trifle at our charge, and are never able to bring mee a proposition, but I can presently frame another to the contrary, of like force & consequence. Let them then no longer raile against those who in any sicknesse, 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 travels seene almost all the famous Bathes of Christendome, and some yeers since haue begun to vse them: For, in generall I deeme bathing to be very good and healthy, and I am perswaded, we incurre no small incommodities in our health, by having neglected and lost this custome, which in former times were generally observed very neere amongst all Nations, and is yet with divers at this time to wath their bodies every day: And I cannot imagine but that we are much the worse with keeping our bodies all over-crusted, and our pores stopt 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 naturall and simple; and though vaine, nothing dangerous: whereof this infinitie of people of all sorts and complexions, and of all nations that come to them, doth warrant mee. And although I have as yet found no extraordinary good or wondrous effect in them, but rather having [435]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 it selfe, namely in things it desireth, or faine would have come to passe.* Yet have I seene but few or none at all, whom these waters have made worse; and no man can without malice denie, but that they stirre vp a mans appetite, make easie digestion, and except a man goe to them overweake and faint (which I would have none doe) they will adde a kinde 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 threates of some alteration. Whosoever goeth to them, and resolveth not to be merry, that so hee may enjoy the pleasure of the good company resorts to them, and of the pleasant walkes or exercises, which the beauty of those places, where bathes are commonly seated, doth affoord and delight men withall; he without doubt looseth the better part and most assured of their effect. And therefore have I hitherto chosen to stay my selfe and make vse of those, where I found the pleasure of the scituation most delightsome, most conveniencie of lodging, of victuals and companie, as are in *France* the bathes of *Banieres*; those of *Plombieres*, on the frontiers of *Germanie* and *Lorraine*; those of *Baden* in *Switzerland*; those of *Lucea* in *Tuscanie*; and especially those of *Della villa* [...], which I have vsed most often and at diverse seasons of the yeare. Every nation hath some particular opinion concerning their vse, and severall lawes and formes how to vse them, and all different: And as I have found by experience the effect in a maner all one. In *Germanie* they never vse to drinke of their waters; but bathe themselves for all diseases, and will lie padling in them, all most from Sunne to Sunne. In

*Italie* if they drinke nine dayes of the water, they wash themselves other thirtie dayes with it. And commonly they drinke it mixed with other drugges, thereby to helpe the operation. Heere our Phisitions appoint vs when wee have drunke to walke vpon it, that so wee may helpe to digest it: There, so soone as they have drunke, they make them lie a bed, vntill they have voided the same out againe, continually warming their stomake and feete with warme clothes. All the Germanes whilst they lie in the water, doe particularly vse cupping glasses, and scarifications: And the Italians vse their *Do [...]**ci [...]*, which are certaine spowts running with warme waters, conuaied from the bathes-spring in leaden pipes, where, for the space of a month, they let it spout vpon their heads, vpon their stomake, or vpon any other part of the bodie, according as neede requireth, one houre in the forenoone, and as long in the after noone ■ there are infinite other differences of customes in every countrey: or to say better, there is almost no resemblances betweene one and other. See how this part of Phisicke, by which alone I have suffered my selfe to be carried away, which though it be the least artificiall, yet hath she the share of the confusion and vncertainty, seene in all other parts and every where of this arte. Poets may say what they list, and with more emphasis and grace: witness these two Epigrames.

Alcon hesternum signum Iovis attigit. Ille Lucil. Auso [...]. epig. 73  
 Quamvis marmoreus, vim patitur medici.  
 Ecce hodie iussus transferri ex [...]de vetusta,  
 Effertur, quamuis sit Deus at que lapis.  
*Alcon* look't yester-day on carved *Iove*.  
*Iove*, though of Marble, feeles the letches force,  
 From his old Church to day made to remoove,  
 Though God and Stone, hee's carried like a coarse.

And the other:

Lotus nobiscum est hilaris, coenavit & idem, Mart. 1. 6. epig. 53.  
 Inventus mane est mortuus *Androgoras*.  
 Tam subitae mortis causam Fustine requiris?  
 In somnis medicum viderat *Hermocratem*.  
*Androg [...]**ras* in helth bath'd over night with vs,  
 And merry supt, but in the morne starke dead was found.  
 Of his so sudden death, the cause shall I discusse.  
*Hermocrates* the Leech he saw in sleepe vnsound.

Vpon which I will tell you two pretty stories. The Baron of *Caupene* in *Chalosse* and I, have both in common the right of the patronage of a benifice, which is of a very large precinct, situated at the feet of our Mountaines, named *Lohontan*. It is with the inhabitants of [436]that corner, as it is said to be with those of the valley of *Angrougne*. They lead a kind of peculiar life; their attire, and their customes apart and severall. They were directed and governed by certaine particular policies and customes, received by tradition from Father to Child: Whereto, without other Lawes or Compulsion, except the reverence and awe of their custome and vse, they awefully tied and bound themselves. This petty state had from all antiquity continued in so happy a condition, that no neighbouring severe judge had ever beene troubled to enquire of their life and affaires, nor was ever Atturney or Pety fogging Lawyer called for, to give them advise or counsell; no [...] stranger sought vnto to determine their quarrels or decide their contentions; neither were ever beggers seene amongst them. They alwaies avoided commerce and shunned alliances with the other World, least they should alter the purity of their orders and policy; vntill such time (as they say) that one amongst them, in their fathers daies, having a minde pufft vp with a noble ambition, to bring his name and credit in reputation, devised to make one of his Children Sir *John Lackelatine*, or Master *Peter-an-Oake*: And having made him learne to write in some neighbour Towne not farre off, at last procured him to be a Country Notary, or Petty-fogging Clarke. This

fellow having gotten some pelfe and become great, began to disdain their ancient customes, and put the pompe and statelinesse of our higher regions into their heads. It fortuned that a chiefe Gossip of his had a Goate dishorned, whom he importunately solicited to sue the Trespasser, and demand law and right at the Iudge or Iusticers hands, that dwelt there-about; And so never ceasing to sow sedition and breed sutes amongst his neighbours, he never left till he had confounded and marred all. After this corruption or intrusion of law (they say) there ensued presently another mischiefe of worse consequence, by meanes of a Quacke-salver, or Empirike Physition that dwelt amongst them, who would needes be married to one of their daughters, and so endenizon and settle himselfe amongst them.

This gallant began first to teach and instruct them in the names of agewes, rheumes and impostumes; then the scituation of the heart, of the liver and other entrails: A Science vntill then never knowen or heard of among them. And in stead of garlike, wherewith they had learned to expell, and were wont to cure all diseases, of what qualitie and how dangerous soever 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 trafficke not onely their health, but also their deaths. They sweare, that even from that time, they haue apparantly perceived, that the evening Sereine or night-calme bred the head-ach and blasted them; that to drinke being hot or in a sweat empaired their helthes; that Autumne windes were more vnwholesome and dangerous, then those of the Springe-time: And that since his slibbersawces, potions and physicke came first in vse; they finde themselues molested and distempered with Legions of vnaccustomed malladies and vnknown diseases; and plainly feele and sensibly perceive a generall weakenesse and declination in their antient vigor; and that their lives are nothing so long, as before they were. Loe heere the first of my tales. The other is, that before I was troubled with the stone-chollicke and gravell in the bladder, hearing diuers make especiall account of a hee-goats blood, as of an heavenly *Manna* sent in these latter-ages for the good and preservation of mans life: and hearing men of good vnder standing speake of it, as of an admirable and much-good-working drugge, and of an infallible operation: I, who have ever thought my selfe subject to all accidents, that may in any sort fall on man, being yet in perfect health, beganne to take pleasure to provide my selfe of this myracle, and foorthwith gave order (according to the receipt) to have a Bucke-goate gotten, and carefully fed in mine owne house. For the blood must be drawne from him in the hottest moneth of Summer, and he must onely be fed with soluble hearbes, and drincke nothing but White-wine. It was my fortune to come to mine owne house the very same day the Goate should be killed; where some of my people came in haste to tell mee, that my Cooke found two or three great bowles in his paunch, which in his maw amongst his meat shocked one against another. I was so curious as I would needes have all his garbage brought before me; the thicke and large skinne whereof I caused to be opened, out of which came three great lumpes or bodies, as light as any sponge, so framed as they seemed to be hollow, yet outwardly hard and very firme, bemotted with divers dead and wannis [...] colours: The one perfectly as round as any bowle, the other two somewhat lesser, and not [437]so round, yet seemed to grow towards it. I have found (after I had made diligent inquiry among such as were wont to open such beasts) that it was a seld-seene and vnheard of accident. It is very likely they were such stones 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 gravell to hope to be cured, by meanes of a beasts-blood, that was drawing neere vnto death, and suffered the same disease. For, to aleadge 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 worke, and the whole frame agitate altogether, although one part, according to the diversitie of operations, doth contribute more or lesse than another; whereby it manifestly appeareth, that in all parts of this bucke-goate, there was some grettie or petrificant qualitie. It was not so much for feare of any future chaunce, or in regard of my selfe, that I was so curious of this experiment; as in respect, that as well in mine owne house,

as else-where in sundry other places, it commeth to passe, that many women doe often gather and lay vp in store, divers such kindes of slight drugges to help their neighbours, and other people with them, in time of necessitie; applying one same remedy to an hundred severall diseases: yea many times such as they would be very loath to take themselves; with which they often have good lucke, and well thrives it with them. As for mee I honour Physitions, not according to the common-received rule, for necessitie sake (for to this passage another of the Prophet may be alleaged, who reprooved King *Asa*, because hee had recourse vnto Physitions) but rather for love I beare vnto themselves; having seene some, and knowne diverse honest men amongst them, and worthy all love and esteeme. *It is not them I blame, but their Arte*; yet doe I not greatly condemne them for seeking to profit by our foolishnesse (for most men doe so) and it is a thing common to all worldlings. *Diverse profession and many vacations, both more and lesse worthie than theirs, subsist and are grounded onely vpon publike abuses and popular errors*. I send for them when I am sicke, if they may conveniently be found; and love to be entertained by them, rewarding them as other men doe. I give them authoritie to enjoyne me to keepe my selfe warme, if I love it better so than otherwise. They may chuse, be it either leekes or lettuce, what my broth shall be made withall, and appoynt mee either white or clarer to drinke; and so of other things else, indifferent to my taste, humor or custome. I know well it is nothing to them, forsomuch as *Sharpenesse and Strangenesse are accidents of Physickes proper essence*. *Lycurgus* allowed and appoynted the sicke 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 mee, vseth wine as a soveraigne remedie againg agews, because being in perfect health, he hateth the taste thereof as death. How many of them see wee to be of my humour? That is, to disdain all Physicke for their owne behoofe, and live a kinde of formall free life, and altogether contrarie to that, which they prescribe to others? And what is that, but a manifest abusing of our simplicitie? For, they holde their life as deare, and esteeme their health as pretious as wee doe ours, and would apply their effects to their skill, if themselves knew not the vncertaintie and falsehood of it. It is the feare of paine and death; the impatience of the disease and grieffe; and indiscreete 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 bee so yeelding and pliable. The greater parte of whome doe notwithstanding not beleewe so much, as they endure and suffer of others: For I heare them complaine, and speake of it no otherwise than wee doe. Yet in the ende are they resolved. What should I doe then? As if impatience were in itselfe a better remedie than patience Is there any of them, that hath yeelded to this miserable subjection, that doth not likewise yeelde to all manner of impostures? or dooth not subject himselfe to the mercie of whomsoever hath the impudencie to promise him recoverie, and warrant him health?

The Babilonians were wont to carry their sicke people into the open streetes; the common sort were their physitions: where all such as passed by were by humanitie and civilitie to enquire of their state and maladie, and according to their skill or experience, give them some [...]ound aduise and good counsell. We differ not greatly from them: There is no poore Woman so simple, whose mumbling and muttering, whose slobber-slabbers 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 physicke, than in any other; because therein is no danger or hurt [438]to be feared. What *Homer* and *Plato* said of the Aegyptians, that they were all Physitions, may well be said of all people. There is neither Man nor Woman, that vanteth not himselfe to have some receipt or other, and doth not hazard the same vpon his neighbour, if he will but give credite vnto him.

I was not long since in a company, where I wot not who of my fraternity, brought newes of a kinde of pilles, by true accompt, composed of a hundered and odde severall ingredients; Whereat we laughed very heartily, and made our selves good sport: For, what rocke so hard

were able to resist the shocke, or withstand the force of so thicke and numerous a battery? I vnderstand nevertheless, of such as tooke of them, that the least graine gravell dained not to stirre at all. I cannot so soone give over writing of this subject, but I must needes say a word or two, concerning the experience they have made of their prescriptions, which they would have vs take as a warrantize or assurance of the certainty of their drugges and potions. The greatest number, and as I deeme, more than the two thirds of medicinable vertues, consist in the quintessence or secret propriety of simples, whereof we can have no other instruction but vse and custome. For, *Quintessence is no other thing than a quality, whereof we cannot with our reason finde out the cause.* In such trials or experiments, those which they affirme to have acquired by the inspiration of some Daemon, I am contented to receive and allow of them (for, touching myracles, I meddle not with them) or be it the experiments drawne from things, which for other respects fall often in vse with vs: As if in Wooll, wherewith we wont to cloth our selves, some secret exsiccating or drying quality, have by accident beene found, that cureth kibes or chilblaines in the heeles; and if in reddishes, we eat for nourishment, some opening or aperitive operation have beene discovered. *Galen* reporteth, that a Leprous man chanced to be cured, by meanes of a Cuppe of Wine he had drunke, forsomuch as a Viper was by fortune fallen into the Wine caske. In which example we finde the meane, and a very likely directory to this experience. As also in those, to which Physitions affirme, to have beene addressed by the examples of some beasts. But in most of other experiences, to which they say 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 mettals. I wot not where to make him beginne his Essay; And suppose he cast his first fantasie vpon an Elkes-Horne, to which an easie and gentle credulity must be given; he will be as farre to seeke, and as much troubled in his second operation: So, many diseases and severall circumstances are proposed vnto him, that before he come to the certainty of this point, vnto which the perfection of his experience should arrive, mans wit shall be to seeke, and not know where to turne himselfe; And before (amiddest this infinity of things) hee 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 many seasons in Winter: So diverse Nations amongst French-men; So many ages in age; So diverse coelestiall changes and alterations, in the conjunction of *Venus* and *Saturne*; So severall and many partes in a mans body, nay in one of his fingers. To all which being neyther guided by argument, nor by conjecture, nor by example, or divine inspiration, but by the one ly motion of fortune; it were most necessary, it should be by a perfectly artificiall, well-ordred, and methodicall fortune. Moreover, suppose the disease thorowly cured, how shall he rest assured, but that eyther the evill was come to his vtmost 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-mothers prayers? Besides, suppose this experiment to have beene perfect, how many times was it applied and begun a new; And how often was this long and tedious web 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, you shall scarce meete with three or foure, that well duely observe, and carefully keepe a Register of their experiments;* shall it be your, or his happe, to light truely, or hit just with one of them three or foure? What if another man? Nay what if a hundred other men have had and made contrary experiments, and cleane opposite 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 sway all mankind, there [439] is no reason.* It were requisite, humane nature had appointed and made speciall choise of them and that by expresse procuracion and letter of attorny they were by her declared our Iudges and deputed our Attornies.

**To my Lady of Duras.**

MAdame, the last time it pleased you to come and visite me, you found me vpon this point. And because it may be, these toyes of mine may happily come to your hands: I would have them witnesse, their Authour reputeth himsele highly honoured, for the favours it shall please you to shew them. Wherein you shall discerne the very same demeanor and selfe-countenance, you have seene in his conversasion. And could I have assumed vnto my selfe any other fashion, than mine owne accustomed, or more honourable and better forme, I would not have done it: For, all I seeke 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 pleased your Lady-ship to frequent and receive, with much more honor and curtesie, than they any way deserve, I will place and reduce (but without alteration and change) into a solide body, which may happily continue some daies and yeares after mee: Where, when soever it shall please you to refresh your memory with them, you may easily finde them, without calling them to remembrance; which they scarsely deserve. I would entreate you to continue the favour of your Friend-ship towards mee, by the same qualities, through whose meanes it was produced. I labour not to be beloved more and esteemed better being dead, than alive. The humour of *Tyberius* is ridiculous and common, who endeavoured more to extinguish his glory in future ages, than yeeld himsele regardfull and pleasing to men of his times. If I were one of those, to whom the World my be indebted for praise, I would quit it for the one moytie, on condition it would pay me before-hand: And that the same would hasten, and in great heapes environ me about, more thicke than long, and more full than lasting. And let it hardly vanish with my knowledge, and when this sweet alluring sound shall no more tickle mine eares. It were a fond conceite, now I am ready to leave the commerce of men, by new commendations, to goe about, anew to beget my selfe vnto them.

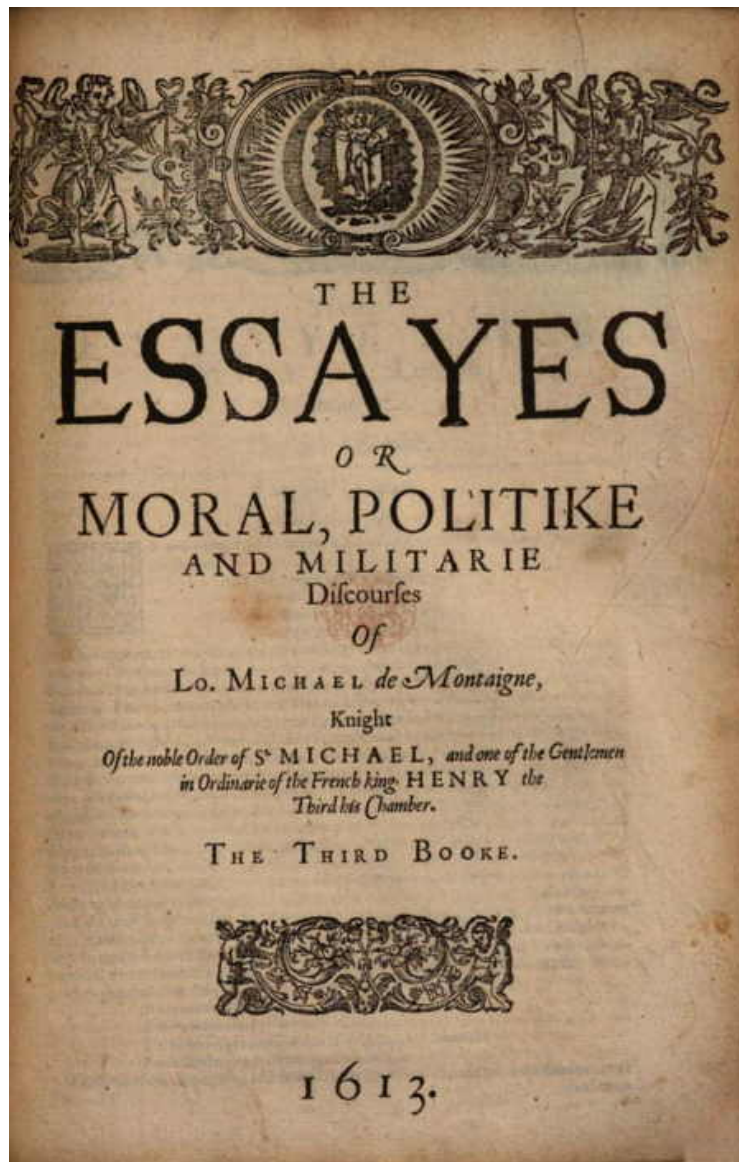
I make no account of goods, which I could not employ to the vse of my life. Such as I am so would I be elsewhere then in Paper. Mine arte and industry have beene employed to make my selfe of some worth. My study and endeavour to doe, and not to write. I have applied all my skill and devoire to frame my life. Lo-heere mine occupation and my worke. I am a lesse maker of books, then of any thing else. I have desired and aimed at sufficiencie, rather for the benefite of my present and essentiall commodities, then to make a Store-house, and hoard it vp for mine heires. Whosoever hath any worth in him, let him shew it in his behaviour, maners and ordinary discourses; be it to treat of love or of quarrels, of sport and play or bed-matters, at board or else-where; or be it in the conduct of his owne affaires, or private household matters. Those whom I see make good bookes, having tattered hosen and ragged clothes on, had they believed mee they should first have gotten themselves good clothes. Demand a Spartan, whether he would rather be a cunning Rhethorician, 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 hate such a commendation, to be a sufficient man in writing, and a foolish-shallow-headed braine or coxcombe in all things else: yet had I rather be a foole; both here and there, then to have made so bad a choise, wherein to imploy my worth. So farre am I also 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 gained. For, besides that this dombe and dead picture, shall derogate and steale from my naturall being, it fadgeth not and hath no reference vnto my better state, but is much falne from my first vigor and naturall jollity, enclining to a kinde of drooping or mouldinesse. I am now come to the bottome of the vessell, which beginneth to taste of his dregs and lees. Otherwise (good Madame) I should not have dared so boldly to have ripped vp the mysteries of Phisicke, [440]sicke, considering the esteeme and credite your selfe, and so many others, ascribe vnto it, and hold it in; had I not been directed therunto by the authors of the same. I thinke they have but two ancient ones in Latine, to wit *Pliny* 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 doe. I but pinch it gently, they cut the throate of it. *Pliny* amongst other things, doth much scoffe at them, forsomuch as when they are at their wits end, and can goe no further, they have found



out this goodly shift, to send their long-turmoiled, and to no end much tormented patient, with their drugs and diets, some to the help of their vowes and myracles, and some others to hot Baths and waters. (Be not offended noble Lady, he meaneth not those on this side, vnder the protection of your house, and all *Gramontoises*.) They have a third kinde of shift or evasion to shake vs off and discharge themselves of the imputations or reproaches, we may justly charge them with, for the small amendment of our infirmities; whereof they have so long had the surway and government, as they have no more inventions or devises left them, to amuse vs with; that is, to send vs, to seeke and take the good aire of some other Country. Madam, we have harped long enough vpon 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 (said he) judge it by this, shewing certain scroules or briefes he had tied about his necke and armes. He would infer, that he was very sicke, since he was forced to have recourse to such vanities, and had suffered himselfe to be so drest. I affirme not, but I may one day be drawne to such fond opinions, and yeeld my life and health to the mercy, discretion and regiment of Phisitions. I may happily fall into this fond madnesse; I dare not warrant my future constancy. And even then if any aske me how I doe, I may answer him as did *Pericles*; You may judge, by shewing my hands fraughted with six drammes of Opium. It will be an evident token of a violent sicknesse. My judgement shal be exceedingly out of temper. If impacience or feare get that advantage vpon me, you may thereby conclude some quelling fever hath seized vpon my minde. I have taken the paines to plead this cause, whereof I have but small vnderstanding, somewhat to strengthen and comfort naturall propension, against the drugs and practise of our Phisicke, which is derived into me from mine ancestors: lest it might onely be a stupid and rash inclination; and that it might have a little more forme. and that also those, who see me so constant against the exhortations and threatates, which are made against me, when sicknesse commeth vpon me, may not thinke it to be a meere conceit, and simple wilfulnesse; And also, lest there be any so peevisch, as to judge it to be some motive of vaine glory. *It were a strange desire, to seeke to draw honour from an action, common both to me, to my Gardiner, or to my Groome.* Surely my heart is not so pufft vp, nor so windy, that a solide, fleshy and marrowy pleasure, as health is; I should change it for an imaginary, spirituall and airy delight. Renowme or glory (were it that of *Aymons* foure sons) is overdeerey bought by a man of my humour, if it cost him but three violent fits of the chollike. Give me health a Gods name. Those that love our Physicke, may likewise have their considerations good, great and strong. I hate no fantasies contrary to mine. I am so far from vexing myselfe, to see my judgement differ from other mens, or to grow incompatible of the society or conversation of men, to be of any other faction or opinion then mine owne; that contrariwise (as variety is the most generall fashion that nature hath followed, and more in the mindes, then in the bodies; forsomuch as they are of a more supple and yeelding substance, and susceptible or admitting of formes) I finde it more rare to see our humor or desseignes agree in one. And never were there two opinions in the world alike, no more than two haire, or two graine. *Diversity is the most vniversall quality.*

**The end of the second Booke.**



[443]



**THE ESSAYES OF MICHAEL LORD OF *MONTAIGNE*.**

**The third Booke.**

**The first Chapter.  
Of profit and honesty. ↪**

*NO man living is free from speaking foolish things; the ill lucke is, to speake them curiously:*

Naeiste magno conatu magnas nugas Ter. Heant. act. 4. see. 1. 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 smal worth: whereby they speed the better. I would suddenly quit them, for the least cost were in them: Nor doe I buy, or sell them, but for what they weigh. I speake vnto Paper, as to the first man I meete. That this is true, marke well what followes. *To whom should not treachery be detestable*, when *Tiberius* refused it on such great interest? One sent him word out of *Germany*, that if he thought it good, *Arminius* should be made away by poison. He was the mightiest enemy the Romans had, who had so vilely ysed them vnder *Varus*, and who onely impeached the encrease of his domination in that country. His answer was; [...] *that the people of Rome were accustomed to be reuenged on their enemies by open courses, With weapons in hand; not by subtill steights, nor in bugger mugger*: thus left he the profitable for the honest. He was (yon will say) a cosener. I beleuee it; that's no wonder in men of his profession. But the confession of vertue, is of no lesse consequence in his mouth that hateth the same, for so much as truth by force doth wrest it from him, and if he will not admit it in him, at least, to adorne himselfe, he will put it on. *Our composition, both publike and priuate, is full of imperfection*; yet is there nothing in nature vnseruiceable, no not inutility itselfe; nothing thereof hath beene insinuated in this huge vniuerse, but holdeth some fit place therein. Our essence is symented with crased qualities; ambition, jealousie, enuy, revenge, superstition, dispaire, lodge in vs, with so naturall a possession, as their image is also discerned in beasts: yea and cruelty, so vnnaturall a vice: for in the midst of compassion, we inwardly feele a kinde of bitter-sweetpricking of malicious delight, to see others suffer; and children feele it also:

Suaue mari magno turbantibus aequora ventis, Luer. 1. 2. 1.  
Eterra magnum alterius spectare laborem.  
T'is sweet on graund seas, when windes waues turmoyle,  
From land to see an others greeuous toyle.

The seed of which qualities, who should roote out of man, should ruine the fundamentall [444]conditions of our life: In matter of policy likewise; some necessary functions are not onely base, but faulty: vices finde therein a seate, and employ themselues in the stitching vp of our frame; as poisons in the preseruacion of our health. If they become excusable, because we have neede of them, and that common necessity effaceth their true property; let vs resigne the acting of this part to hardy Citizens, who sticke not to sacrifice their honours and consciences, as those of old, their lives, for their Countries availe and safety. We that are more weake, had best assume taskes of more ease and lesse hazard. The Common-wealth requireth some to betray, some to lie, and some to massaker: leave we that commission to people more obedient and more p [...]able. Truly, I have often beene vexed, to see our judges, by fraude or false hopes of favour or pardon, draw on a malefactor, to bewray his offence, employing therein both couzinage and impudencie. It were fit for iustice, and *Plato* himselfe, who favoureth this custome, to furnish me with meanes more sutable to my humour. T'is a [...]a [...]icious justice, and in my conceit no lesse wounded by it selfe, then by others. I answered not long since, that hardly could I betray my Prince for a particular man, who should be very rysery to betray a particular man for my Prince. And loath not onely to deceave, but that [...] me; whereto I will neither furnish matter nor occasion. In that little businesse I have managed betweene our Princes, amid the diuisions and subdiuisions, which at [...] day so [...] and turn oile vs, I have curiously eeded, that they mistake me not, nor [...] themselves in my maske. The professors of that trade hold themselves most covert; presending and [...] the greatest indifference and nee [...]enesse 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 Negotiation, and who had rather faile in my businesse, then in my selfe. Yet hath this beene

[...]ithetto with so good hap (for surely fortune is in these matters a principal actor) that few have dealt between party and party with lesse suspition, and more inward favour. I have in all my proceedings an open fashion, easie to insinuate and give it selfe credite at first acquaintance. Sincerity, plainnesse, and naked truth, in what age so ever, finde also their opportunity and employment. Besides, their liberty is little called in question, or subiect to hate, who deale without respect of their owne interest. And they may truely vse the answer of [...] vnto the Athenians, complaining of his bitter inuectives and sharpnesse of his speech: *Consider not, my masters whether I am free, but whether I be so, without taking ought, or better [...] my state by it.* My liberty also hath easily discharged me from all suspition of faintnesse, by it's vigor (nor forbearing to speake any thing, though it bite or stung them; I could not have said worse in their absence) and because it carrieth an apparant show of simplicity and carelesnesse. I pretend no other fruite by negotiating, then to negotiate; and annex no long pursuities or propositions to it. Every action makes his particular game, win he if he can. Nor am I vrged with the passion of love or hate vnto great men; nor is my will shackled with anger, or particular respect. I regard our Kings with an affection simply lawfull, and meereley ciuill, neither mooved nor vnmooved by private interest: for which I like my selfe the better. The general and iust cause bindes me no more then moderately, and without violent fits. I am not subiect to these piercing pledges and inward gages. Choller and hate are beyond the duty of justice, and are passions fitting only those, whose reason is not sufficient to hold them to their duty: *Utatur motu animi, qui vti ratione non potest, Let him vse the motion of his minde, that cannot vse reason.* All lawfull intentions are of themselves temperate: if not, they are altered into sedicious and vnlawfull. It is that makes me march every where with my head aloft, my face and heart open. Verily (and I feare not to avouch it) I could easily for a neede, bring a candle to Saint *Michell*, and another to his Dragon, as the good old woman. I will follow the best side to the fire, but not into it, if I can choose. If neede require, let *Montaigne* my Mannor-house be swallowed vp in the publike ruine: but if there be no such necessity, I will acknowledge my selfe beholding vnto fortune if she please to save it; and for it's safety employ as much scope as my endeouours can afford me. Was it not *A [...]* *Jicus*, who cleaving to the right (but loosing side) saved himselfe by his moderation, in that generall Ship [...]*racke* of the world, amidst so many changes and divers alterations? To private men, such as he was, it is more easie. And in such kinde of businesses, I thinke one dealeth justly, not to be too forward to insinuate or inuite himselfe: To hold a staggering or middle course, to beare an vnmooued affection, and without inclination in the troubles of his country, and publike diuisions, I deeme neither seemely nor honest: *Ea non media, sed nu [...]* *a via* [445] *est velut euenium expectantium, quo fortuna consilia sua applicent, That is not the mid-way, but a mid way, or no way, as of those that expect the euent with intent to apply their dessignes as fortune shall fall out.* That may be permitted in the affaires of neighbours. So did *Gelon* the tyrant of *Siracusa* suspend his inclination in the Barbarian wars against the Greekes, keeping Ambassadors at *Delphos*, with presents, to watch on what side the victory would light, and to apprehend the fittest occasion of reconcilement with the victors. It were a kinde of treason to doe so in our owne affaires and domesticall matters, wherein of necessitie one must resolve and take aside; but for a man that hath neither charge, nor expresse commaundement to vrge him; not to busie or entermedle himselfe therein, I holde it more excusable; (Yet frame I not this excuse for my selfe) then in forraine and strangers wars, wherewith according to our lawes, no man is troubled against his will, Neverthelesse those, who wholly ingage themselves into them, may carry such an order and temper, as the storme (without offending them) may glide over their head, Had wee not reason to hope as much of the deceased Bishop of *Orleans*, Lord of *Moruillters*? And I know some, who at this present worthilie bestirre themselues, in so even a fashion or pleasing a manner, that they are likely to continue on foote, whatsoever iniurious alteration or fall, the heavens may prepare against vs. *I holde it onely fit for Kings to hee angry with Kings:* And mocke at those rash spirits, who from the brauerie of their harts offer themselues to so

vnproportionate quarrels. For one vndertaketh not a particular quarrell against a Prince, in marching against him openly and couragiously, for his honour, and according to his dutie: If hee love not such a man; hee doth better; at least hee esteemeth him. And the cause of lawes especially, and defence of the auncient state, hath ever found this priviledge, that such as for their owne interest, disturbe the same, excuse (if they honour not) their defendors. But *wee ought not terme duty (as now a dayes we do) a sower rigour, and intestine crabbednesse, proceeding of priuate interest and passion; nor courage a treacherous and malicious proceeding.* Their disposition to frowardnesse and mischiefe, they entitle zeale: That's not the cause doth heate them, t'is their owne interest: They kindle a warre, not because it is just, but because it is warre. *Why may not a man beare himselfe betweene enemies featly and faithfully?* Doe it, if not altogether with an equall (for it may admit different measure) at least with a sober affection, which may not so much engage you to the one, that hee looke for all at your hands. Content your selfe with a moderate proportion of their fauour, and to glide in troubled waters without fishing in them. *Th'other manner of offering ones vttermost endeuours to both sides, implyeth lesse diseration then conscience.* What knowes hee, to whom you betray another, as much your friend as hmselve, but you will doe the like for him, when his turne shall come. Hee takes you for a villaine; that whilst hee heares you, and gathers out of you; and makes his best vse of your disloyaltie: For, *double fellowes are onely beneficiall in what they bring, but we must looke, they carry away as little as may be.* I carry nothing to the one, which I may not (hauing opportunity) say vnto the other, the accent only changed a little: and report either but indifferent or knowne, or common things ■ Noe benefit can induce mee to lye vnto them; what is entrusted to my silence I conceale religiously, but take as little in trust as I can ■ *Princes secrets are a troublesome charge, to such as haue nought to doe with them.* I euer by my good will capitulate with them, that they trust mee with very little; but let them assuredly trust what I disclose vnto them. I alwayes knew more then I wold. *An open speach opens the way to another, and drawes all out, euen as Wiue, and Loue.* *Philippides* in my minde, answered king *Lysi [...]* *Jachus* wisely, when hee demanded of him; what of his wealth or state hee shoulde empare vnto him; *Which and what you please* (quoth hee) *so it be not your secrets.* I see euery one mutinie, if another conceale the deapth or misterie of the affaires from him, wherein he pleaseth to employ him, or haue but purloyned any circumstance from him. For my part, I am content one tell me no more of his businesse then hee will haue mee knowe or deale in, nor desire I, that my knowledge exceede or straine my word. If I must needes bee the instrument of cozinage, it shall at least bee with safety of my conscience. I will not be esteemed a seruant, nor so affectionate, nor yet so faithfull, that I bee iudged fit to betray any man. *Who is vnfaithfull to himselfe, may bee excused if hee be faithlesse to his Maister.* But Princes entertaine not men by halfes, and despise bounded and condicionall seruice. What remedy? I freely tell them my limits; for, a slaue [...] must not bee but vnto reason; which yet I cannot compasse: And they are to blame; to exact from a free man, the like subiection vnto [446]their seruice, and the same obligation, which they may from those they haue made and bought; and whose fortune dependeth particularly and expresly on theirs. The lawes haue deliuered mee from much trouble: they haue chosen mee aside to followe, and appointed mee a maister to obey: all other superioritie and duty, ought to bee relatiue vnto that and bee restrained. Yet may it not bee concluded, that if my affection should otherwise transport mee, I would presently afforde my helping hand vnto it. *Will and desires are a law to themselues,* actions are to receiue it of publike institutions: All these proceedings of mine, are some what dissonant from our formes. They should produce noe great effects, nor holde out long among vs. *Innocencie it selfe could not in these times nor negotiate without dissimulation, nor trafficke without lying.* Neither are publike functions of my dyet; what my profession requires thereto, I furnish in the most priuate manner I can. Being a childe, I was plunged into them vp to the eares, and had good successe; but I got loose in good time. I have often since shunned meddling with them, seldome accepted and neuer required; euer holding my backe toward ambition; but if not

rowers, who goe 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 courses lesle against my taste, and more comfortable to my carriage, by which if heere tofore it had called mee to the seruice of the common-wealth, and my aduancement vnto credit in the world; I know that in following the same I had exceeded the reason of my couceite. Those which commonly say against my prosession, that what I terme liberty, simplicity and plainnesse in my behaiour, is arte, cunning and subtilty: and rather discretion, then goodnesse; industry then nature; good wit, then good hap; doe mee more honour then shame. But truely they make my cunning ouercunning. And whosoever hath traced mee and nearely looked into my humoures, lie loose a good wager if hee confesse not, that there is noe rule in their schoole, could, a midde such crooked pathes and diuerse windings, square and raport this naturall motion, and maintaine an apparance of liberty and licence, so equall 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 affaires a man hath in charge, double, vneven and accidentall. I haue often seene these counterset [...] artificiall liberties in practise, but most commonly without successe. They sauour of *Aesopes*. Asse; who in emulation of the dogge, layde his two fore-feete very jocondly vpon his maisters shoulders; but looke how many blandishments the pretty dogge receiued, vnder one, so many bastinadoes were redoubled vpon the poore Asles backe. *Id maxime quemque decet; quod est cuiusque suum* Cic. off. 1. 1. *maxime: that becomes euery man especially, which is his owne especially*: I will not depriue cousinage of her ranke that were to vnderstand the worlde but ill: I know it hath often done profitable seruice, it supporteth, yea and nourisheth the greatest part of mens vacations.

There are some lawfull vices; as many-actions, or good or excusable vnlawfull. Iustice in it selfe naturall and vniuerfall is otherwise ordered, and more nobly distributed, then this other especiall, and nationall iustice, restrained and suted to the neede of our pollicie: *Veri iuris germanaeque iustitiae solidam et expressam effigiem nullam tenemus; vmbra* Cic. off. 1. 3. & *imaginibus vtimur*. Wee haue noe liuely nor life-like purtrature of vpright law and naturall iustice: wee vse but the shaddowes and colours of them. So that wise *Dandamys*, hearing the liues of *Socrates*, *Pythagoras* and *Diogenes* repeated, in other thinges, iudged them great and woorthy men, but ouermuch subiected to the reuerence of the lawes: which to authorize and second, true vertue is to decline very much from his naturall vigor: and not onely by their permission, but perswasions diuerse vicious actions are committed and take place. *Ex Senatus consultis plobisque scitis scelera exercentur. Euen by decrees of counsell, and by statute-lawes are mischiefes put in practise*. I follow the common phrase, which makes a difference betweene profitable and honest things; terming some naturall actions which are not onely profitable but necessarie, dishonest and filthie. But to continue our examples of treason. Two which aspired vnto the kingdome of *Thrace*, were falne into controversie for their right. The Emperour hindred them from falling together by the eares: the one vnder collour of contriving some friendlie accorde by an enterview inuiting the other to a feast in his house, emprisoned and murthred him. Iustice required, that the Romanes should be satisfied for this outrage: some difficulties empeached the ordinarie [447]course. What they could not lawfully doe without warre and hazard, they attempted to accomplish by treason: what they coulde not honestlie archieue, they profitably compassed. For exployting whereof, *Pomponius Flaccus* was thought most fitte: who trayning the fellowe into his Nettes by fained wordes and sugred aslurances; in lieu of the faouour and honour hee promised him, sent him bound hand and foote to *Rome*. One traytour ouer-reached another, against common custome: For, they are all full of distrust, and t'is very hard to surprize them in their owne arte: witness the heauie and dismall experience wee have lately felt of it. Let who liste bee *Pomponius Flaccus*; and there are too-too many that will bee so. As for my parte, both my word and faith, are as the rest; pieces of this common bodie: their best effect is the publike seruice: that's ever presupposed with mee. But as, if one should command mee to take the

charge of the Rolles or Recordes of the Pallace, I would answer: I have noe skill in them: or to bee a leader of Pioners, I would say; I am called to a worthier office: Even so, who would goe about to employ mee, not to murther or poyson, but to lye, betraye, and forswear my selfe, I would tell him; If I have robbed or stolne any thing from any man, send mee 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 heauie burdens, and harmefull taxes vpon vs as you please; but you loose your time, to commaund vs any shamefull or dishonest things.* Euery man should give himselfe the oathe, which the Aegyptian Kings, solemnlie and vsuallie presented to their judges; *Not to swarue from their consciences*, what commaund soever they should receive from themselues to the contrarie. In such commissions there is an evident note of ignominie and condemnation. And whosoever giues them you, accuseth you; and if you conceave them right, giues you them as a trouble and burthen. As much as the publike affaires amend by your endeouours, your owne empaireth: the better you doe, so much the worse doe you. And it shall not bee newe, nor peradventure without shadowe of justice, that hee who setteth you a worke, becommeth your ruine. *If treason bee in any case excusable, it is onely then, when t'is employed to punish and betraye treason.* Wee shall finde many treacheries, to haue beene not onely refused, but punished by them, in whose fauour they were vnder taken. Who knowes not the sentence of *Fabritius*, against *Pyrrus* his Physition? And the commaunder hath often severely revenged them on the partic hee employed in them, refusing so vnbridled a credite and power, and disavowing so lewde and so vile an obedience. *Iaropelc* Duke of *Russia*, sollicited an Hungarian Gentleman, to betraye *Bol [...]**slaus* King of *Polonia*, in contriuing his death, or furnishing the Russians with meanes to worke him some notable mischief. This gallant, presently bestirres him in it, and more then euer applying himselfe to the Kings seruice obtained to bee of his counsell, and of those hee most trusted. By which aduantages, and with the opportunitie of his maisters absence, hee betrayde *Dicilicia*, a great and rich cittie to the Russians: which was whollie sackt and burnt by them, with a generall slaughter, both of the inhabitants, of what sexe or age soever, and a great number of nobility there abouts, whom to that purpose he had assembled. *Iaropelc* his anger thus asswaged with revenge, and his rage mitigated (which was not without pretext, for *Bol [...]**slaus* had mightily wronged and in like manner incensed him) and glutted with the fruite of treason, examining the vglinesse thereof, naked and alone, and with imparciall eyes behoulding the same, not distempred by passion, conceaved such a remorse, and tooke it so to hart, that he forthwith caused the eyes of his instrumentall executioner to be pulled out, and his tongue and priuie partes to be cut of. *Antigonus* perswaded the *Argyraspides* soldiers, to betray *Eumenes* their generall, and his adversarie, vnto him, whom when they had deliuered, and hee had caused to be slaine; himselfe desired to be the Commissarie of diuine justice, for the punishment of so detestable a trecherie: and resigning them into the hands of the Gouvernor of the Prouince, gave him expresse charge, in what manner soever it were, to rid himselfe of them, and bring them to some mischieuous end. Whereby, of that great number they were, not one ever after sawe the smoake of *Macedon*. *The better they serued hit turne, the more wicked hee iudged them, and the more worthie of punishment.* The slave that betraide the corner wherein his maister *P. Sulpicius* lay hid, was set at libertie, according to the promise of *Syllas* proscription: But according to the promise of common reason, beeing freed, hee was throwne head-long from off the *Tarpeyan* rocke. And *Clouis* King of *France*, in lieu of the goldenarmes he had promised the three servants of *Cannacre*, [448]caused them to be hanged, after they had by his sollicitation betraide their maister vnto him. They hang them vp with the purse of their reward about their neckes. Having sasatisfied their second and speciall faith, they also satisfie the generall and first. *Mahomet* the second, desirous to rid himselfe of his brother (through jealousy of rule, and according to the stile of that race) employed one of his officers in it; who stifled him, by much water powred downe his throate all at once: which done, in expiation of the fact, hee deliuered the murtherer into the hands of his brothers mother (for

they were brethren but by the fathers side) shee, in his presence, opened his bosome, and with hir owne revenging handes searching for his heart, pluckt it out, and cast it vnto dogges to eate. Even vnto vile dispositions (hauing made vse of a filthie action) it is so sweete and pleasing, if they may with securitie, as it were, in way of recompence and holie correction, sowe one sure stiche of goodnesse, and justice vnto it. Besides; they respect the ministers of such horrible crimes, as people, that still vpbraide them with them, and couet by their deaths to smother the knowledge, and cancell the testimonie of their practises. Now if perhaps, not to frustrate the publike neede of that last and desperate remedy, one rewarde you for it: yet, hee who doth it (if hee bee not as bad himselfe) will hould you a most accursed and execrable creature. And deemeth you a greater traytor, then he whom you haue betrayed: for with your owne handes, hee toucheth the lewdnesse of your disposition, without disavowing, without object. But employeth you, as we do out-cast persons in the executions of justice: an office as profitable as little honest. Besides the basenesse of such commissions, there is in them a prostitution of conscience. The daughter of *Sejanus*, could not in *Rome*, by any true formall course of lawe, bee put to death, because shee was a virgine: that lawes might haue their due course, shee was first deflowred by the common hang-man, and then strangled. Not his hand onely, but his soule is a slave vnto publike commoditie. When *Amurath* the first, to aggrauate the punishment of his subjects, who had given support vnto his sons vnnaturall rebellion, appointed their neerest kinsmen to lend their hands vnto this execution: I finde it verie honest in some of them, who rather chose vnjustly to bee held guiltie of anothers parricide, then to serue iustice with their owne. And whereas in some paltrie townes forced in my time, I haue seene base varlets for sauegarde of their owne lives, yeelde to hang their friends and companions, I ever thought them of worse condition, then such as were hanged. It is reported, that *Witoldus* Prince of *Lituania*, introduced an order with that nation, which was that the partie condemned to die, should with his owne handes make himselfe away; finding it strange, that a third man beeing guiltlesse of the fact, shoulde bee employed and charged to commit a murther. When an vrgent circumstance, or any violent and vnexpected accident, induceth a Prince for the necessitie of his estate, or as thay say for state matters, to breake his worde and faith, or otherwise forceth him out of his ordinary dutie, hee is to ascribe that necessitie vnto a lash of Gods rod: It is no vice, for hee hath quit his reason, vnto a reason more publike, and more powerfull, but surely t'is ill fortune. So that to one, who asked mee what remedie? I replyde, none; were hee trulie rackt betweene these two extreames (*Sed videat ne quaeratur latebra periurio. But let him take heede hee seeke not a starting hole for periurie*) hee must haue done it; Cic. off. 1. 3. but if hee did it sans regret or scruple, if it greeued him not to doe it, t'is an argument his conscience is but in ill tearmes. Now were there any one of so tender or cheuerell a conscience, to whome no cure might seeme worthie of so extreame a remedie: I should prise or regard him no whit the lesse. Hee cannot loose himselfe more handsomelie nor more excusable. *Wee cannot doe every thing, nor bee in euery place*. When all is done, thus and thus, must wee often, as vnto our last Anker and sole refuge, resigne the protection of our vessell vnto the onely conduct of heauen. To what juster necessitie can hee reserue himselfe? What is lesse possible for him to doe, then what hee cannot effect, without charge vnto his faith, and imputation to his honour? things which peradventure should bee dearer to him, then his owne saluation, and the safety of his people. When with enfoulded armes hee shall deuoutly call on God for his ayde, may hee not hope, that his fatherlie mercie shall not refuse the extraordinarie fauour, and sinne-forgiuing grace of his all powerfull hand, vnto a pure and righteous hand? They are dangerous exemples, rare and crased exceptions to our naturall rules: wee must yeelde vnto them, but with great moderation, and heedie circumspection. No priuate commoditie, may any way deserue wee [449] should offer our conscience this wrong the common-wealth may, when it is most apparant and important. *Timoleon* did fitlie warrant and warde the strangenesse of his exploite by the teares hee shed, remembring it was with a brotherlie hand hee slew the tyrant, And it neerelie pinched his selfe-gnawne conscience, that hee was compelled to purchase the



common good, at the rate of his honestie. The sacred Senate it selfe, by his meanes deliuered from thraldome, durst not definitively decide of so haughtie an action, and rend in two so vrgent and different semblances. But the Siracusans having opportunelie and at that very instant sent to the Corinthians, to require their protection, and a gouernour able to re-establish their towne in former maiestie, and deliuer *Sicilie* from a number of pettie tyrants, which greuoushe oppressed the same: they appointed *Timoleon*, with this new caucat and declaration: That according as hee should well or ill demeane himselfe in his charge, their sentence should encline, either to grace him as the redeemer of his country, or disgrace him, as the murtherer of his brother. This fantastickall conclusion, hath some excuse vpon the danger of the example, and importance of an act so different. and they did well, to discharge their iudgement of it, or to embarke him some where else, and on their considerations Now the proceedings of *Timoleon* in his renowned iournie did soone yeelde his cause the cleerer, so worthily and vertuously did hee euery way beare himselfe therein. And the good hap, which euer accompanied him in the encombrances and difficulties hee was to subdue in the atchieuement of his noble enterprise, seemed to bee sent him by the Gods, conspiring to second, and consenting to fauour his justification: This mans end is excusable, if euer any could bee. But the encrease and profit of the publike revenues, which serued the Roman Senate for a pretext of the ensuing-foule conclusion I purpose to relate, is not of sufficient force to warrant such injustice. Certaine citties had by the order and permission 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 bee fineable and taxed as before: and the mony they had employed for their ransome, should bee deemed as lost and forfeited. Ciuill warres doe often produce such enormous examples: That we punish priuate men, for somuch as they have beleeued vs, when wee were other then now wee are. And one same magistrate doth laie the penaltie of his change on such as cannot do withall. The Schoolemaster whippeth his scholler for his docilitie, and the guide streeketh the blind man he leadeth. A horrible image, of justice. Some rules in Philosophie are both false and fainte. The example proposed vnto vs, of respecting priuate vtilitie before faith giuen, hath not sufficient power by the circumstance they adde vnto it. Theeves have taken you, and on your oath to pay them a certaine sum of money, haue set you at libertie againe: They erre, that say, an honest man is quit of his worde and faith without paying, beeing out of them handes; There is noe such matter, *What feare and danger hath once forced mee to will and consent vnto, I am bound to will and performe boing out of danger and feare.* And although it haue but forced my tongue, and not my will, yet am I bound to make my worde good, and keepe my promise. For my part, when it hath sometimes vnaduisedly ouer-runne my thought, yet haue I made a conscience to disavowe the same. Otherwise wee should by degrees come to abolish all the right a third man taketh and may challenge of our promises. *Quasi verò forti viro vis possit adhiberi.* Cic. off. 1. 3. *As though any force could be vsed vpon a valiant man,* T'is onely lawfull for our priuate interest to excuse the breache of promise, if wee have rashlie promised things in them selves wicked and vnjust. For, *the right of vertue ought to over-rule the right of our bonde.* I have heretofore placed *Fpaminondas* in the first ranke of excellent men, and now recant it not. Vnto what high pitch raised hee the consideration of his particular dutie? who never slew man hee had vanquished; who for that vnvaluable good of restoring his countrie hir libertie, made it a matter of conscience, to murther a Tyrant or his complices, without a due and formal course of lawe: and who judged him a bad man, how good a cittizen soever, that amongst his enemies and in the furie of a battle, spared not his friend, or his hoste. Loc here a minde of a riche composition. Hee matched vnto the most violent and rude actions of men, goodnesse and courtesie, yea and the most choise and delicate, that may bee found in the schoole of Philosophie. This so high-raised courage, so swelling and so obstinate against sorow, death and povertie, was it nature or arte, made it relent, even to the vtmost straine of exceedeng tendernesse and debonaretie of complexion? Being cloathed in the dreadfull liuerie of steele and blood, hee goeth on crushing and brusing a nation,

invincible [450] to all others, but to himselfe: yet mildly relenteth in the midst of a combat or confusion, when hee meets with his host or with his friend. Verily, this man was deservedly 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 murder. T'is a miracle, to be able to joine any shew of justice with such actions. But it only belongeth to the vnmached courage of *Epaminondas*, in that confused plight, to joine mildnesse and facilitie of the most gentle behaviour that ever was, vnto them, yea and pure innocencie it selfe. And whereas one told the *Mamertins*, that statutes were of no force against armed men: another to the Tribune of the people, that the time of justice and warre, were two: a third, that the confused noise of warre and clang of armes, hindred him from vnderstanding the sober voice of the lawes: This man was not so much as empeached from conceiving the milde sound of civilitie and kindnesse. Borrowed hee of his enemies the custome of sacrificing to the Muses (when hee went to the warres) to qualifie by their sweetnesse and mildnesse, that martiall furie, and hostile surlinesse? Let vs not feare, after so great a master, to hold that some things are vnlawfull, even against our fellest enemies: that publike interest, ought not to challenge all of all, against private interest: *Manente memoria etiam in dissidio publicorum foederum privati iuris: Some memorie of private right continuing euen in disagreement of publike contracts.*

— & *nulla potentia vires* Ouid. Punt. 1. 1. [...]l. 8. 37.  
 Praestandi, ne quid peccet amicus, habet:  
 No power hath so great might,  
 To make friends still goe right.

*And that all things be not lawfull to an honest man, for the service of his King, the generall cause and defence of the lawes. Non enim patria praestat omnibus officijs, & ipsi conducit pios habere cives* Cic. off. 1. 3. *in parentes. For our countrey is not above all other duties; it is good for the countrey to have her inhabitants vse pietie toward their parents.* T'is an instruction befitting the times: wee need not harden our courages with these plates of iron and steele; it sufficeth our shoulders be armed with them: it is enough to dippe our pens in inke, too much, to die them in blood. If it be greatnesse of courage, and th' effect of a rare and singular vertue, to neglect friendship, despise private respects 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 we but allege, that it is a greatnesse vnable to lodge in the greatnesse of *Epaminondas* his courage. I abhorre the enraged admonitions of this other vnruely spirit.

- *dum tela micant, non vos pietatis imago* Luan. 1. 7. 320. *Caes.*  
 Vlla, nec aduersa conspect [...] fronte parentes  
 Commoveant, vult us gladio turbante verendos.  
 While swords are brandisht, let no shew of grace  
 Once moove you, nor your parents face to face,  
 But with your swords disturbe their reverend grace.

Let vs bereave wicked, bloodie and traiterous dispositions, of this pretext of reason: leave wee that impious and exorbitant iustice, and adhere vnto more humane imitations, *Oh what may time and example bring to passe!* In an encounter of the civill warres against *Cinna*, one of *Pompeyes* souldiers, having vnwittingly slaine his brother, who was on the other side, through shame and sorrow presently killed himselfe; And some yeeres after, in another civill warre of the said people, a souldier boldly demanded a reward of his Captaines for killing his owne brother. Falsly doe wee argue honour, and the beautie of an action, by it's profit: and conclude as ill, to thinke every one is bound vnto it, and that it is honest, if it be commodious.

Omnia non pariter rerum sunt omnibus apta. Prop. 1. 3. el. 8. 7  
All things alike to all  
Doe not well-fitting fall.

[451]

Choose we out the most necessary and most beneficiall matter of humane society, it will be a mariage: yet is it, that the *Saints* counsell findeth and deemeth the contrary side more honest, excluding from it the most reverend vocation of men: as we to our races assigne such beasts as are of least esteeme.

## The second Chapter. Of Repenting, ↩

Others fashion man, I repeat him; and represent a particular one, but ill made; and whom were I to forme a new, he should be far other then he is; but he is now made. And though the lines of my picture change and vary, yet loose they not themselves. The world runnes all on wheelles: All things therein moove without enterrmission; yea the earth, the rockes of *Caucasus*, and the Pyramides of *Aegypt*, both with the publike and their owne motion. *Constancy it selfe is nothing but a languishing and wauering dance*. I cannot settle my obiect; it goeth so vnquietly and staggering, with a naturall drunkennesse. I take it in this plight, as it is at th' instant I amuse 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 seaven yeares to seaven, but from day to day, from minute to minute. My history must be fitted to the present. I may soone change, not onely fortune, but intention. It is a counter-roule of divers and variable accidents, and irresolute imaginations, and sometimes contrary: whether it be that my selfe am other, or that I apprehend subiects, 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 essay, but resolue my selfe. It is still a Prentise and a probationer. I propose a meane life, and without luster: T'is all one. They fasten all morall Philosophy as well to a popular and priuate life, as to one of richer stuffe. *Every man beareth the whole stampe of humane condition*. Authors communicate themselves vnto the world by some speciall and strange marke; I the first, by my generall disposition; as *Michael de Montaigne*; not as a Grammarian, or a Poet, or a Lawyer. If the world complaine, I speake too much of my selfe, I complaine, it thinkes no more of it selfe. But is it reason, that being so private in vse, 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 sway and command, the raw and simple effects of nature; and of a nature as yet exceeding weake? *To write bookes without learning, is it not to make a wall without stone or such like thing?* Conceites of musicke are directed by arte; mine by hap. Yet have I this according to learning, that never man handled subject, he vnderstood or knew, better then I doe this I have vndertaken; being therein the cunningest man alive.

Secondly, that never man waded further into his matter, nor more distinctly sifted the partes and dependances of it, nor arrived more exactly and fully to the end he proposed vnto himselfe. To finish the same, I have need of naught but faithfulnessse: 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 grow into yeares: for it seemeth, custome alloweth old age more liberty to babbell, and indiscretion to talke of it selfe. It cannot herein be, as in trades; where the Crafts-man and his worke doe often differ. Being a man of so sound and honest conuersation, write he so foolishly? Are such learned writings come from a man of so weake a conversation? who hath but an ordinary conceite, and writeth excellently, one may say his capacity is borrowed, not of himselfe. A skilfull man, is not skilfull in all things: But a sufficient man, is sufficient euery where, even vnto ignorance. Heere my booke and my selfe

march together, and keepe one pace. Else-where one may commend or condemne the worke, without the worke-man; heere not: who toucheth one, toucheth the other. He who shall iudge of it without knowing him, shall wrong himselfe more then me: he that knowes it, [452]hath wholly satisfied mee. 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 vse and benefit of learning, had I beene endowed with any: and deserued better helpe of memorie. excuse wee heere what I often say, that I seldome repent my selfe, and that my conscience is contented with it selfe; not of an Angels or a horses conscience, but as of a mans conscience. Adding euer this clause, not of ceremonie, but of true and essentiall submission; that *I speake inquiring and doubting, meerely and simply referring my selfe, from resolution, vnto common and lawfull opinions.* I teach not; I report: Noe vice is absolutely vice, which offendeth not, and a sound iudgement accuseth not: For, the deformitie and incommoditie thereof is so palpable, as peraduenture they haue reason, who say, it is chiefly produced by sottishnesse and brought forth by ignorance; so hard is it, to imagine one should know it without hating it. *Malice sucks vp the greatest part of her owne venome, and therewith impoysoneth herselfe. Dice, leaueth, as an vlcet in the flesh, a repentance in the soule, which still scratcheth, and bloodieth it selfe.* For reason effaceth other griefes and sorrowes, but engendereth those of repentance: the more yrkesome, because inwarde: As the colde and heate of agues is more offensiue then that which comes outward. I account vice (but each according to their measure) not onely those which reason disallowes, and nature condemnes, but such as mans opinion bath forged as false and erronious, if lawes and custome authorize the same. In like manner there is not goodnesse but gladdeth an honest disposition. There is truely I wot not what kinde or congratulation, of well doing, which reioyceth in our selues, and a generous jollitie, that accompanieth a good conscience. A minde couragiously vicious, may happily furnish it selfe with security, but shee cannot bee fraught, with this selfe-ioyning delight and satisfaction. It is noe small pleasure, for one to feele himselfe preserued from the contagion of an age so infected as ours, and to say to himselfe; could a man enter and see euen into my soule, yet should he not finde me guilty, either of the affliction or ruine of any body, nor culpable of enuie or reuenge, nor of publike offence against the lawes, nor tainted with innouation, trouble or sedition; nor spotted with falsifying of my worde; and although the libertie of times alowed and taught it every man, yet could I neuer bee induced to touch the goods or diue into the purse of any *French* man; and haue alwayes liued vpon mine own, as well in time of war, as of peace: nor did I euer make vse of any pooremans labour, without reward. These testimonies of an vnspotted conscience are very pleasing, which naturall ioy is a great benefit vnto vs; and the onely payment neuer faileth vs. To ground the recompence of vertuous actions, vpon the approbation of others, is to vndertake a most vncertaine or troubled foundation, namely in an age so corrupt and times so ignorant, as this is: *the vulgar peoples good opinion is iniurious.* Whom trust you in seeing what is commendable; God keepe mee from beeing an honest man, according to the description I dayly see made of honour, each one by himselfe. *Quae fuerant vitia, mores sunt. What earst were vices, are now growne fashious.* Some of my friendes, have sometimes attempted to schoole me roundly, and sift mee plainely, either of their owne motion, or envited by me, as to an office, which to a well composed minde, both in profit and lovingnesse, exceedeth all the duties of sincere amity. Such haue I euer entertained with open armes of curtesie, and kinde acknowledgement. But now to speake from my conscience, I often found so much false measure in their reproches and praises, that I had not greatly erred if I had rather erred, then done well after their fashion. Such as wee especially, who live a private life not exposed to any gaze but our owne, ought in our hartes establish a touchstone, and thereto touch our deedes and try our actions; and accordingly, now cherish, and now chastise our selues. I haue my owne lawes and tribunall, to iudge of mee, whether I adresse my selfe more then any where els. I restraine my actions according to other, but extend them according to my selfe. None but your self knowes rightly whether you be demisse and cruel,

or loyall and deuout. Others see you not, but ghesse you by vncertaine coniectures: They see not so much your nature, as your arte. Adhere not then to their opinion, but hold vnto your owne. *Tuo tibi iudicio est vtendum. Virtutis & viciorum graue ipsius conscientiae pondus* Cic. Nat. Deor. L. 3. *est: qua sublata iacent omnia; You must vse your owne iudgement: The weight of the very conscience of vice and vertues is heauy: take that away, and all is downe.* But where as it is said, that repentance nearely followeth sinne, seemeth not to emplye sinne placed in his rich aray, which lodgeth in vs as in his proper mansion. One may disavowe and disclaime vices, that surprise vs, and whereto our passions transport vs: but those, which by long habite are rooted in a [453]strong, and ankred in a powerfull will, are not subiect to contradiction. *Repentance is but a denying of our will, and an opposition of our fantasies* which diuerts vs here and there. It makes some disauow his former vertue and continencie.

Quae mens est hodie, cur eadem non puero fuit, Hor. car. l. 4. od. 10 7.  
 Uel cur his animis incolumes non redeunt genae?  
 Why was not in a youth same minde as now?  
 Or why beares not this minde a youthfull brow?

*That is an exquisite life, which euen in his owne priuate keepeth it selfe in awe and order.* Euery one may play the jugler, and represent an honest man vpon the stage; but within, and in bosome, where all things are lawfull, where all is concealed; to keepe a due rule or formall decorum, that's the point. The next degree, is to bee so in ones owne home, and in his ordinary actions, whereof we are to giue account to no body: wherin is no study, nor arte, And therefore *Bias* describing the perfect state of a family, whereof (saith hee) the maister, be such inwardly by himselfe, as hee is outwardly, for feare of the lawes, and respect of mens speaches. And it was a worthy saying of *Iulius Drusus*, to those worke-men, which for three thousande crownes, offered so to reforme his house, that his neighbours should no more ouer looke into it: I will giue you sixe thousand (said hee) and contriue it so, that on all sides euery man may looke into it. The custome of *Agesilaus* is remembred with honour, who in his trauaile was wont to take vp his lodging in churches, that the people, and Gods themselues might pry into his priuate actions. Some haue beene admirable to the world, in whom nor his wife, nor his seruant euer noted any thing remarkeable. *Few men haue beene admired of their familiars. No man hath beene a Prophet, not onely in his house, but in his owne country,* saith the experience of histories. Euen so in things of nought. And in this base example, is the image of greatnesse discerned. In my climate of *Gascoigne* they deeme it a iest to see mee in print. The further the knowledge which is taken of mee is from my home, of so much more woorth am I. In *Guienne* I pay Printers; in other places they pay mee. Vpon this accident they ground, who liuing and present keepe close-lurking, to purchase credit when they shall be dead and absent. I had rather haue lesse. And I cast not my selfe into the world, but for the portion I draw from it. That done, I quit it. The people attend on such a man with wonderment, from a publike act, vnto his owne doores: together with his robes hee leaues-of his part; falling so much the lower, by how much higher hee was mounted. View him within, thereall is turbulent, disordered and vile. And were order and formality found in him, a liuely, impartiall and well sorted iudgement is required, to perceiue and fully to discern him in these base and priuate actions. Considering that order is but a dumpish and drowsie vertue: To gaine a Battaile, perfourme an Ambassage, and gouerne a people, are noble and woorthy actions; to chide, laugh, sell, pay, loue, hate, and mildely and iustly to conuerse both with his owne and with himselfe; not to relent, and not gaine-say himselfe, are things more rare, more difficult and lesse remarkeable.

Retired liues sustaine that way, what euer som say, offices as much more crabbed, and extended, then other liues doe. And priuate men (saith *Aristotle*) serue vertue more hardly, and more highly attend her, then those which are magistrates or placed in authority. Wee prepare our selues vnto eminent occasions, more for glory then for conscience. *The nearest*

way to come vnto glory, were to doe that for conscience, which wee doe for glory. And me seemeth the vertue of *Alexander* representeth much lesse vigor in her large Theater, then that of *Socrates*, in his base and obscure exercitation. I easily conceiue *Socrates*, in the roome of *Alexander*; *Alexander* in that of *Socrates* I cannot. If any aske the one, what hee can doe, hee will answer, *Conquer the world*; let the same question bee demaunded of the other, he will say, *leade my life conformably to it's naturall condition*; A science much more generous, more important, and more lawfull.

*The woorth of the minde consisteth not in going high, but in marching orderly.* Her greatnesse is not exercised in greatnesse; in mediocritye it is. As those, which iudge and touch vs inwardely, make no great account of the brightnesse of our publique actions; and see they are but streakes and poyntes of cleare Water, [454]surging from a bottome, otherwise slimie and full of mud: So those who iudge vs by this gay outward apparence, conclude the same of our inward constitution, and cannot couple popular faculties as theirs are, vnto these other faculties, which amaze them so farre from their leuell. So doe we attribute sauage shapes and ougly formes vnto diuels. As who doeth not ascribe high-raised eye-browes, open nostrils, a sterne frightfull visage, and a huge body vnto *Tamburlane*, as is the forme or shape of the imagination we haue fore-conceiued by the brute of his name? Had any heretofore shewed me *Erasmus*, I could hardly had bin induced to think, but whatsoever he had said to his boy or hostes, had beene Adages and Apothegmes. We imagine much more fitly an Artificer vpon his close stoole or on his wife, then a great iudge, reverend for his carriage and regardfull for his sufficiencie; we thinke, that from those high thrones they should not abase themselues so low, as to liue. As vicious mindes are often incited to do well by some strange impulsion, so are vertuous spirits mooued to d [...]e ill. They must then bee judged by their settled estate, when they are neare themselues, and as we say, at home, if at any time they be so; or when they are nearest vnto rest, and in their naturall seate. Naturall inclinations are by institution helped and strengthened, but they neither change nor exceed. A thousand natures in my time, haue a thwart, a contrary discipline, escaped toward vertue or toward vice.

Sic vbi desuetae siluis in carcere clausae, Lucan. l. 4. 237.  
 Mansueuere ferae, & vultui posuere minaces,  
 Atque hominem dedicere pati, si torrida paruus  
 Venit in ora cruor, redeunt rabies (que) furorque,  
 Admonitaeque tument gustato sanguine fauces,  
 Feruet, & à trepido vix abstinere irae magistro.  
 So when wilde beasts, disused from the wood,  
 Fierce lookes laide-downe, growe tame, closde in a cage,  
 Taught to beare man, if then a little blood  
 Touch their hot lips, furie returns and rage;  
 Their iawes by taste admonisht swell with vaines,  
 Rage boyles, and from fainte keeper scarce abstaines.

These originall qualities are not grubd out, they are but covered, and hidden: The Latine tongue is to mee in a manner naturall; I vnderstand it better then French; but it is now fortie yeares, I have not made vse of it to speake, nor much to write: yet in some extreame emotions and suddaine passions, wherein I haue twice or thrice falen, since my yeares of discretion; and namely once, when my father being in perfect health, fell all along vpon me in a swoune, I haue euer, euen from my very hart vttered my first wordes in latine: Nature rushing and by force expressing it selfe, against so long a custome; the like example is aleaged of diuers others. *Those which in my time, haue attempted to correct the fastions of the world by new opinions, reforme the vices of apparence; those of essence they leaue vntouched if they encrease them not:* And their encrease is much to be feared. We willinglie protract all other well-doing vpon these externall reformatiōs, of lesse cost, and of greater merit; whereby wee satisfie good-cheape, other naturall consubstantiall and intestine vices.

Looke a little into the course of our experience. There is no man (if he listen to himselfe) that doth not discouer in himselfe a peculiar forme of his, a swaieng forme, which wrestleth against the institution, and against the tempests of passions, which are contrarie vnto him. As for me, I feele not my selfe much agitated by a shocke; I commonly finde my selfe in mine owne place, as are sluggish and lumpish bodies. If I am not close and neare vnto my selfe, I am never farre-off: My debauches or excesses transport me not much. There is nothing extreame and strange: yet haue I sound fits and vigorous lusts.▪ The true condemnation, and which toucheth the common fashion of our men, is, that their very retreat is full of corruption and filth: The Idea of their amendment blurred and deformed; their repentance crazed and faultie, very neere as much as their sinne. Some, either because they are so fast and naturally ioyned vnto vice, or through long custome, haue lost all sence of it's vglinesse. To others (of whose rancke I am) vice is burthenous, but they counter-balance it with pleasure, or other occasions: and suffer it, and at a certaine rate lend themselues vnto it; though basely and viciously. Yet might happily so remote a disproportion of measure bee imagined, where with justice, the pleasure might excuse the offence, as we say of profit, [455]Not onely being accidentall, and out of sinne, as in thefts, but even in the very exercise of it, as in the acquaintance, or copulation with women; where the prouocation is so violent, and as they say, sometime vnresistable, In a towne of a kinsman of mine; the other day, beeing in *Armignac*, I sawe a country man, commonly sirmemed the Theefe: who himselfe reported his life to haue beene thus. Beeing borne a begger, and perceiuing, that to get his bread by the sweate of his brow and labour of his handes, would neuer sufficiently arme him against penury, he resolved to become a Theefe; and that trade had employed all his youth safely, by meanes of his bodily strength: for he euer made vp Haruest and Vintage in other mens 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 vpon his shoulders: and was so carefull to equall the pray, and disperse the mischiefe he did, that the spoile was of lesse import to euery particular man.

Hee is now in olde yeares indifferently rich; for a man of his condition (Godamercy his trade) which hee is not ashamed to confesse openly, And to reconcile himselfe with God, hee affirmeth, to bee dayly ready, with his gettings, and other good turnes, to satisfie the posterity of those hee hath heeretofore wronged or robbed; which if himselfe bee not of abilitie to performe (for hee cannot doe all at once) hee will charge his heires withall, according to the knowledge hee hath, of the wrongs by him done to euery man. By this description, bee it true or false, hee respecteth theft, as a dishonest and vnlawfull action, and hateth the same: yet lesse then pinching want: Hee repents but simplie; for in regarde it was so counterballanced and recompenced, hee repenteth not. That is not that habit which incorporates vs vnto vice, and confirmeth our vnderstanding in it; nor is it that boysterous winde, which by violent blastes dazeleth and troubleth our mindes, and at that time confoundes, and ouerwhelmes both vs, our iudgement, and all into the power of vice. What I doe, is ordinarily full and compleate, and I march (as wee say) all in one piece: I haue not many motions, that hide themselves and slinke away from my reason, or which very neare are not guided by the consent of all my partes, without diuision, or intestine sedition: my iudgement 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, course and force. And in matters of generall opinions, euen from my infancie, I ranged my selfe to the point I was to hold. Some sinnes there are outrageous, violent and suddaine; leaue we them.

But those other sinnes, so often reassumed, determined and aduised vpon, whether they bee of complexion, or of profession and calling, I cannot conceiue how they should so long bee settled in one same courage, vnlesse the reason and conscience of the sinner were therunto inwardly priuie and constantly willing. And how to imagine or fashion the repentance thereof, which hee vanteth, doeth some times visite him, seemeth somewhat hard

vnto mee. I am not of *Phythagoras* Sect, that men take a new soule, when to receive Oracles, they approach the images of Gods; vnlesse he would say with all, that it must bee a strange one, new, and lent him for the time: our owne, giuing so little signe of purification, and cleannesse worthy of that office, They doe altogether against the Stoycall precepts, which appoint vs to correct the imperfections and vices we finde in our selues, but withall forbidde vs to disturbe the quiet of our minde. They make vs beleeeue, they feele great remorse, and are inwardly much displeas'd with sinne; but of amendment, correction or intermission, they shew vs none. *Surely there can bee noc perfect health; Where the disease is not perfectly remooued.* Were repentance put in the scale of the ballance, it woulde weigh downe sinne. *I finde no humour so easie to bee counterfeited as Deuotion:* If one conforme not his life and conditions to it, her essence is abstruse and concealed, her apparance gentle and stately.

For my part, I may in generall wish to bee other then I am; I may condemne and mislike my vniuersall forme; I may beseech God to grant mee an vndefiled reformation, and excuse my naturall weakenesse; but mee seemeth I ought not to tearme this repentance noe more then the displeasure of being neither Angell nor *Cat* [...]. My actions are squared to what I am and conformed to my condition. I cannot doe better: And *repentance dooth not properly concerne what is not in our power; sorrow dooth.* I may imagine infinite dispositions of a higher pitch, and better gouerned then myne, yet doe I nothing better my faculties; [456]noe more then mine arme becommeth stronger, or my wit more excellent, by conceiuing some others to be so. If to suppose & wish a more nobler working then ours, might produce the repentance of our owne, wee should then repent vs of our most innocent actions: forsomuch as wee iudge that in a more excellent nature, they had heene directed with greater perfection and dignity; and our selves would doe the like. When I consult with my age of my youthes proceedings, I finde that commonly, (according to my opinion) I managed them in order. This is all my resistance is able to performe. I flatter not my selfe: in like circumstances, I should euer bee the same. It is not a spot, but a whole dye, that staynes mee. I acknowledge noe repentance, that is superficiall, meane and ceremoious. It must touch mee on all sides, before I can terme it repentance. It must pinch my entrailles, and afflict them as deeply and throughly, as God himselfe beholdes mee. When in negotiating, many good fortunes haue slipt mee for want of good discretion, yet did my proiects make good choyce, according to the occurrences presented vnto them. Their manner is euer to take the easier and surer side. I finde that in my former deliberations, I proceeded, after my rules, discreetely, for the subiects state propounded to mee; 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 consulted of it. *The consequence of all dessignes consistes in the seasons; occasions passe, and matters change vncessantlie.* I haue in my time runne into some grosse, absurde and important errors; not for want of good aduise, but of good happe. There are secret and indiuinable partes in the obiects men doe handle; especially in the nature of men and mute conditions, without shew, and sometimes vnknowne of the very possessours, produced and stirred vp by suddaine occasions. If my wit coulde neyther finde nor presage them, I am not offended with it; the function thereof is contained within it's owne limits. If the successe beate mee, and fauour the side I refused; there is noe remedy; I fall not out with my selfe; I accuse my fortune, not my endeuour: that's not called repentance. *Phocion* had giuen the Athenians some counsell, which was not followed; the matter, against his opinion, succeeding happily; How now *Phocion*, (quoth one) art thou pleased the matter hath thriued so well? yea (saide hee) 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 francklie and clearelie, not 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 justly finde fault with my aduise: for which I care not greatly. For they shall doe mee wrong, and it became nor mee to refuse them that dutie. I haue no body to blame for my faultes or misfortunes, but my selfe. For in effect I



seldome vse the aduise of other vnlesse it be for complements sake, and where I haue need of instruction or knowledge of the fact. Marry in things wherin nought but judgment is to bee employed; strange reasons may serve to sustaine, but not to divert me. I lende a favourable and curteous eare vnto them all. But (to my remembrance) I never beleueed any but mine owne. With mee they are but Flyes and Moathes, which distract my will. I little regarde mine owne opinions, other mens I esteeme as little: Fortune payes mee accordingly. If I take no counsell I give as little. I am not much sought after for it and lesse credited when I give it: Neither knowe I any enterprise, either private or publike, that my aduise hath directed and brought to conclusion. Euen those whome fortune had some-way tyde therevnto, have more willingly admitted the direction of others conceites, then mine. As one that am a jealous of the rights of my quiet, as of those of my authoritie; I would rather haue it thus.

Where leaving me, they iumpe with my profession, which is, wholly to settle and containe mee in my selfe. It is a pleasure vnto mee, to bee disinterested of other mens affayres, and disingaged from their contentions. When sutes or businesses bee ouer-past, how-so-ever it bee, I greeve little at them. For, the imagination that they must necessarily happen-so, puts mee out of paine; behould them in the course of the Vniuerse, and enchained in Stoy call causes. Your fantazie cannot by wishe or imagination, remooue 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 accidentall repentance which olde age bringes with it.

[457]

Hee that in ancient times said, hee was beholden to yeares, because they had ridde him of voluptuousnesse, was not of mine opinion. I shall neuer giue impuissance thanks, for any good it can doe mee. *Nec tam aversa vnquam videbitur ab opere suo providentia, vt debilitas inter optima inuenta sit. Nor shall fore-sight euer bee seene so auerse from hir owne worke, that weakenesse bee found to bee one of the best things.* Our appetites are rare in olde-age: the blowe over-passed, a deepe sacietie seazeth vpon vs: Therein I see no conscience. Fretting care and weakenesse, imprint in vs an effeminate and drowzie vertue.

Wee must not suffer our selues so fully to be carried into naturall alterations, as to corrupt or adulterate our iudgement by them. Youth and pleasure haue not heretofore prevailed so much ouer me, but I could ever (even in the midst of sensualities) discern the vgly face of sinne: nor can the distaste which yeares bring on me, at this instant, keepe mee from discerning that of voluptuousnesse in vice. Now I am no longer in it, I judge of it as if I were still there. I who lively and attentively examine my reason, finde it to be the same that possessed me in my most dissolute and licentious age; vnlesse perhaps, they being enfeebled and empayred by yeares, doe make some difference: And finde, that what delight it refuseth to affoorde mee in regarde of my bodilie health, it would no more denie mee, then in times past, for the health of my soule. To see it out of combate, I holde it not the more couragious. My temptations are so mortified and crazed, as they are not worthy of it's oppositions; holding but my hand before me, I be-calme them. Should one present that former concupiscence vnto it, I feare it would be of lesse power to sustance it than heretofore it hath beene. I see in it, by it selfe no encrease of iudgement, nor accesse of brightnesse, what it now iudgeth, it did then. Wherefore if there be any amendment, t'is but diseased. *Oh miserable kinde of remedie, to be beholden vnto sicknesse for our health.* It is not for our mishap, but for the good successe of our iudgement to performe this office. Crosses and afflictions, make me doe nothing but cursse them. They are for people, that cannot be awaked but by the whip. The course of my reason is the nimbler in prosperitie; It is much more distracted and busied in the digesting of mischiefes, than of delights. I see much cleare [...] in faire weather. Health forewarneth me, as with more pleasure, so to better purpose than sicknesse. I approached the nearest I could vnto amendment and regularity, when I should have enjoyed the same; I should be ashamed and vexed, that the misery and mishap of my

old age could exceede the helth, attention and vigor of my youth: and that I should be esteemed, not for what I have beene, but for what I am leaft to be. The happy life (in my opinion) not (as said *Antisthenes*) the happy death, is it that makes mans happinesse in this world.

I have not preposterously busied my selfe to tie the taile of a Philosopher, vnto the head and bodie of a varlet: nor that this paultrie end, should disavow and belie the fairest, soundest, and longest part of my life. I will present my selfe, and make a generall muster of my whole, every where vniformally. Were I to live againe, it should bee as I have already lived. I neither deplore what is past, nor dread what is to come: and if I be not deceived, the inward parts have neerely resembled the outward. It is one of the chiefest points wherein I am beholden to fortune, that in the course of my bodies estate, each thing hath beene carried in season. I have seene the leaves, the blossomes, and the fruit; and now see the drooping and withering of it. Happily, because naturally. I beare my present miseries the more gently, because they are in season, and with greater favour make mee remember the long happinesse 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 fresh, iolly and full of spirit, then now that it is worne, decrepitate and toylesome.

I therefore renounce these casuall and dolourous reformations. *God must touch our heartes; our conscience must amende of it selfe*, and not by re-inforcement of our reason, nor by the enfeebling of our appetites. Voluptuousnesse in it selfe is neither pale nor discouloured, to be discerned by bleare and troubled eyes. Wee should affect temperance and chastitie for it selfe, and for Gods cause, who hath ordained them vnto vs: [458]that which Catars bestow vpon vs, and which I am beholden to my chollicke for, is neither temperance nor chastitie. A man cannot boast of contemning or combating sensualitie, if hee see her not, or know not her grace, her force and most attractive beauties. I know them both, and therefore may speake it. But mee thinkes our soules in age are subject vnto more importunate diseases and imperfections, then they are in youth. I said so being young, when my beardlesse chinne was vpbraided mee; and I say it againe, now that my gray beard gives me authoritie. We entitle wisdom, the frowardnesse of our humours, and the distaste of present things; but in truth wee abandon not vices, so much as wee change them; and in mine opinion for the worse. Besides a sillie and ruinous pride, combersome tattle, wayward and vnsociable humours, superstition and a ridiculous carking for wealth, when the vse of it is well nigh lost, I finde the more enuie, injustice and leaudnesse in it. It sets more wrinckles in our mindes, then on our foreheads: nor are there any spirits, or very rare ones, which in growing old taste not sowrely and mustily. Man marcheth entirely towards his encrease and decrease. View but the wisdom of *Socrates*, and divers circumstances of his condemnation, I dare say he something lent himselfe vnto it by prevarication of purpose: being so neere, and at the age of seventie, to endure the benumbing of his spirits richest pace, and the dimming of his accustomed brightnesse. What *Metamorphoses* have I seene it daily make in diuers of mine acquaintances? It is a powerfull maladie, which naturally and imperceptible glideth into vs: There is required great prouision of stu [...], heed 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 getteth ground vpon mee: I hold out as long as I can, but know not whither at length it will bring mee. Happe what happe will, I am pleased the world know from what height I tumbled.

### **The third Chapter.** **Of three commerces or societies.** ↩

WE must not cleave so fast vnto our humours and dispositions. Our chiefest sufficiencie is, to applie our selves to diuers fashions. It is a being, but not a life, to bee tied and bound by necessitie to one onely course. The goodliest mindes are those that have most varietie and

pliableness in them. Behold an honourable testimonie of old *Cato: Huic versatile ingenium sic pariter ad omnia fuit, vt natum ad id vnum diceret, quodcunque ageret.* Iiu. bel. Mac. l. 9. *Hee had a wit so turneable for all things alike, as one would say hee had beene onely borne for that hee went about to doe.* Were I to dresse my selfe after mine owne manner, there is no fashion so good, whereto I would bee so affected or tied, as not to know how to leave and loose it. *Life is a motion vnequall, irregular and multiforme.* It is not to bee the friend (lesse the master) but the slave of ones selfe to follow vncessantly, and bee so addicted to his inclinations, as hee cannot stray from them, nor wrest them. This I say now, as being extremely pested with the importunitie of my minde, forsomuch as shee cannot amuse her selfe, but whereon it is busied; not employ it selfe, but bent and whole. How light soever the subject is one giues it, it willingly amplifieth, and wire-drawes the same, even vnto the highest pitch of toile. It's idlenesse is therefore a painefull trade vnto mee, and offensive to my health. Most wits have neede of extravagant stufte, to vn-benumme and exercise themselves: mine hath neede of it, rather to settle and continue it selfe: *Vitia otij negotio discutienda sunt, The vices of idlenesse should bee shaken off with businesse:* For, theS [...]. ep. 56. most laborious care and principall studie of it, is, to studie it selfe. Bookes are one of those businesses that seduce it from studie. At the first thoughts that present themselves, it rouzeth vp and makes prooue of all the vigour it hath. It exerciseth it's function sometimes toward force, sometimes toward order and comelinesse, it rangeth, moderates [459]and fortifieth. 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 to devise and determine. Meditation is a large and powerfull studie to such as vigorously can taste and employ themselues 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 viuere est cogitare, to whom it is all one to liue and to meditate.* Nature hath also favoured it with this priuilege, that there is nothing we can doe so long; nor action, whereto wee give our selves more ordinarily and easily. It is the worke of Gods (saith *Aristotle*) whence both their happinesse and ours proceedeth. Reading serves mee especially, to awake my conceit by diuers objects; to busie my judgement, not my memorie. Few entertainments then, stay mee without vigour and force. T'is true that courtesie and beautie possesse mee, as much or more, then waight and depth. And because I slumber in all other communications, and lend but the superficiall parts of my attention vnto them, it often befalleth mee, in such kinde of weake and absurd discourses, (discourses of countenance) to blurt out and answer ridiculous toies, and fond absurdities, vnworthie a childe; or wilfully to hold my peace; therewithall more foolishly and incivilly. I have a kinde of raving fancie-full behaviour, that retireth mee into my selfe; and on the other side, a grosse and childish ignorance of many ordinarie things; by meanes of which two qualities, I have in my daies committed five or six as sottish trickes, as any one whosoever; which to my derogation may bee reported. But to follow my purpose, this harsh complexion of mine makes me nice in conuersing with men (whom I must picke and cull out for the nonce) and vnfit for common actions. Wee liue and negotiate with the people: If their behaviour importune vs, if wee disdain to lend our selves to base and vulgar spirits, which often are as regular as those of a finer mould; and *all wisdom is vasavourie, that is not conformed to common insipience.* Wee are no longer to intermeddle either with our, or other mens affaires: and both publike and private forsake such kinde of people.

The least wrested, and most naturall proceedings of our minde, are the fairest; the best occupations, those which are least forced. Good God, how good an office doth wisdom vnto those, whose desires shee squareth 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 stay our desires, to things most easie and neere. Is it not

a fond-peevish humour in mee, to disagree from a thousand; to whom my fortune joineth mee, without whom I cannot live, to adhere vnto one or two, that are out of my commerce and conuersation; or rather to a fantastick conceit, or fancie-full desire, for a thing I cannot obtaine? My soft behaviours and milde manners, enemies to all sharpnesse and foes to all bitterness, may easily have discharged mee from envie and contention. To bee beloved, I say not, but not to bee hated, never did man give more occasion. But the coldnesse of my conuersation, hath with reason robd mee of the good will of many; which may bee excused, if they interpret the same to other, or worse sense. I am most capable of getting rare amities, and continuing exquisite acquaintances. For so much as with so greedie hunger I snatch at such acquaintances as answer my taste and square with my humour. I so greedily produce and headlong cast my selfe vpon them, that I doe not easily misse to cleave vnto them, and where I light-on, to make a steadie impression; I have often made happie and successefull triall of it.

In vulgar worldly friendships, I am somewhat cold and barren; for my proceeding is not naturall, if not vnresisted and with hoised-full sailes. Moreover, my fortune having enured and allured mee, even from my infancie, to one sole-singular and perfect amitie, hath verily, in some sort, distasted mee from others: and over-deeply imprinted in my fantasie, that it is a beast sociable and for companie, and not of troupe, as said an ancient writer. So that it is naturally a paine vnto mee, to communicate my selfe by halves, and with modification; and that servile or suspicious wisdom, which in the conversation of these numerous and imperfect amities, is ordained and proposed [460]vnto vs: Prescribed in these daies especially, *Wherein one cannot speake of the world but dangerously or falselie*. Yet I see, that who (as I doe) makes for his ende, the commodities of his lyfe (I meane essentiall commodities) must auoyde as a plague, these difficulties and quaintnesse of humour.

I should commend a high-raysed minde, that could both bende and discharge it selfe: that where-ever hir fortune might transporte hir, shee might continue constant: that could discourse with hir neyghbour of all matters, as of hir building, of hir hunting and of any quarrell; and entertaine with delight a Carpenter or a Gardiner. I enuye those which can be familiar with the meanest of their followers, and vouchafe to contract friendship, and frame discourse with their owne seruantes. Nor do I like the aduise of *Plato*, ever to speake imperiouslye vnto our attendants, without blithnesse and sance any familiaritie: be it to men or women seruants. For, besides my reason, it is inhumanitie, and injustice, to attribute so much vnto that prerogatiue of fortune: and the government, where lesse inequalitye is permitted betweene the seruant and mayster, is, in my conceite the more indifferent. Some other studie to rouze and raise their minde; but I to abase and prostrate mine: it is not faultie but in extension.

Narras et genus Aeaci, idor. [...]ar. l. 3 od 19. 2.  
 Et pugnata sacro bella sub Ilio.  
 Quo Chium pretio cadum  
 Mercemur, quis aquam temperet iguibus,  
 Quo praebente domum, et quota  
 Pelignis caream frigoribus, taces.  
 You tell of *Aeacus* 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 shall allaye  
 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 allaye it in time of warre, least it should runne head-long into rashnesse and furye: whereas all other nations vse commonly pearcing soundes and strong

shouts, which violently excite, and enflame their souldyers courage: so thinke I (against ordinarye custome) that in the imployment of our spirite, wee have for the most part more need of leade then winges; of coldenesse and quiet, then of heate and agitation. Above all, in my mind, *The onely way to playe the foole well, is to seeme wise among fooles*: to speake as though ones tongue were ever bent to *Fauelar' in punta diforchetta, To Ital. Preu. syllabize or speake misinglie*. One must lend himselfe vnto those hee is with, and sometimes affect ignorance: Set force and subiltie aside; In common employments 'tis enough to reserue order; dragge your selfe even close to the ground, if they will have it so. The learned stumble willinglie on this blocke; making continuall muster, and open showe of their skill, and dispersing their bookes abroad: And have in these dayes so filled the closets, and possessed the eares of Ladyes, that if they retayne not their substance, at least they have their countenance: vsing in all sortes of discourse and subject how base or popular soever, a newe, an affected and learned fashion of speaking and writing.

Hoc sermone pauent, hoc iram, gaudia, curas, Iuuen. Sat. 6. 189.  
Hoc cuncta effundunt animi secreta, quid vltra?  
Concumbunt docte.  
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.

And alleadge *Plato*, and *Saint Thomas* for things, which the first man they meete would decide as well, and stand for as good a witness. Such learning as could not enter [461] into their minde, hath staid on their tongues. If the well borne will give any credit vnto me, they shall be pleased to make their owne and naturall riches to prevaile and be of worth: They hide and shroud their formes vnder fortaine and borrowed beauties: *It is great simplicity, for any body to smother and conceale his owne brightnesse, to shine with a borrowed light*: They are buried and entombd vnder the Arte of *CAPSULA TOTAE*, It is because they do not sufficiently know themselves: the World containes nothing of more beauty: It is for them to honour Artes, and to beautifie embellishment. What neede they more then to live beloved and honoured? They have, and know but too much in that matter. There needes but a little rouzing and enflaming of the faculties that are in them.

When I see them meddling with Rhetoricke, with Law, and with Logicke, and such like trash, so vaine and vnprofitable for their vse; I enter into feare, that those who advise them to such things, doe it, that they may have more law to governe them vnder that pretence. For, what other excuse can I devise for them? It is sufficient, that without vs, they may frame, or roule the grace of their eyes, vnto cheerefulnessse, vnto severity, and vnto mildenesse: and season a *No* with frowardnesse, with doubt and with favour; and require not an interpretor in discourses made for their service. With this learning they command without controule, and over-rule both Regents and Schooles. Yet if it offend them to yeeld vs any preheminance, and would for curiosity sake have part in bookes also: Poesie is a study fit for their purpose: being a wanton, ammusing, subtile, disguised, and pratling Arte; all in delight, all in shew, like to themselves. They may also select diverse commodities out of History. In Morall Philosophy, they may take the discourses which enable them to judge of our humours, to censure our conditions, and to avoide our guiles and treacheries; to temper the rashnesse of their owne desires. to husband their liberty: lengthen the delights of life; gently to beare the inconstancy of a seruant, the peevisshnesse or rudenesse of a husband, the importunity of yeares, the vnwellcomnesse of wrinckles, and such like minde-troubling accidents. Loe heare the most and greatest share of learning I would assigne them. There are some particular, retired and close dispositions.

My essential forme is fit for communication, and proper for production: I am all outward and in apparence; borne for society and vnto friendship. The solitude I love and commend, is especially but to retire my affections and redeeme my thoughts vnto my selfe; to restraîne and close vp, not my steppes, but my desires and my eares, resigning all forraigne solicitude and trouble, and mortally shunning all manner of seruitude and obligation; and not so much the throng of men as the importunity of affaires. Locall solitarinesse (to say trueth) doth rather extend and enlarge mee outwardly; I give my selfe to State-businesse, and to the world, more willingly when I am all alone. At the Court, and in presse of people, I close and slinke into mine owne skinne. Assemblies thrust mee againe into my selfe. And I never entertaine my selfe so fondly, so licenciously, and so particularly, as in places of respect, and ceremonious discretion. Our follies make mee not laugh, but our wisdomes doe. Of mine owne complexion, I am no enemy to the agitations and stirrings of our Courts: I have there past great part of my life: and am enured to bee merry in great assemblies; so it beebie entermission, and sutable to my humour.

But this tendernesse and coinesse of iudgement (whereof I speake) doth perforce tie mee vnto solitarinesse. Yea even in mine owne house, in the midst of a numerous familie and most frequented houses, I see people more then a good many, but seldome such as I love to converse or communicate withall. And there I reserve, both for my selfe, and others, an vnaccustomed libertie; making truce with ceremonies, assistance, and invitings, and such other troublesome ordinances of our courtesie (O servile custome and importunate manner) there every man demeaneth himselfe as hee pleaseth, and entertaineth what his thoughts affect; whereas I keepe my selfe silent, meditating and close, without offence to my guests or friends.

The men whose familiaritie and societie I hunt after, are those which are called honest, vertuous and sufficient: the image of whom doth distaste and divert mee from others. It [462]is (being rightly taken) the rarest of our formes; and a forme or fashion chiefly due vnto nature.

The end or scope of this commerce, is principally and simply familiarity, conference and frequentation: the exercise of mindes, without other fruite. In our discourses, all subiects are alike to mee: I care not though they want either waight or depth; grace and pertmency are never wanting; all therein is tainted with a ripe and constant iudgement, and commixt with goodnesse, liberty, cheerefulnesse, and kindnesse. It is not onely in the subiect of Lawes and affaires of Princes, that our spirit sheweth it's beautie, grace and vigor: It sheweth them as much in priuate conferences. I know my people by their very silence and smyling, and peradventure discover them better at a Table, then sitting in serious counsell.

*Hippomacus* said, hee discerned good Wrestlers but by seeing them march through a Street. If learning vouchsafe to step into our talke, shee shall not be refused; yet must not shee be sterne, mastring, imperious and importunate, as commonly shee is; but assistant, and docile of hirselfe. Therein wee seeke for nothing but recreation and pastime: when we shall looke to be instructed, taught and resolved, we will goe seeke and sue to hir in hir Throne. Let hir if shee please keepe from vs at that time; for, as commodious and pleasing as shee is: I presume that for a neede wee could spare hir presence, and doe our businesse well-enough without hir. Wits well borne, soundly bred and exercised in the practise and commerce of men, become gracious and plausible of themselves. Arte is but the Checke-roule, and Register of the Productions vttered, and conceites produced by them.

The company of faire, and society of honest women is likewise a sweet commerce for me: *Nam [...]s quoque oculos cruditos habemus, for wee also have learned eyes.* If the minde have Ci [...]. parad. not so much to solace hir-selfe, as in the former; the corporall sences, whose part is more in the second, bring it to a proportion neere vnto the other; although in

mine opinion not equall. But it is a society wherein it behooveth a man somewhat to stand vpon his guard; and especially those that are of a strong constitution, and whose body can doe much, as in mee. In my youth I heated my selfe therein and was very violent; and endured all the rages and furious assaults, which Poets say happen to those who without order or discretion abandon themselves over-loosly and riotously vnto it. True it is indeed, that the same lash hath since stood me instead of an instruction.

Quicunque Argolica de classe Capharea fugit, Ovid. Trist. l. 1. el. 1. 83.  
Semper ab *Euboicis* vela retorquet aquis.  
Greeke Sailers that *Capharean* Rockes did fly,  
From the *Euboean* Seas their sailes still ply.

It is folly to fasten all ones thoughts vpon it, and with a furious and indiscreet affection to engage himselfe vnto it: But on the otherside, to meddle with it without loue or bond of affection, as Comediants doe, to play a common part of age and manners, without ought of their owne but bare-conned words, is verily a prouision for ones safety: and yet but a cowardly one; as is that of him, who would forgoe his honour, his profit or his pleasure for feare of danger; for it is certaine that the practisers of such courses, cannot hope for any fruite able to moove or satisfie a worthy minde.

One must very earnestly have desired that, whereof he would enioy an absolute delight: I meane, though fortune should vniustly fauour their intention: which often hapneth because there is no woman, how deformed and vnhandsome soever, but thinkes hir-selfe louely, amiable and praise-worthy, either for hir age, hir haire or gate (for there are generally no more faire then foule ones) And the *Brachmanian* maides wanting other commendations; by Proclamation for that purpose, made shew [463] of their matrimoniall parts vnto the people assembled, to see if thereby at least they might get them husbands. By consequence there is not one of them, but vpon the first oath one maketh to serve her, will very easily bee perswaded to thinke well of her selfe. Now this common treason and ordinary protestations of men in these daies, must needes produce the effects, experience already discovereth: which is, that either they joine together, and cast away themselves on themselves, to avoid vs, or on their side follow also the example wee give them; acting their part of the play, without passion; without care, and without love, lending themselves to this entercourse: *Neque affectui suo aut alieno obnoxiae: Neither liable to their owne nor other folkes affection.* Thinking, according to *Lysias* perswasions in *Plato*, they may so much the more profitably and commodiously yeeld vnto vs; by how much lesse we love them: Wherein it will happen as in Comedies, the spectators shall have as much or more pleasure, as the Comedians. For my part, I no more acknowledge *Venus* without *Cupid*, then a motherhood without an offspring: They are things which enter-lend and enter-owe one another their essence. Thus doth this cozening rebound on him that vseth it; and as it costs him little, so gets he not much by it. Those which made *Venus* a Goddess, have respected that her principall beautie was incorporeall and spirituall. But shee whom these kinde of people hunt after, is not so much as humane, nor also brutall; but such as wilde beasts, would not have her so filthy and terrestriall. We see that imagination enflames them, and desire or lust vrgeth them, before the body: Wee see in one and other sex, even in whole heards, choise and distinctions in their affections, and amongst themselves acquaintances of long continued good-will and liking. And even those to whom age denieth bodily strength, doe yet bray, neigh, roare, skip and wince for love. Before the deed wee see them full of hope and heat; and when the body hath plaid his part, even tickle and tingle themselves with the sweetnesse 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 naturall necessitie, hath no cause to trouble others with so curious preparation. *It is no food for a greedie and clownish hunger.* As one that would not be accounted better then I am, thus

much I will display of my youths wanton-errours: Not onely for the danger of ones health that follows that game (yet could I not avoid two, though light and cursorie assaults) but also for contempt, I have not much beene given to mercenarie and common acquaintances. I have coveted to set an edge on that sensuall pleasure by difficultie, by desire, and for some glory. And liked *Tiberius* his fashions, who in his amours was swa [...]ed as much by modesty and noblenesse, as by any other qualitie. And *Floras* humour, who would prostitute her selfe to none worse then Dictators, Consuls, or Censors, and tooke delight in the dignitie and greatnesse of her lovers, doth some-what sute with mine. Surely glittering pearles and silken cloathes adde some thing vnto it, and so doe titles, nobilitie and a worthie traine. Besides which, I made high esteeme of the minde, yet so as the body might not iustly be found fault withall: For, to speake my conscience, if either of the two beauties were necessarily to bee wanting, I would rather have chosen to want the mentall, whose vse is to be emploied in better things. But in the subject of love; a subject that chiefly hath reference vnto the two senses of seeing and touching, some thing may be done without the graces of the minde, but little or nothing without the corporall. *Beautie is the true auailable advantage of women:* It is so peculiarly theirs, that ours though it require some features and different allurements, is not in her right kue, or true bias, vnlesse confused with theirs; childish and beardlesse. It is reported, that such as serve the great *Turke* vnder the title of beautie (whereof the number is infinite) are dismissed at furthest when they once come to the age of two and twenty yeeres. *Discourse, discretion, together with the offices of true amitie, are better found amongst men: and therefore governe they the worlds affaires.* These two commerces or societies are accidentall and depending of others; the one is troublesome and tedious for it's raritie; the other withers with old age: nor could they have sufficiently provided for my liues necessities. That of bookes, which is the third, is much more solid-sure and much more ours; some other advantages it yeeldeth to the two former; but hath for her share constancie and the facilitie of her service. This accosteth and secondeth all my course, and every where assisteth me: It comforts mee in age, and solaceth me in solitarinesse: It easeth mee of the burden of a weary-some sloth; and at all times ridz mee of tedious companies; it abateth [464]the edge of fretting sorrow, on condition it bee not extreme and over-insolent. *To divert me from any importunate imagination or insinuating conceit, there is no better way then to have recourse vnto bookes:* with ease they allure mee to them, and with facilitie they remoove them all. And though they perceive I neither frequent nor seeke them, but wanting other more essentiall, lively, and more naturall commodities, they never mutinie or murmure at mee; but still entertaine mee with one and selfe-same visage. *Hee may well walke a foot, that leades his horse by the bridle,* saith the proverbe. And our *Iames* king of *Naples* and *Sicilie*, who being faire, yoong, healthy and in good plight, caused himselfe to bee caried abroad in a plaine wagon or skreene, lying vpon an homely pillow of course feathers, cloathed in a sute of homespunne 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 wavering austeritie. *The sicke man is not to be moaned, that hath his health in his sleeve.* In the experience and vse of this sentence, which is most true, consisteth all the commoditie I reape of bookes. In effect I make no other vse of them, then those who know them not. I enjoy them, as a miser doth his gold; to know, that I may enjoy them when I list; my minde is settled and satisfied with the right of possession. I never travell without bookes, nor in peace nor in warre; yet doe I passe many daies and moneths without vsing them. It shall be anon, say I or to morrow, or when I please; in the meane while the time runnes away, and passeth without hurting mee. For it is wonderfull, what repose I take, and how I continue in this consideration, that they are at my elbow to delight me when time shall serve: and in acknowledging what assistance they give vnto my life. This is the best munition I have found in this humane peregrination; and I extremely bewaile those men of vnderstanding that want the same. I accept with better will all otehr kindes of amusements, how slight soever, forsomuch as this cannot faile me. At home I betake me somewhat the



oftner to my Librarie, whence all at once I command and survay all my houshold; It is seated in the chiefe entrie of my house, thence I behold vnder mee my garden, my base court, my yard, and looke even into most roomes of my house. There without order, without method, and by peece-meales I turne over and ransacke, now one booke and now another. Sometimes I muse and rave; and walking vp and downe I endight and enregister these my humours, these my conceits. It is placed on the third storie of a tower. The lowermost is my Chapell; the second a chamber with other lodgings, where I often lie, because I would bee alone. Above it is a great ward-robe. It was in times past the most vnprofitable place of all my house. There I passe the greatest part of my lives daies, and weare out most houres of the day. I am never there a nights: Next vnto it is a handsome neat cabinet, able and large enough to receive fire in winter, and very pleasantly windowed. And if I feared not care, more then cost; (care which drives and diverts mee from all businesse) I might easily ione a convenient gallerie of a hundred paces long, and twelve broad, on each side of it, and vpon one floore; having already, for some other purpose, found all the walles raised vnto a convenient height. Each retired place requireth a walke. My thoughts are prone to sleepe, if I sit long. My minde goes not alone as if legges did moove it. Those that studie without bookes, are all in the same case. The forme of it is round, and hath no flat side, but what serveth for my table and chaire: In which bending or circling manner, at one looke it offreth mee the full sight of all my bookes, set round about vpon shelves or desks, five ranke one vpon anotehr. It hath three bay-windowes, of a farre-extending, rich and vnresisted prospect, and is in diameter sixteene paces void. In winter I am lesse continually there: for my house (as the name of it importeth) is peached vpon an over-pearing hillocke; and hath no part more subject to all wethers then this: which pleaseth me the more, both because the accesse vnto it is somewhat troublesome and remote, and for the benefit of the exercise, which is to be respected; and that I may the better seclude my selfe from companie, and keepe incrochers from mee: There is my seat, that is my throne. I endeavour to make my rule therein absolute, and to sequester that onely corner from the communitie of wife, of children and of acquaintance. Else-where I have but a verball authoritie, of confused essence. Miserable, in my minde is hee, who in his owne home, hath no where to be to himselfe; where hee may particularly court, and at his pleasure hide or with-draw himselfe. Ambition paieth her followers well, to keepe them still in open view, as a statue in some conspicuous place. *Magna Sen. cons. ad Pol. c. 26. p. seruitus est magna fortuna: A great fortune is a great bondage.* They cannot bee private so [465]much as at their priuie, I have deemed nothing so rude in the austeritie of the life, which our Churchmen affect, as that in some of their companies they institute a perpetuall societie of place, and a numerous assistance amongst them in any thing they doe. And deeme it somewhat more tolerable to bee ever alone, then never able to be so. If any say to mee, It is a kinde of vilifying the Muses, to vse them onely for sporte and recreation, he wots not as I doe, what worth, pleasure, sporte and passe-time is of: I had well nigh termed all other ends ridiculous. I live from hand to mouth, and with reverence bee it spoken, I live but to my selfe: there end all my designes. Being young I studied for ostentation; then a little to enable my selfe and become wiser; now for delight and recreation; never for gaine. A vaine conceit and lavish humour I had after this kinde of stuffe; not onely to prouide for my neede but somewhat further to adorne and embellish my selfe withall: I have since partlie leaft it. *Bookes have and containe diuerse pleasing qualities to those that can duly choose them. But no good without paines; no Roses without prickles.* It is a pleasure not absolutely pure and neate, no more then all others; it hath his enconueniences attending on it and somtimes waightie ones: The minde is therein exercised, but the body (the eare whereof I have not yet forgotten) remaineth there- whilst without action, and is wasted, and ensorrowed. I know no excesse more hurtfull for me, nor more to be auoided by me, in this declining age. loe here my three most favoured and particulare employments. I speake not of those I owe of dutie to the world.

#### **The fourth Chapter.** **Of diuerting and diuersions.** ↪

I Was once employed in comforting of a trulie-afflicted Ladie: the greatest part of their discourses are artificiall and ceremonious.

Uberibus semper lachrimis, semperque paratis. Iuuen. Sat. 6. 273.  
In statione sua, atque expectantibus illam,  
Quo iubeat manare modo.  
With plenteous teares; still readie in their stand,  
Expecting still their Mistresses commaund,  
How they must flowe, when they must goe.

Men doe but ill in opposing themselves against this passion; for opposition doth but incense and engage them more to sorrowe and quietnesse: *The disease is exasperated by the iealousie of debate*. In matters of common discourse, we see, that what I have spoken without heede or care, if one come to contest with me about it, I stiffly maintaine and make good mine owne; much more if it bee a thing wherein I am interested. Besides, in so dooing, you enter but rudely into your matter, whereas a Physitions first entertainment of his pacient should be gracious, cheerefull and pleasing. *An vglie and froward Physition wrought never any good effect*. On the contrary then, wee must at first assist and smoothe their laments, and witnesse some approbation and excuse thereof. By which meanes you get credit to goe on, and by an easie and insensible inclination, you fall into more firme and serious discourses and fit for their amendment. I, who desired chieflie but to gull the assistants, that had their eyes cast on me, meant to salve their mischiefe; I verilie finde by experience, that I have but an ill and vnfruitfull vaine to perswade. I present my reasons either too sharpe, or too drie; or too stirringly or too careleslie. After I had for a while applyed my selfe to hir torment, I attempted not to cure it by strong and liuely reasons; either because I want them, or because I supposed I might otherwise effect my purpose the better. Nor did I cull out the severall fashions of comfort prescribed by Phylosophy: That the thing lamented is not ill, as *Cleanthes*: or but a little ill, as the *Peripatetikes*: That to lament is neither just, nor commendable; as *Chrysippus*; Nor this *Epicurus*, most agreeing with my manner, to translate the conceit of ykresome into delightsome things; Nor to make a loade of all this masse, dispensing the same, as one hath occasion, as *Cicero*. But faire and softly declining our [466]discourses, and by degrees bending them vnto subjects more neare; then a little more remote, even as shee more or lesse enclined to mee. Ivnperceauably remooved those dolefull humours from hir; so that as long as I was with hir, so long I kept hir in cheerefull countenance,, and vntroubled fashion; wherein I vsed diversion. Those which in the same seruice succeeded mee, found hir no whit amended: the reason was, I had not yet driven my wedge to the roote. I haue peradventure else where, glaunched at some kindes of publike diuersions. And the militarie customes vsed by *Pericles* in the Peloponensian warre, and a thousand others else-where, to diuert or withdrawe the armie of an enemie from their owne countrie, is too frequent in histories. It was an ingenious diuerting, where-with the Lord of *Himbercourt* saved both himselfe and others in the towne of *Liege*, into which the Duke of *Burgondie*, who beleagred the same, had caused him to enter, to performe the covenants of their accorded yeelding. The inhabitants thereof, to provide for it, assembled by night, and began to mutinie against their former agreement, determining vpon this advantage to set vpon the Negotiators, now in their power. Hee perceiuing their intent, and noise of this shoure readie to fall vpon him, and the danger his lodging was in, forth-with rushed out vpon them two cittizens (whereof hee had diuers with him) furnished with most plausible and new offers to bee propounded to their counsell; but indeed forged at that instant to serue his turne withall, and to amuse them. These two stayed the first approaching storme, and carryed this incensed Hydra-headed-monster multitude backe to the townehouse, to heare their charge, and accordingly to determine of it. The consultation was short; when loe a second tempest came rushing on, more furiouslie intraged then the former; to whom he immediatly dispatched foure new and semblable intercessors, with protestations, that now they were in earnest to

propose and declare newe and farre more ample conditions vnto them, wholly to their content and satisfaction; whereby this disordered rout was againe drawen to their Conclauē and Senate-house. In summe, he by such a dispensation of amusements, diuerting their headlong fury, and dissipating the same with vaine and friuolous consultations, at length lulled them into so secure a sleepe▪ that he gained the day, which was his chiefest drift and only aimed scope. This other storie is also of the same predicament. *Atalanta* a maid of rare surpassing beautie, and of a wondrous strange disposition, to ridde herselfe from the importunate pursuit of a thousand amorous sutors, who sollicited her for mariage, prescribed this law vnto them; that shee would accept of him that should equall her in running; on condition those she should ouercome might lose their lives. Some there were found, who deemed this prize worthy the hazard, and who incurred the penaltie of so cruell a match. *Hippomenes* comming to make his essay after the rest, deuoutly addressed himselfe to the diuine protectresse of all amorous delights, earnestly inuoking her assistance; who gently listning to his hearty praier, furnished him with three golden Apples, and taught him how to vse them. The scope of the race being plaine, according as *Hippomenes* perceiued his swift▪ footed mistresse to approach his heeles, he let fall (as at vnawares) one of his Apples: the heedlesse maiden gazing and wondring at the alluring beautie of it, failed not to turne and take it vp.

Obstupuit virgo, nitidique cupidine pomi, Ouid. M [...]t. lib. 10. 666.  
 Declinat cursus, aurumque volubile tollit.  
 The maid amaz'd, desiring that faire gold,  
 Turnes by her course, takes it vp as it rold.

The like hee did (at his need) with the second and third: vntill by this digressing and diuerting, the goale and aduantage of the course was judged his, When Physitians cannot purge the rheume, they diuert and remooue the same vnto some lesse dangerous part. I also perceiue it to be the most ordinary receipt for the mindes diseases. *Abducendus etiam nonnunquam animus est ad alia studia, sollicitudines, curas, negotia: Loci denique mutatione, tanquam aegroti non conualescentes, saepe curandus est: Our minde also is sometimes to bee diuerted to other studies, cogitations, cares and businesses: and lastly to be cured by change of place, as sicke folkes vse, that otherwise cannot get health.* We make it seldome to shooke mischiefes with direct resistance: we make it neither to beare nor to breake, but to shun or divert, the blow. This other lesson is too high, and over-hard. It is for them of the first ranke, meerey to stay vpon the thing it selfe, to examine and iudge it. It belongeth to one onely *Socrates*, to accost and entertaine death with an vndaunted ordinary visage, to become familiar and play with it. [467]He seeketh for no comfort out of the thing it selfe. To die seemeth vnto him a naturall and indifferent accident: thereon he wishly fixeth his sight, and thereon he resolueth without looking else-where. *Hegosias* his disciples, who with hunger starued themselues to death, incensed therevnto with the perswading discourses of his lessons; and that so thicke as King *Ptolomey* forbad him any longer to entertaine his schoole with such murtherous precepts. Those considered not death in it selfe, they iudge it not: This was not the limit of their thoughts, they run on, and ayme at another being. Those poore creatures we see on scaffolds, fraught with an ardent deuotion, therein to the vttermost of their power, employing all their sences; their eares attentive to such instructions as Preachers give them, their hands and eies li [...]t vp towards heaven; their voice vttering loud and earnest praier; all with an eager and continual ruth-mooving motion; doe verily what in such an vnavoidable exigent is commendable and conuenient. One may well commend their religion, but not properly their constancy. They shunne the brunt; they diuert their consideration from death; as we vse to dandle and busie children, when we would lance them or let them bloud. I have seene some, who if by fortune they chanced to cast their eies towards the dreadfull preparations of death, which were round about them, fall into trances, and with fury cast their cogitations else-where. We teach those that are to passe-over some steepy downe fall or dreadfull abisse, to shut or turne aside their eies. *Subrius Flauius*, being

by the appointment of *Nero* to be put to death by the hands of *Niger*, both chiefe commanders in war: when he was brought vnto the place where the execution should be performed, seeing the pit *Niger* had caused to be digged for him vneuen and vnhandsomely made; *Nor is this pit* (quoth he to the souldiers that stood about him) *according to the true discipline of war: And to Niger, who willed him to hold his head steddy, I wish thou wouldest stricke as steddily.* He guessed right; for *Nigers* arme trembling, he had divers blowes at him before he could strike it off. This man seemeth to haue fixed his thoughts surely and directly on the matter. He that dies in the fury of a battle, with weapons in hand thinkes not then on death, and neither feeleth nor considereth the same: the heate of the fight transports him. An honest man of my acquaintance, falling downe in a single combat, and feeling himselfe stab'd nine or ten times by his enemy, was called vnto by the by-standers to call on God and remember his conscience: but he tould me after, that albeit those voices came vnto his eares, they had no whit moued him, and that he thought on nothing, but how to discharge and reuenge himselfe. In which combat he vanquished and slew his aduersary.

He who brought *L. Syllanus* his condemnation, did much for him; in that when he heard him answer he was prepared to die, but not by the hands of base villaines; ran vpon him with his souldiers to force him; against whom obstinately defending himselfe though vnarmed) with fists and feet; he was slaine in the conflict: dispersing with a ready and rebellious choller the painefull sence of a long and fore-prepared death; to which he was assigned. We euer 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 liues mischieues; or the reuenge hanging ouer their heads that have caused and procured our death:

Spero equidem medijs, si quid [...]ia numina possunt, Virg. Aen. 1. 4. 382.  
 Supplicia hausurum scopulis, & nomine Dido  
 Saepe vocaturum.  
 Audiam, & haec manes veniet mihi fama sub imos. 387.  
 I hope, if powers of heaven have any power,  
 On rockes he shall be punisht, at that houre,  
 He oft on *Didoes* name shall pittillesse exclaime.  
 This shall I heare, and this report, shall to me in my grave resort.

*Xenophon* sacrificed with a crowne on his head, when one came to tell him the death of his sonne *Gryllus* in the battell of *Mantineia*. At the first hearing whereof hee cast his crowne to the ground; but finding vpon better relation how valiantly hee died, hee tooke it vp and put it on his head againe. *Epicurus* also at his death comforted himselfe in the eternitie and worth of his writings. *Omnes clari & nobilitati labores fiunt tolerabiles.* Cic. Tusc. 1. 2. [468] *All glorious and honourable labours are made tolerable.* And the same wound, and the same toile (saith *Xenophon*) toucheth not a Generall of an armie, as it doth a private souldier. *Epaminondas* tooke his death much the more cheerefully, being informed that the victorie remained on his side. *Haec sunt solatia, haec fomenta summorum dolorum: These are the comforts,* Ibid. *these the eases of most grieuous paines.* And such other like circumstances amuse, divert and remoove vs from the consideration of the thing in it selfe. Even the arguments of Philosophie, at each clappe 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, cried out; *No euill is honourable; death is: therefore is death no euill.* Against drunkennesse; *No man entrusts his secrets to a drunkard; every one to the wise: therefore the wise will not be drunke.* Is this to hit the white? I love to see, that these principall wits cannot rid themselves of our company. As perfect and absolute as they would be, they still are but grosse and simple men. *Revenge is a sweet-pleasing passion; of a great and naturall impression:* I perceive it well, albeit I have made no triall of it. To divert of late a yong Prince from it, I told him not, hee was to offer the one side of his

cheeke, to him who had strooke him on the other, in regard of charitie; nor displaid I vnto him the tragicall events Poesie bestoweth vpon that passion. There I left him, and strove to make him taste the beautie of a contrary image: the honour, the favour and the good-will he should acquire by gentlenesse and goodnesse: I diverted him to ambition. Behold how they deale in such cases. *If your affection in love be over-powerfull, disperse or dissipate the same*, say they; and they say true, for I have often, with profit made triall of it: Breake it by the vertue of severall desires, of which one may be Regent or chiefe Master, if you please; but for feare it should misuse and tyrannize you, weaken it with dividing, and protract it with diverting the same.

Cùm morosa vago singultiet inguine vena, Pers. Sat. 6. 73. Lucr. 1. 4. 1056.  
 Coniçito humorem collectum in corpora quaeque.  
 When raging lust excites a panting tumor,  
 To divers parts send that collected humor.

And looke to it in time, lest it vex you, if it have once seized on you.

Si non prima novis conturbes vulnera plagis,  
 Volgiuagáque vagus Venere ante recentia cures, Lucr. 1. 4. [...]061.  
 Vnlesse the first wounds with new wounds you mix,  
 And ranging cure the fresh with common tricks.

I was once neerely touched with a heavie displeasure, according to my complexion; and yet more just then heavie: I had peradventure lost my selfe in it, had I only relied vpon mine owne strength. Needing a vehement diversion to with-draw me from it; I did by Art and studie make my selfe a Lover, whereto my age assisted mee; love discharged and diverted me from the inconvenience, which good-will and amitie had caused in mee. So is it in all things else. A sharpe conceit possesseth, and a violent imagination holdeth mee: I finde it a shorter course to alter and divert, then to tame and vanquish the same: if I cannot substitute a contrary vnto it, at least I present another vnto it. *Change ever easeth, varietie dissolveth, and shifting dissipateth*. If I cannot buckle with it, I slip from it: and in shunning it, I stray and double from it. Shifting of place, exercise and company, I save my selfe amid the throng of other studies and amusements, where it loseth my tracke, and so I slip away. Nature proceedeth thus, by the benefit of inconstancie: For, the time it hath bestowed on vs, as a soveraigne Physitian of our passions, chiefly obtaines his purpose that way, when fraughting our conceits with other and different affaires, it dissolveth and corrupteth that first apprehension, how forcible soever it be. A wise man seeth little lesse his friend dying at the end of five and twenty yeeres, then at the beginning of the first yeere; and according to *Epicurus*, nothing lesse: for he ascribed no qualification of perplexities, either to the foresight or antiquitie of them. But so many other cogitations crosse this, that it languisheth, and in the end groweth weary. To divert the inclination of vulgar reports, *Alcibiades* cut off his faire dogges cares and taile, and so drove him into the market place; that giuing this subject of prattle to the people, they might not meddle with his other actions. I have also seen some women, who to divert the opinions and coniectures of the babling people, and to divert the fond tatling of some, did by counterfet and dissembled affections, ouershadow and cloake true affections. [469] Amongst which I haue noted some, who in dissembling and counterfeting haue suffred themselues to be intrapped wittingly and in good earnest; quitting their true and originall humor for the fained: of whom I learne, that such as finde themselues well seated, are very fooles to yeelde vnto that maske. The common greetings, and publike entertainements being reserued vnto that set or appointed seruant, beleue there is little sufficiencie in him, if in the end he vsurpe not your roome and send you vnto his. This is properly to cut out and stitch vp a shoe, for another to put on. *A little thing doth diuert and turne vs; for a small thing holas vs*. We do not much respect subiects in grosse and alone: they are circumstances, or small and superficial images that mooue and touch vs; and vaine

rindes which rebound from subjects.

Folliculos vt nunc ter etes aestate cicadae Lucr. l. 5. 812.

Linquunt.

As grasse-hoppers in summer now forsake

The round-grown sheafes, which they in time should take.

*Plutarke* himselfe bewailes his daughter by the fopperies of his childehood. The remembrance of a farewell, of an action, of a particular grace, or of a last commendation, afflict vs. *Caesars* goune disquieted all *Rome*, which his death had not done; The very sound of names, which gingleth in our eares, as, *Oh my poore maister*; or, *Alas my deare friend*; *Oh my good father*; or, *Alas my sweete daughter*, When such like repetitions pinch me, and that I looke more nearely to them, I finde them but grammaticall laments, the word and the [...]ne wound mee. Euen as Preachers exclamations doe often moouie their auditorie more, then their reasons; and as the pittie full groane of a beast yerneth vs though it be killed for our vse; without poysing or entring there-whilst, into the true and massie essence of my subiect

His se stimulis dolor ipse lacessit.

Griefe by these prouocations. Lucan. l. 2. 42.

Puts it selfe in more passions.

They are the foundations of our mourning. The conceipt of the stone, namely in the yarde hath sometime for three or foure dayes together, so stopped my vrine, and brought mee so neare deathes-dore, that it had beene meere folly in mee, to hope, nay to desire, to auoyde the same, considering what cruell pangs that painefull plight did seaze mee with. Oh how cunning a maister in the murthering arte, or hangmans trade was that good Emperour, who caused malefactors yardes to bee fast-tide, that so hee might make them dye for want of pissing. In which ill plight finding my selfe, I considered by how flight causes and friuolous obiects, imagination nourished in mee the grieffe to loose my life: with what Atomes the consequence and difficulty of my dislodging was contriued in my minde; to what idle conceits and friuolous cogitations we giue place in so waighty a case or important affaire. A Dogge, a Horse, a Hare a Glasse, and what not? were corrupted in my losse. To others, their ambitious hopes, their purse, their learning; In my minde as sottishly. I view death carelessly when I behould it vniuersally as the end of life. I ouerwhelme and contemne it thus in great, by retayle it spoyles and proules me. The teares of a Lacquey, the distributing of my cast sutes, the touch of a knowne hand, an ordinary consolation; doth disconsolate and [...]intende [...] me. So doe the plaints and of fables trouble and vex our mindes; and the wailing laments of *Dydo*, and *Ariadne* passionare euen those, that beleuee them not in *Virgill*, nor in *Catullus*: It is an argument of an obstinate nature, and indurate hart, not to be mooued therewith: as for a wonder, they report of *Polemon*: who was not so much as appaled, as the biting of a Dog, who tooke away the braune or calfe of his leg. And no wisdom goeth so far, as by the due iudgement to conceiue aright the euident cause of a Sorrow and grieffe, so liuely and wholly that it suffer or admit noe accession by presence, when eyes and eares haue their share therein: parts that cannot be agitated but by vaine accidents. Is it reason, that euen arts should serue their purposes, and make their profit of our imbecility and naturall blockishnes? An Orator (saith Rethorick) in the play of his pleading, shall bee mooued at the sound of his owne voice, and by his fained agitations; and suffer himselfe to be cozoned by the passion he representeth: imprinting a liuely and essential sorrow, by the iugling he acteth, to transferre it into the iudges, whome of the two it concerneth lesse: As the persons hyred at our funerals, who to ayde the ceremony of mourning, make sale of their teares by measure, & of their sorrow by waight. For although they striue to act it in a borrowed forme, yet by habituating [470]and ordering their countenance, it is certaine they are often wholly transported into it, and entertaine the

impression of a true and vnfained melancholly. I assisted amongst diuers others of his friends, to conuay the dead corpses of the Lord of *Grammont* from the siege of *Laferre*, where hee was vntimely slaine, to *Soissous*. I noted that euery where as we passed a long, we filled wth lamentation and teares all the people we met, by the onely shewe of our conuoyes mourning attire; for the deceased mans name was not so much as knowne, or hard of about those quarters. *Quintilian* reporteth, to haue seene Comediants so farre engaged in a sorrowfull part, that they wept after being come to their lodgings: and of himselfe, that hauing vndertaken to mooue a certaine passion in another, hee had found himselfe surprised not onely with shedding of teares, but with a palenesse of countenance, and behaiour of a man truely deiected with grieffe. In a country neare our Mountaynes, the women say and vnsay, weepe and laugh with one breath: as *Martin* the Priest; for, as for their lest husbands they encrease their way mentings by repetition of the good and gracefull parts they were endowed with, therewithall vnder one they make publike relation of those imperfections; to worke, as it were some recompence vnto themselues, and transchange their pittie vnto disdaine; with a much better grace then we, who when we loose a late acquaintance, striue to loade him with new and forged prayses, and to make him farre other, now that we are depriued of his sight, then hee seemed to bee when wee enioyed and beheld him. As if mourning were an instructing party; or teares cleared our vnderstanding by washing the same. I renounce from this time forward all the fauourable testimonies any man shall affoorde mee, not because I shall deserue them, but because I shall bee dead. If one demand that fellow, what interest hee hath in such a siege; *The interest of example (will bee say) and common obedience of the Prince*; I nor looke nor pretend any benefit thereby; and of glory I know how small a portion commeth to the share of a priuate man, such as I am. I haue neyther passion nor quarrell in the matter; yet the next day shall you see him all changed, and chafing, boyling and blushing with rage, in his ranke of battaile, ready for the assault. It is the glaring reflecting of so much steele, the flashing thundering of the Cannon, the clang of trumpers, and the ratling of Drummes, that haue infused this new furie, and rankor in his swelling vaines. A friuolous cause, will you say: How a cause? There needeth none to excite our minde. A doating humour without body, without substance ouerswayeth and tosseth it vp and downe. Let mee thinke of building Castles in *Spayne*, my imagination will forge mee commodities and afforde mee meanes and delights wherewith my mynde is really tickled and essentially gladded. How often doe wee pester our spirits with anger or sadnesse by such shaddowes, and entangle our selues into fantasticall passions which alter both our mynde and bodye? what astonished, flearing and confused mumpes and mowes doth this dotage stirre vp in our visages? what skipings and agitations of members and voyce, seemes it not by this man alone, that hee hath false visions of a multitude of other men with whome hee dooth negotiate; or some inwarde Goblin that torments him? Enquire of your selfe, where is the object of this alteration? Is there any thing but vs in nature, except subsisting nullitye? ouer whome it hath any power? Because *Cambyses* dreamed that his brother should bee King of *Persia*, hee put him to death; a brother whom he loued, and euer trusted. *Aristodemus* King of the *Messenians* killed himselfe; vpon a conceite he tooke of some ill presage, by, I know not what howling of his Dogs, And King *Midas* did asmuch, beeing troubled and vexed by a certaine vnpleasing dreame of his owne. It is the right way to prize ones life at the right worth of it, to forgo it for a dreame. Heare notwithstanding our mindes triumph ouer the bodies weakenesses and misery; in that it is the prey and marke of all wrongs and alterations, to seede on and aime at. It hath surely much reason to speake of it.

O prima infoelix fingenti terra Prometheus; Pro p. l. 3. el. 4. 7.  
 Ille parum cauti pectoris egit opus.  
 Corpora disponens, ment em non vidit in arte;  
 Recta animi primum debuit esse via.

Vnhappy earth first by *Prometheus* formed,  
Who of small providence a worke performed:  
[471] He framing bodies saw in arte no minde?  
The mindes way first should rightly be assign'd.

### The fifth Chapter. Vpon some verses of *Virgill*. ↩

PROfitable thoughts, the more full and solide they are, the more combersome and heauy are they; vice, death, poverty and diseases, are subjects that waigh and grieve. We must have our minde instructed with meanes to sustaine and combate mischiefes, and furnished with rules how to live well and believe right: and often rouze and exercise it in this goodly study. But to a minde of the common stampe; it must be with intermission and moderation; it groweth weake, by being continually over-wrested: When I was young, I had neede to be aduertised and sollicited to keepe my selfe in office: Mirth and health (saies one) sute not so well with these serious and grave discourses. I am now in another state. The conditions of age doe but over-much admonish, instruct and preach vnto me. From the excesse of iollity, I am falne into the extreame of severity; more peevish and more vntoward. 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 she recreates hir selfe. I am now but too much settled; too heavy and too ripe. My yeares read me daily a lesson of coldnesse and temperance. My body shunneth disorder, and feares it: it hath his turne to direct the minde toward reformation; his turne also to rule and sway; and that more rudely and imperiously. Be I awake or a sleepe, it doth not permit me one houre but to ruminare on instruction, on death, on patience and on repentance. As I have heer [...]tofore defended my selfe from pleasure, so I now ward my selfe from temperance: it haleth me too far backe, and even to stupidity. I will now every way be master of my selfe. *Wisdom hath hir excesses, and no lesse neede of moderation, then folly*. So that least I should wither, tarnish and over cloy my selfe with prudence, in the intermissions my evils affoord mee;

Mens intenta suis ne sict vsque malis. Ouid. Trist. li. 4. [...]. 1. 4.  
Still let not the conceit attend,  
The ils that it too much offend.

I gently turne aside, and steale mine eies from viewing that tempestuous and cloudy skie, I have before me; which (thanks be to God) I consider without feare, but not without contention and study. And amuse my selfe with the remembrance of passed youth-tricks:

—*animus quod perdidit, optat*, Petron. Arb. Sa [...].  
Atque in praeterita se totus imagine versat.  
The minde, what it hath lost, doth wish and cast,  
And turne and wind in Images forepast.

That infancy looketh forward, and age backward; was it not that which *Ianus* his double visage signified? yeares entraine me if they please; but backward. As far as mine eies can discerne that faire expired season, by fits I turne them thitherward. If it escape my bloud and veines, yet will I not roote the image of it out of my memory:

—*hoc est*, Mart. l. 10. epig. 23. 7.  
Vinere bis, vita posse priore frui,  
This is the way for any to live twise,  
Who can of former life enjoy the price.



*Plato* appoints old men to be present at youthfull exercises, dances and games, to make them reioyce at the bodies agility and comliness of others, which is now no longer in them; and call to their remembrance, the grace and fauour of that blooming age: and willeth them to give the honour of the victory to that young-man, who hath gladded and made most of them mery. I was heretofore wont to note sullen and gloomy daies, as extraordinary: now are they my ordinary ones; the extraordinary are my faire and cleere daies. I am ready to [472]leape for ioy, as at the receaving of some vnexpected fauour, when nothing grieueth mee. Let me tickle my selfe, I can now hardly wrest a bare smile from this wretched body of mine. I am not pleased but in conceite and dreaming: by sleight to turne aside the way-ward cares of age: but sure ther-s neede of other remedies, then dreaming, A weake contention of arte against nature. It is meere simplicitie, as most men doe, to prolong and anticipate humane in commodities. *I had rather be lesse while olde, then old before my time.* I take hold even of the least occasions of delight I can meet withall. I know by how heare-say diuers kindes of wise, powerfull and glorious pleasures: but opinionis not of sufficient force over me, to make mee long for them. I would not haue them so stately, lofty and disdainfull; as pleasant gentle andSen, cp 99. ready. *A natura discedimus; populo nos damus, nullius rei bono auctori; We forsake nature, We followe the people aucthor of no good.* My Philophie is in action, in naturall and present little in conceit. What if I should be pleased to play at cob-nut, or whip a top?

Non ponebat enim rumores ante salutem. Ennius.  
 He did not prize what might be said,  
 Before how al might safe be laid.

Voluptuousnesse is a qualitie little ambitious; it holds it selfe rich enough of it selfe without any accesse of reputation; and is best affected where it is most obscured. That young man should deserue the whip. who would spend his time in choosing out the nearest Wine, and best sauces. There is nothing I ever knew or esteemed lesse: I now beginne to learne it. I am much ashamed of it, but what can I doe withall? and am more ashamed and vexed, at the occasions that compell me to it. It is for vs to dally, doate and trifle out the time; and for youth to stand vpon nice reputation, and hold by the better end of the staffe. That creepeth towards the world and marcheth toward credite; we come from it. *Sibi arma, sibi equos, sibi Cic. de Senectute. hastas, sibi clauam, sibi pilam, sibi natationes & cursus habeant: nobis senibus, ex lusionibus multis, talos relinquunt, & tesseras; Let them keepe their armor, their horses, their lances, their polaxes, their tennis, their swimming, and their running; and of their many games, let them put ouer to vs old men the tables and the cardes.* The very lawes send vs home to our lodgings. I can do no lesse in favour of this wretched condition, whereto my age forceth mee, then furnish it with somewhat to dandle and amuse it selfe, as it were childehood; for when all is done we fall into it againe. And both wisdom and folly shall have much a doe, by enterchange offices to support aud succour me in this calamitie of age.Ho. 1. 4. [...].d. 12. 27.

Misce stultitiam consilijs breuem.  
 With short-like-foolish tricks,  
 Thy grauest counsels mixe.

Withall I shun the lightest pricklings; and those which heretofore could not have scratcht me, doe now transpearce me. So willingly my habite doth now begin to apply it selfe to euill:Cic. de. Sen. *infragili corpore odiosa omnis offensio est: all offences is yrkesome to a crazed body.*

Mens (que) pati durum sustinet agra nihil. Ouid. Pont. [...]. el. 6. 18.  
 A sicke minde can endure,  
 No hard thing for hir cure.

I have ever been ticklish and nice in matters of offence, at this present I am more tender, and every where open.

Et minimae vires frangere quassavalent. Ouid. Trist. l. 3. el. 11. 22.  
Least strength can breake,  
Things worne and weake.

Well may my iudgement hinder mee from spurning and repining at the inconueniences which nature allots mee to indure; from feeling them it cannot. I could finde in my heart to runne from one ende of the world to another, to searche and purchase one yeare of pleasing and absolute tranquillity; I who have no other scope, then to live and be mery. Drouzie and stupide tranquillitie is sufficiently to bee found for mee, but it makes me drouzie and dizzie; therefore I am not pleased with it. If there bee any body, or any good company in the cuntrie, in the cittie, in *France*, or any where els, resident traveiling, that likes of my conceites, or whose humoures are pleasing to mee, they neede but holde vp their hand, or whistle in their fiste, and I will store them with Essayes, of pithe and substance, with might and maine. Seeing *it is the mindes priuiledge to renew and recouer it selfe on olde age*, I earnestly aduise it to doe it: let it bud, blossome, and flourish if it can, as Mistle-toe on a dead tree. I [473] feare it is a traitor; so straightly is she clasped, and so hard doth she cling to my body, that every hand while she forsakes me; to follow hir in hir necessities. I flatter hir in private, I vrge hir to no purpose; in vaine I offer to diuert hir from this combination, and bootlesse it is for me to present hir *Seneca* or *Catullus*, or Ladies, or stately dances; if hir companion have the chollicke, it seemes she also hath it. The very powers or faculties that are particulare and proper to hir, cannot then rouze themselues: they euidently seeme to be en-rheumed: there is no blithenesse in hir productions, if there be none in the body. Our schollers are to blame, who searching the causes of our mindes extraordinary fits and motions, besides they ascribe some to a diuine fury, to love, to warre-like fiercenesse, to Poesie, and to Wine; if they haue not also allotted health her share. A health youthfull, lustie, vigorous, full, [...]dle, such as heretofore the Aprill of my yeares and security offorded mee by fittes. That fire of iocondnesse stirreth vp lively and bright sparckles in our minde, beyond our naturall brightnesse and amongst the most working, if not the most desperate *Enthusiasmes* or inspirations. Well, it is no wonder if a contrary estate clogge and naile my spirite, and drawe from it a contrary effect.

Ad nullum consurgit opus, cum corpore lauguet, Cor. Gal. el. 1. 125.  
It to no worke doth rise,  
When body fainting lyes.

And yet would have me beholden to him, for lending (as he sayth) much lesse to this consent, then beareth the ordinary custome of men. Let vs at least whilst we have truce, chase all euils, and expell all difficulties from our societie.

Dum licet obduct a soluatur fronte senectus:  
With wrinckled wimpled for head let old yeares, Hor. epod. 13. 7.  
While we may, be rosolu'd to merie cheeres.

*Tetrica sunt amoenanda iocularibus, Vnpleasant things, and sowre matters should be sweetned and made pleasant with sportefull mixtures.* I love a lightsome and civill discretion, and loathe a roughnesse and austeritie of behaiour: suspecting every peevish and wayward countenance.

Tristem (que) vultus tetrici arrogantiam.  
Of austere countenance, Mart. l. 7. epig 57. 9.  
The sad soure arrogance.

Et habet tristis quoque turba cynaedos,  
Fidlers are often had,  
Mongst people that are sad.

I easily beleuee *Plato*, who saith, that *easie or hard humoures, are a great preiudice vnto the mindes goodnesse or badnesse*. *Socrates* had a constant countenance, but light-some and smyling; not frowardly constant, as olde *Crassus*, who was neuer seene to laugh. *Vertue is a pleasant and buxom qualitie*. Few, I know will snarle at the liberty of my writings, that haue not more cause to snarle at their thoughts-loosenes. I conforme my selfe vnto their courage, but I offend their eyes. It is a well ordered humour to wrest *Platos* writings, and straine his pretended negotiations with *Phedon, Dion, Stella, Archeanassa*. *Non pudeat dicere, quod non pudeat sentire. Let vs not bee ashamed to speake, what wee shame not to thinke*. I hate a way ward and sad disposition, that glideth ouer the pleasures of his life, and fastens and feedes on miseries. As flyes that cannot cleaue to smooth and sleeke bodies, but seaze and holde on rugged and vneuen places. Or as Cupping-glasses, that affect and suck none but the worst blood. For my part I am resoluted to dare speake whatsoever I dare doe: And am displeas'd with thoughts not to be published. The worst of my actions or condicions seeme not so vgly vnto me, as I finde it both vgly and base not to dare to avouch them. *Every one is wary in the confession; we should be as heedy in the action*. The bouldnesse offending is somewhat recompensed and restrained by the bouldnesse of confessing▪ he that should be bound to tell all, should also bind him to doe nothing which one is forced to conceale. God graunt this excesse of my licence drawe men to freedome, beyond these cowardly and squeamish vertues, sprung from our imperfections; and that by the expence of my immoderation, I may reduce them vnto reason. *One must sur [...]ay his faultes and study them, ere he be able to repeat them*. Those which hide them from others, commonly conceale them also from themselues; and esteeme them not sufficiently hidden, if themselues see them. They withdraw and disguise them from their owne consciences. [474] *Quare vicia confitetur? Quia etiam nunc in illis est, somnium narrare vigilantis est. Why doth noe S [...]n. ep. 53. [...] man confesse his faults? Because hee is yet in them; and to declare his dreame, is for him that is waking*. The bodies euils are discerned by their increase. And now we finde that to be the gout which we termed the rheume or a bruse. The euils of the minde are darkened by their owne force; the most infected feeleth them least. Therefore is it, that they must often a day be handled, and violently be opened and rent from out the hollow of our bosome. As in the case of good; so of bad offices, onely confession is sometimes a satisfaction. Is there any deformitie in the error, which dispenseth vs to confesse the same? It is a paine for mee to dissemble: so that I refuse to take charge of other mens secrets, as wanting hart to disauow my knowledge. I cannot conceale it; but deny it I cannot, without much a do and some trouble. *To be perfectly secret, one must be so by nature; not by obligation*. It is a smal matter to be secret in the Princes seruice, if one be not also a liar. He that demanded *Thales Milesius*, whether he should solemnly deny his lechery; had he come to me, I would haue answered him, he ought not do it: for a lie is in mine opinion, worse then lechery. *Thales* aduised him otherwise, bidding him sweare, therby to warrant the more by the lesse. Yet was not his counsell so much the election, as multiplication of vice. Wherevpon we sometimes vse this by-word, that we deale well with a man of conscience, when in counterpoise of vice we propose some difficulty vnto him? but when he is inclosed between two vices, he is put to a hard choise. As *Origen* was dealt with al, either to commit idolatry, or suffer himself to be Sodomatically abused by a filthy Egiptian slave, that was presented vnto him; he yeilded to the first condition, and viciously, saith one. Therefore should not those women be distasted, according to their error, who of late protest, that they had rather charge their conscience with ten men, then one Masse. If it bee indiscretion so to divulge ones errors, ther is no danger though it come into example and vse, For *Ariston* said, that *The winds men feare most, are those which discouer them*. We must tuck vp this homely rag, that cloaketh our maners. They send their conscience to the stewes, and keep their countenance in

order. Even traitors and murderers obserue the lawes of complements, and therto [...]ix their endeours. So that neither can iniustice complaine of inciuiltie, nor malice of indiscretion. T's pity a bad man is not also a foole, a [...]d that decency should cloake his vice. These pargettings belong only to good and sound wals, such as deserue to bee whited, to bee preserued. In fauor of *Hugonots*, who accuse our auricular and priuate confession, I confesse my selfe in publike; religiously and purely. Saint *Augustine*, *Origene*, and *Hippocrates*, haue published their errors of their opinions; I likewise of my maners. I greedily long to make my selfe known; nor care I at what rate, so it be truly: 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 and glory, what thinks he to gaine by presenting himselfe to the world in a maske, hiding his true being from the peoples knowledge? Commend a crook-back for his comely stature, hee ought to take it as an iniury: if you be a coward, and one honoreth you for a valiant man, is it of you he speaketh? you are taken for another: I should like as well, to have him glory in the cour [...]sies and lowtings that are shewed him, supposing himselfe to be ring-leader of a troupe when he is the meanest folower of it, *Archelaus* king of *Macedon*, passing through, a street some body 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? Tush (said he) there is not such thing in me. For my part, should one commend me to be an excellent Pilote, to be very modest, or most chaste, I should owe him no thanks. Likewise should any man call meetraitour, theefe or drunkard, I would deeme my selfe but little wronged by him. Those who misknow themselues, may feed themselues with false approbations; but not I, who see and search my selfe into my very bowels, and know full well what belongs vnto me. I am pleased to belesse commended, provided I be better knowne. I may be esteemed wise for such conditions of wisdom, that I account meere follies. It vexeth me, that my Essayes serue Ladies in lieu of common ware and stuffe for their hall: this Chapter will preferre me to their cabinet: I love their societie some what private; their publike familiaritie wants fauor and sauor. In farewels we heate aboute ordinary our affections to the things we forgoe. I heere take my last leave of this worlds pleasures: loe heere our last embraces. And now to our theame. Why was the acte of generation made so naturall, so necessary and so iust, seeing we feare to speake of it without shame, and exclude it from our serious and regular discourses we pronounce boldly, [475]to rob, to murder, to betray; and this we dare not but betweene our teeth. Are we to gather by it, that the lesse wee breath out in words the more we are allowed to furnish our thoughtes with? For words least vsed least writen and least concealed should best be vnderstood, and most generally knowne. No age, no condition are more ignorant of it, then of their bread. They are imprinted in each one, without expressing, without voice or figure. And the sexe that doth it most, is most bound to suppress it. It is an action we have put in the precincts of silence, whence to draw it were an offence: not to accuse or iudge it. Nor dare we beate it but in circumlocution and picture. A notable fauor, to a criminall offender, to be so execrable, that justice deeme it iniustice to touch and behold him, freed and saved by the benefit of this condemnations seuerity. It is not herein as in matters of bookes, which being once called-in and forbidden become more saleable and publike? As for me, I will take *Aristotle* at his word, that *bashfulness is an ornament to youth, but a reproach to age*. These verses are preached in the old schoole; a schoole of which I hold more then of the moderne: her vertues seeme greater vnto me, her vices lesse.

Deux qui par trop fuiant Venus estriueut  
 Failent aut aut que ceux qui trop la suiuent.  
 Who striues ore much *Venus* to shunne, offends  
 Alike with him, that wholly hir intends,  
 Tu dea, tu rerum naturam sola gubernas, Lucr. l. 1. 22.  
 Nec sine te quisquam dias in luminis oras  
 Exoritur, neque fit laetum, nec amabile quicquam,

Goddesse, thou rul'st the nature of all things.  
Without thee nothing into this light springs.  
Nothing is louely, nothing pleasures brings.

I know not who could set *Pallas* and the *Muses* at oddes with *Venus*, and make them colde and flowe in affecting of love; as for me, I see no Deities that better sute together, nor more endebted one to another. Who▪ ever shall goe about to remooue amorous imaginations from the *Muses*, shall depriue them of the best entertainment they have, and of the noblest subject of their worke: and who shall debarre *Cupid* the seruice and conuersation of Poesie, shall weaken him of his best weapons. By this meanes they caste vpon the God of acquaintance, of amitie and goodwil; and vpon the Goddesses, protectresses of humanitie, and justice, the vice of ingratitude, and imputation of churlishnesse. I haue not so long beene cashiered from the state and seruice of this God, but that my memorie is still acquainted with the force of his worth and valour.

—*agnosco veteris vestigia flammae*. Virg. *Ae* [...]. l. 4. 23.  
I feele and feeling know, How my old flames regrow.

*There commonly remaine some reliques of shiuering and heate after anague,*

Nec mihi d [...] ficiat [...]alor hic, hyemantibu, annis.  
When Winter yeares com-on,  
Let not this heate be gon.

As drie, as sluggish and as vnwioldie as I am, I feele yet some warme cinders of my passed heate.

Qual' [...] alto Aegeo perche Aquiloneo Noto  
Cessi che tutto prima il volse et scosse,  
Nons' accheta ei però, ma il suono [...]l' moto,  
Ritien delionde anco agitat [...]t grosse.  
As graund *Aegean* Sea, because the voice  
Of windes doth cease, which it before enraged,  
Yet doth not calme, but stil retaines the noise  
And motion of huge billowes vnaswaged.

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 Poesie, then in their owne essence.

Et versus digitos habet.  
Verses have full effect,  
Of fingers to erect, Iuuen. *Sat.* 6. 197.

It representeth a kinde of ayre more louely then love it selfe. *Venus* is not so faire, nor so alluring all naked, quick and panting, as she is here in *Virgill*.

Dixerat, & niveis hinc atque hinc diua lacertis Virg. *Ae* [...]. l. 8. 387.  
Cunctant [...]m amplexu mollifouet: Ille repente  
[476] Accepit folitam flammam, notusque medullas  
Intrauit calor, & labefacta per ossa cucurrit.  
Nonsecus atque olim tonitru cùm rupta corusco,  
Ignea rima micans percurrit lumine nimbos.  
So said the Goddess, and with soft embrace,  
Of Snow-white arme, the grim-fire doth enchase,  
He straight tooke wonted fire, knowne heate at once,  
His marrow pearc't, ranne through his weakned bones;  
As firie flash with thunder doth divide,

With radiant lightning through a storme doth glide.  
 — *ea verba loquutus*,  
 Optatos dedit amplexus, placidumque petiuit. Ibi ■ 404.  
 Coniugis infusus gremio per membra soporem.  
 A sweete embrace, when he those words had said  
 He gave, and his limmes pleasing-rest he praid  
 To take in his wiues bosome lolling-laide.

What therein I finde to be considered, is, that he depainteth hir somewhat stirring for a maritall *Venus*. In this discreete match, appetites are not commonly so fondling; but drowsi [...] and more sluggish. *Loue disdaineth a man should holde of other then himselfe*, and dealeth but faintly with acquaintances begun and entertained vnder another title; as mariage is. Alliances, respects and meanes, by all reason, waigh as much or more, as the grace and beauty. A man doth not mary for himselfe, whatsoever he allegeth; but as much or more for his posteritie and familie. The vse and interest of mariage 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 sence, then our owne: All which, how much doth it dissent from amorous conuentions? Nor is it other then a kinde of incest, in this reverend alliance and sacred bonde, to employ the efforts and extravagant humor of an amorous licentiousnes, as I thinke to haue said else-where. One should (saith *Aristotle*) touch his wife soberlie, discreetly and seuerely, least that tickling too lasciviously, pleasure transport her beyond the bounds of reason. What he speaketh for conscience, Phisitions alledge for health: saying that pleasure excessively whotte, voluptuous and continuall, altereth the seede, and hindereth conception. Some other say besides, that to a languishing congression (as naturally that is) to store it with a couenient, and fertile heat, one must but seldome, and by moderate intermissions present himselfe vnto it.

Quo rapiet sitiens venerem interiusque recondat. Virg Geor. l. 3. 137.  
 Thirsting to snatch a fit,  
 And inly harbor it.

*I see no mariages faile sooner, or more troubled, then such as are concluded for beauties sake, and huddled vp for amorous desires.* There are required more solide foundations, and more constant grounds, and a more warie marching to it: this earnest youthly heate serueth to no purpose. Those who thinke to honour marriage, by ioyning love vnto it (in mine opinion) doe as those, who to doe vertue a fauour, holde, that Nobilitie is noe other thing then Vertue. Indeed these things have some affinitie; but therewithall great difference: their names and titles should not thus be commixt: both are wronged so to bee confounded. *Nobilitie is a worthy, goodly qualitie, aud introduced with good reason; but in as much as it dependeth on others, and may fall to the share of my vicious and worthlesse fellowe, it is in estimation farre shorte of vertue.* If it be a vertue, it is artificiall and visible; relying both on time and fortune; diuers in forme, according vnto countries; living and mortall; without birth, as the riuier *Nilus* genealogicall and common; by succession and similitude; drawne along by consequence, 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, of no employment for the seruice of others. One proposed to one of our Kinges the choise of two competitors in one office, the one a Gentleman, the other a Yeoman: hee appointed that without respect vnto that qualitie, hee who deserued best should be elected; but were their valour or worth fully a-like, the Gentleman should be regarded: this was iustlie to give nobilitie hir right and ranke. *Antigonus*, to an vnknowne young-man, who sued [477]vnto him for his fathers charge, a man of valour and who was lately deceased: My friend (quoth hee) in such good turnes, *I waigh not my souldiers noble birth, so much as their sufficiencie.* Of truth it should not be herein, as with the officers of Spartan kinges; Trumpetors, Musitions, Cookes, in whose roome their children succeeded, how

ignorant soeuer, before the best experienced in the trade. Those of *Calicut* make of their nobility a degree above humane. Marriage is interdicted them, and all other vocations, sauing warre. Of Concubines they may haue as many as they list, and women as many lechardes, without Jealousie one of another. But it is a capitall crime, and vnremissible offence to contract or marry with any of different condition: Nay they deeme themselues disparaged and polluted, if they haue but touched them in passing by. And as if their honour were much iniuried and interessed by it, they kil those who but approach some what to neare them. In such sort, that the ignoble are bound to cry as they walke along, like the *Gondoliers* or Watermen of *Denice* along the streetes, least they should iustle with them: and the nobles command them to what side of the way they please. Thereby doe these auoyde an obloquie which they esteeme perpetuall; and those an assured death. *No continuance of time, no fauour of Prince, no office, no vertue, nor any wealth can make a clowne to become a gentleman.* Which is much furthered by this custome, that mariages of one trade with another are stricktly for bidden. A Shoo-maker cannot marry with the race of a Carpenter; and parents are precisely bounde to traine vp orphanes in their fathers trade, and in no other. Whereby the difference, the distinction and continuance, of their fortune is maintained. A good marriage (if any there be) refuseth the company and conditions of loue; it endeuoureth to present those of amity. It is a sweete society of life, full of constancie, of trust, & an infinite number of profitable and solid offices, and mutuall obligations: No woman that throughly and impartially tasteth the same,

*(Optat [...] quam iunxit lumine taeda*

Whom loues-fire ioyned in double band, Cat [...]. co [...]. Ber. 79.

With wished light of marriage brand)

would forgoe her estate to bee her husbands master. Be she lodged in his affection, as a wife, she is much more honourably and surely lodged. Be a man passionately entangled in any vnlawful lust 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 mistris whose misfortune would afflict him most, and to whom hee wisheth greater good or more honour. These questions admit no doubt in an absolute sound marriage. *The reason we see so few good, is an apparent signe of it's worth, and a testimony of it's price.* Perfectly to fashion and rightly to take it, is the worthiest and best part of our society. We cannot be without it, and yet wee disgrace and vilifie the same. It may bee compared to a cage, the birdes without dispaire to get in, and those within dispaire to get out. *Socrates* being demanded, whether was most commodious, to take, or not to take a wife; *Which soever a man doth* (quoth he) *he shall repent it.* It is a match wherto may well be applied the common saying, *homo homini aut Deus, aut Lupus.* Man vnto man is either Eras▪ chil. 1. cent. 169. 70. *a God or a Wolfe*▪ to the perfect erecting wereof are the concurrences of diuers qualities required: It is now a dayes found most fit or commodious for simple mindes and popular spirits whom dainties, curiosity and idlenesse doe not so much trouble. Licentious humours, debaushed conceits (as are mine) who hate all manner of duties, bondes, or obseruances are not so fit, so proper, and so sutable for it.

Et mihi dulce magis resolute viuere collo. Cor. Gal. el. [...]. 61.

Sweeter it is to me, with loose necke to liue free.

Of mine owne disposition, would wisedoome it selfe haue had me, I should haue refused to wed her. But we may say our pleasure; the custome and vse of common life ouer beareth vs. Most of my actions are guided by example, and not by election: Yet did I not properly enuite my selfe vnto it, I was led and brought therevnto by strange and vnexpected occasions: For, *not onely incommodious things, but foule, vicious and ineuitable, may by some condition and accident become acceptable and allowed.* So vaine is mans posture and defence. And

truely I was then drawne vnto it, being but ill prepared and more backward, then now I am that haue made triall of it. And as licentious as the world reputes mee, I haue (in good truth) more stricktly obserued the lawes of wedlock, then either I had promised or hoped. *It is no longer time to wince when 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 lawes of common [478]duty or at least enforce himselfe to keepe them. Those which vndertake that couenant to deale therein with hate and contempt, doe both iniustly and incommodiously. And that goodly rule I see passe from hand to hand among women, as a sacred Oracle,

Serston mary comme maistre:  
 Et t'en garde comme d'un traistre.  
 Your husband as your master serue-ye:  
 From him as from false friend preserue-ye.

which is as much to say; Beare thy selfe toward him with a constrained, enemy and distrustfull reverence (a stile of warre, and cry of defiance) is likewise iniurious and difficult. I am to milde for such crabbed dissignes. To say truth, I am not yet come to that perfection of sufficiency and quaintnesse of wit, as to confound reason with iniustice: and laugh or scoffe at each order or rule, that iumps not with my humour. To hate superstition, I doe not presently cast my selfe into irreligion. If one doe not alwaies discharge his duety, yet ought he at least euer loue, euer acknowledge it: *It is treason for one to marry vnlesse he wed.* But goe we on. Our Poet describeth a marriage full of accord and good agreement, wherein notwithstanding there is not much loyaltie. Did he meane it was not possible to performe loues rights, and yet reserue some rightes toward marriage; and that one may, bruse it, without altogether breaking it? A servant may picke his masters purse, and yet not hate him. Beautie, opportunitie, destinie, (for destinie hath also a hand therein)

—*fatum est in partibus illis.* [...]. [...]. 9. 32  
 Quas sinus abscondit; nam si tibi fideracassent,  
 N [...]l faciet longi mensura incognita nervi.  
 In those parts there is fate, which hidden are;  
 If then thou be not wrought-for by thy starre,  
 The measure of long nerves, vnknowne to nothing serves.

have entangled a wo [...]an to a stranger, yet peradventure not so absolutely but that some bond may bee left to hold her to her husband. They are two dissignes, having severall and vnconfounded pathes leading to them. A woman may yeeld to such a man, whom in no case she would have married. I meane not for the conditions of his fortune, but for the qualities of his person. Few men have wedded their sweet hearts, their paramours or mistresses, but have come home by weeping Crosse, and ere long repented their bargaine. And even in the other world, what an vnquiet life leades *Iupiter* with his wife, whom before hee had secretly knowen, and lovingly enioied? This is as they say, *to beray the panier, and then put it on your head.* My selfe have seene in some good place, love, shamefully and dishonestly cured by mariage: the considerations are to much different. Wee love without disturbance to our selves; two divers and in themselves contrary things. *Isocrates* said, that the towne of *Athens* pleased men, even as Ladies doe whom wee serve for affection. Every one loved to come thither, to walke and passe away the time: but none affected to wed it: that is to say, to endenison, to dwell and habituate himselfe therein. I have (and that to my spight and grieffe) seene husbands hate their wives, onely because themselves wronged them: Howsoever, wee should not love them lesse for our faults; at least for repentance and compassion they ought to be dearer vnto vs. These are different ends (saith hee) and yet in some sort compatible. Wedlocke hath for his share honour, justice, profit and constancie: a plaine, but more generall delight. Love melts in onely pleasure; and truly it hath it more ticklish, more lively, more



quaint, and more sharpe: a pleasure inflamed by difficulty: there must be a kinde of stinging, tingling and smarting. *It is no longer loue, be it once without Arrowes, or without fire.* The liberality of Ladies is to profuse in marriage, and blunts the edge of affection and desire. To avoide this inconnenience, 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 prescribed to the World, forsomuch as onely men have established them without their consent. There is commonly brauling and contention betweene them and vs. And the nearest consent wee have with them, is but stormy and tumultuous. In the opinion of our Authour, we heerin vse them but inconsiderately. After wee have knowen, that without comparison they are much more capable and violent in Loues-effectes then wee, as was testified by that ancient Priest, who had beene both man and woman, [479]and tried the passions of both sexes.

Venus huic erat vtraque nota:

Of both sortes he knew venery. Ouid. Meta. 1. 3. 323. Tiros.

We haue moreouer learned by their owne mouth, what tryall was made of it, though in divers ages, by an Emperour and an Empresse of *Rome*, both skilfull and famous masters in lawlesse lust and vnruley wantonnesse; for hee in one night deflowred ten *Sarmatian* virgines, that were his captiues; but shee realy did in one night also, answere fiue and twenty seuerall assaults, changing her assailants as she found cause to supplye her neede, or fitte her taste,

—*adhuc ardens rigidae tentigine vuluae* Iu [...].en. Sat. 6. 127.

Et lass [...].ta viris, non dum satiata recessit.

and that vpon the controuersie happened in *Catalogne*, betweene a wife and a husband; shee complaining on his ouer violence and continuance therein (not so much in my conceite, because she was thereby ouerlabored (for but by faith I beleeeue not miracles) as vnder this pretext, to abridge and bridle the authority of husbands ouer their wiues, which is the fundamental part of marriage: And to shew that their frowning, sullenesse and peeuishnesse exceede the very nuptial bed, and trample vnder-foote the very beauties, graces and delightes of *Venus*; to whose complaint her husband, a right churlish and rude fellow answered, that euen on fasting dayes he must needes do it ten times at least) was by the Queene of *Aragon* giuen this notable sentence: by which after mature deliberation of counsel, the good Queen to establish a rule and imitable example vnto al posterity, for the moderation and required modesty in a lawfull marriage, ordained the number of sixe times a day, as a lawfull, necessary and competent limit. Releasing and diminishing a great part of her sexes neede and desire: to establish (quoth she) an easie forme, and consequently permanent and immutable. Here vpon doctors cry out; what is the appetite and lust of women, when as their reason, their reformation and their vertue, is retailed at such a rate? considering the diuers iudgement of our desires: for *Solon* master of the lawiers schoole alloweth but three times a moneth, because this matrimoniall intercourse should not decay or faile. Now after we beleeeued (say I) and preached thus much, we haue for their particular portion allotted them continencie; as their last and extreame penalty. There is no passion more importunate then this, which we would haue them only to resist: Not simply, as a vice in it self, but as abhemination and execration, and more then irreligion and parricide; whilst wee our selues without blame or reproach offend in it at our pleasure. Euen those amongst vs, who haue earnestly labored to ouercome lust, haue sufficiently vowed, what difficulty, or rather vn [...] esistable impossibility they found in it, vsing nevertheles material remedies, to tame, to weaken and coole the body. And we on the other side would haue them sound, healthy, strong, in good liking, wel-fed and chaste together, that is to say, both hotte and colde. For marriage which we aerie should hinder them from burning, affords them but small refreshing, according 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 spend it else-where:

Sit tandem pudor, aut eamus inius, Mart l. 12. epig. 99. 10.  
Multis mentula millibus redempta,  
Non est haec tua, Basse, vendidisti.

The Philosopher *Polemon* was iustly called in question by his wife, for sowing in a barren field the fruit due to the fertile. But if they match with broken stuffe in full wedlocke, they are in worse case then either virgines or widowes. Wee deeme them sufficiently furnished, if they haue a man lie by them. As the Romans reputed *Clodia Laeta* a vestall virgine defloured, whom *Caligula* had touched, although it was manifestly prooued hee had but approached her: But on the contrary, their neede or longing is thereby encreased; for but the touch or company of any man whatsoever stirreth vp their heate, which in their solyitude was husht▪ and quiet, and laye as cinders raked vp in ashes. And to the ende, as it is likely, to make by this circumstance and consideration their chastitie more meritorious: *Bòlestaus* and *Kingè* his wife, King and Queene of *Poland*, lying together, the first day of their mariage vowed it with mutuall consent, and in despite of all wedlocke commoditie of nuptiall-delightes maintained the same. Euen from their infancie wee frame them to the sportes of loue: their instruction, behaiour, attire, grace, learning and all their words aimeth onely at loue, respects, onely affection. Their nurces and their keepers [480]imprint no other thing in them, then the loueliness of love, were it but by continually presenting the same vnto them, to distaste them of it: My daughter (all the children I have) is of the age wherein the lawes excuse the forwardest to marry. She is of a slowe, nice and milde complexion, and hath accordingly beene brought vp by hir mother, in a retired and particular manner: so that shee beginneth but now to put-off childish simplicitie. She was one day reading a *French* booke before mee, an obscene word came in hir way (more bawdie in sound then in effect, it signifieth the name of a Tree and another thing) the woman that lookes to hir, staid hir presently, and somewhat churlishly making hir step ouer the same: I let hir alone, because I would not crosse their rules, for I medle nothing with this government; womens policie hath a misticall proceeding, wee must be content to leave it to them. But if I bee not deceiued, the conuersation of twenty laqueis could not in six moneths have settled in hir thoughts, the vnderstanding, the vse and consequences of the found belonging to those filthy silables, as did that good olde woman by hir checke and interdiction.

Motus doceri gaudet Ionicos  
Matura virgo, et fingitur artubus Id r. ca▪ [...]. 3. [...].d [...] 21.  
I am nunc, et incestos amores  
De tenero meditatur vngui.  
Maides marriage-ripe straight to be taught delight  
*Ionique* daunces, fram'de by arte aright  
In every ioynt, and eu'n from their first haire  
Incestuous loves in meditation beare.

Let them somewhat dispence with ceremonies, let them fall into free libertie of speach; wee are but children, wee are but gullies, in respect of them, about any such subject. Heare them relate how wee sue, how we wooe, how we sollicite and how we entertaine them, they will soone giue you to vnderstand, that wee 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* saith) because they have one time or other beene themselues wanton, licentious and amorous lads? Mine eares hapned one day in a place, where without suspicion they might listen and steale some of their priuate, lavish and bould discourses; oh why is it not lawfull for me to repeate them? Birlady (quoth I to my selfe) It is high time indeede for vs to goe studie the phrases of *Amadis*, the metaphors of *Aretine*, and eloquence of *Boccace*, thereby to become more skilfull, more ready and more sufficient to confront them: surely we

bestowe our time well; there is nor quaint phrase, nor choise worde, nor ambiguous figure, nor pathetical example, nor love-expressing gesture, nor alluring posture, but they knowe them all better then our bookes: It is a cunning bred in their vaines and will never out of the flesh,

Et mentem Venus [...]psa dedit. Virg. Geor. l 3. 267.  
*Venus* hir selfe assign'de,  
To them both meanes and minde,

which these skill infusing Schoole-mistrisses nature, youth, health and opportunitie, are ever buzzing in their eares, euer whispering in their mindes: They neede not learne, not take paines about it; they beget it; with them it is borne.

Nec tantum niueo gauisa est nulla columbe  
Compar, vel si quid dicitur improbius, Catul. [...]leg 4. 125.  
Oscula mordenti semper decerpererostro:  
Quantum praecipuè multiuola est mulier.  
No pigeons hen, or paire, or what worse name  
You list, makes with hir Snow-white cock such game,  
With biting bill to catch when she is kist,  
As many minded women when they list.

Had not this naturall violence of their desires beene somewhat held in awe, by feare and honor, wherewith they have beene provided we had all beene defamed. All the worlds motions bend and yeelde to this coniunction: it is a matter euery-where infused; and a Centre whereto all lines come, all things looke. The ordinances of ancient and wise *Rome*, ordained for the seruice and instituted for the behoofe of love, are yet to be seene: together with the precepts of *Socrates* to instruct courtizans.

[481]

Nec non libelli Stoici inter sericos Hor. Epod. 8. 15.  
Iacere puluillos amant.  
Ev'n Stoicks bookes are pleas'd  
Amidst silke cushions to be eas'd.

*Zeno* among other lawes, ordered also the struglings, the opening of legges, and the actions, which happen in the deflowring of a virgin. Of what sence was the booke of *Sirato* the Philosopher, of carnall copulation? And whereof treated *Theophrastus* in those he entitled, one *The Lover*, the other, *Of Love*? Whereof *Aristippus* in his volume *Of ancient deliciousnesse or sports*? What implied or what imported the ample and lively descriptions in *Plato*, of the loves practised in his daies? And the lover of *Demetrius Phalereus*? And *Clinias*, or the forced lover of *Heraclides Ponticus*? And that of *Artisthenes*, of the getting of children, or of weddings? And the other, *Of the Master or of the lover*? And that of *Aristo*, *Of amorous exercises*? Of *Cleanthes*, one of love, another of the Art of love? The amorous dialogues of *Spherus*? And the filthy intolerable, and without blushing not to be vttered table of *Iupiter* and *Iuno*, written by *Chrysippus*? And his so lascivious fifty Epistles? I will omit the writings of some Philosophers, who have followed the sect of *Epicurus*, protectresse of all maner of sensualitie and carnall pleasure. Fifty severall Deities were in times past allotted to this office. And there hath beene a nation found, which to allay and coole the lustfull concupiscence of such as came for devotion, kept wenches of purpose in their temples to be vsed; and it was a point of religion to deale with them before one went to praier. *Nimirum propter continentiam incontinentia necessaria est, incendiumignibus ex [...]inguitur. Belike we must be incontinent that we may be continent, burning is quenched by fire.* In most places of the world, that part of our body was Deified. In that same province, some flead it to offer,

and consecrated a peece thereof; others offred and consecrated their seed. In another the young-men did publikely pierce, and in divers places open their yard betweene flesh and skin, and thorow the holes put the longest and biggest stickes they could endure, and of those stickes made afterward a fire, for an offring to their Gods, and were esteemed of small vigour and lesse chastitie, if by the force of that cruell paine they shewed any dismay. Else-where, the most sacred magistrate was revered and acknowledged by those parts. And in divers ceremonies the portraiture thereof was carried and shewed in pompe and state, to the honour of sundry Deities. The Aegyptian Dames in their *Bacchanalian* feasts wore a wodden one about their necks, exquisitly fashioned, as huge and heavie as every one could conveniently beare: besides that which the statue of their God represented, which in measure exceeded the rest of his body. The married women heere-by, with their *Coverchefs* frame the figure of one vpon their foreheades; to glory themselves with the enjoying they have of it; and comming to bee widowes, they place it behinde, and hide it vnder their quoifes. The greatest and wisest matrons of *Rome*, were honoured for offring flowers and garlands to God *Priapus*. And when their Virgins were married, they (during the nuptials) were made to sit vpon their privities. Nor am I sure, whether in my time, I have not seene a glimps of like devotion. What meant that laughtermoooving, and maids looke-drawing peece our Fathers wore in their breeches, yet extant among the *Switzers*? To what end is at this present day the shew of our formall peeces vnder our Gascoine hoses? and often (which is worse) above their naturall greatnesse, by falshood and imposture? A little thing would make me beleieve, that the said kinde of garment was inuented in the best and most vpright ages, that the world might not be deceived, and all men should yeeld a publike account of their sufficiencie. The simplest nations have it yet somewhat resembling the true forme. Then was the worke-mans skill instructed, how it is to bee made, by the measure of the arme or foot. That good-meaning man, who in my youth, thorowout his great citie, caused so many faire, curious and ancient statues to bee guelded, left the sense of seeing might bee corrupted, following the advice of that other good ancient man;

Flagitij principium est nudare inter cives corpora: Cie. Tusc. l. 4. En.  
 Mongst civill people sinne,  
 By baring bodies we beginne.

should have considered, how in the mysteries of the good Goddesses, all apparance of man was excluded; that he was no whitneerer, if he did not also procure both horses and asses, and al length nature her selfe to be guelded.

[482]

Omne adeo genus in torris, hominum (que), ferarum (que), Virg. Georg. 1. 3.  
 244.  
 Et genus [...]quorem, pecudes, pictaeque volucres,  
 In furias ignem (que) ruunt.  
 All kindes of things on earth, wilde beasts, mankinde,  
 Field-beasts, faire-fethered fowle, and fish (we finde)  
 Into loves fire and fury run by kinde.

The Gods (saith *Plato*) have furnished man with a disobedient, skittish, and tyrannicall member; which like an vntamed furious-beast, attempteth by the violence of his appetite to bring all things vnder his becke. So have they allotted women another as insulting, wilde and fierce; in nature like a greedie, devouring, and rebellious creature, who if when hee craveth it, hee bee refused nourishment, as impatient of delay, it enrageth; and infusing that rage into their bodies, stoppeth their conduicts, hindreth their respiration, and causeth a thousand kindes of inconveniences; vntill sucking vp the fruit of the generall thirst, it have largely bedewed and enseeded the bottome of their matrix. Now my law-giver should also have

considered, that peradventure it were a more chaste and commodiously fruitfull vse, betimes to give them a knowledge and taste of the quicke; then according to the liberty and heat of their fantasie, suffer them to ghesse and imagine the same. In lieu of true essentiall parts, they by desire surmise, and by hopesubstitute others, three times as extravagant. And one of my acquaintance was spoiled, by making open shew of his in place, where yet it was not convenient to put them in possession of their more serious vse. What harme cause not those huge draughts or pictures, which wanton youth with chalke or coales draw in each passage, wall, or staires of our great houses? whence a cruell contempt of our naturall store is bred in them. Who knoweth, whether *Plato* ordaining amongst other well-instituted Commonwealths, that men and women, old and yoong, should in their exercises or *Gymnastikes*, present themselves naked one to the sight of another, aimed at that or no? The Indian women, who daily without interdiction view their men all over, have at least wherewith to asswage and coole the sense of their seeing. And whatsoever the women of that great kingdome of *Pegu* say, who from their waste downward, have nothing to cover themselves but a single cloth slit before; and that so straight, that what nice modestie, or ceremonious decencie soever they seeme to affect, one may plainly at each step see what God hath sent them: that it is an invention or shift devised to draw men vnto them, and with-draw them from other men or boies, to which vnnaturall brutish sinne that nation is wholly addicted: it might be said, they lose more then they get: and that *a full hunger is more vehement, then [...]ne which hath beene glutted, be it but by the eies*. And *Livia* said, that to an honest woman, a naked man is no more then an Image. The Lacedemonian women, more virgin-wives, then are our maidens, saw every day the yoong men of their citie, naked at their exercises: themselves nothing precise to hide their thighes in walking, esteeming themselves (saith *Plato*) sufficiently cloathed with their vertue, without vardingall. But those, of whom *S. Augustine* speaketh, have attributed much to nakednesse, who made a question, whether women at the last day of judgement should rise againe in their proper sex, and not rather in ours, lest even then they tempt vs in that holy state. In summe, we lure and every way flesh them: we vncessantly enflame and encite their imagination: and then we cry out, *but oh, but oh the belly*. Let vs confesse the truth, there are few amongst vs, that feare not more the shame they may have by their wives offences, then by their owne vices; or that cares not more (oh wondrous charity) for his wives, then his own conscience; or that had not rather be a theefe and church-robber, and have his wife a murderer and an heretike, then not more chaste then himselfe. Oh impious estimation of vices. Both wee and they are capable of a thousand more hurtfull and vnnaturall corruptions, then is lust or lasciviousnesse. But we frame vices and waigh sinnes, not according to their nature, but according to our interest; whereby they take so many different vnequall formes. The severity of our lawes makes womens inclination to that vice, more violent and faulty, then it's condition beareth; and engageth it to worse proceedings then is their cause. They will readily offer rather to follow the practise of law, and plead at the barre for a fee, or goe to the warres for reputation, then in the midst of idlenesse and deliciousnesse be tied to keepe so hard a Sentinell, so dangerous a watch. See they not plainly, how there is [483]neither Merchant, Lawyer, Souldier, or Church-man, but will leave his accounts, forsake his client, quit his glory and neglect his function, to follow this other businesse? And the burden bearing porter, souterly cobbler, and toilefull labourer, all harassed, all besmeared, and all bemoiled, through travell, labour and trudging, will forget all, to please himselfe with this pleasing sport.

Num tu quae tenuit dives Achaemenes, H [...]r. car. 1. 2. [...]. 12. 21.  
 Aut pinguis Phrygiae Mygdonias opes,  
 Permutare velis crine Liciniae,  
 Plenas aut Arabum domos,  
 Dum fragrantia detorquet ad os [...]jula  
 Ceruicem, aut facili saeuitianegat,  
 Quae poscente magis ga [...]deat eripi,  
 Interdum rapere occupet?

Would you exchange for your faire mistresse haire,  
 All that the rich *Achaemenes* did hold,  
 Or all that fertill *Phrygias* soile doth beare,  
 Or all th' *Arabians* store of spice and gold?  
 Whilst she to fragrant kisses turnes her head,  
 Or with a courteous coinesse them denies;  
 Which more then he that speeds she would have sped,  
 And which sometimes to snatch she formost hies?

I wot not whether *Caesars* exploits, or *Alexanders* atchivements exceed in hardnesse the resolution of a beautious yoong woman, trained after our manner, in the open view and vncontrolled conversation of the world, sollicitated and battered by so many contrary examples, exposed to a thousand assaults and continuall pursuits, and yet still holding her selfe good and vnvanquished. *There is no point of doing more thornie, nor more active, then this of not doing. I finde it easier, to beare all ones life a combersome armour on his backe, then a maiden-head. And the vow of virginitee, is the noblest of all vowes, because the hardest. Diaboli virtus in lumbis est: Hier [...].n. The divels master-point lies in our loines, saith S. Ierome.* Surely we haue re [...]igned the most difficult and vigorous devoire of mankinde vnto women, and quit them the glory of it, which might stead them as a singular motive to opinionate themselves therein: and serve them as a worthy subject to brave vs, and trample vnder feet that vaine preheminance of valour and vertue wee pretend over them. They shall finde (if they but heed it) that they shall thereby not only be highly regarded, but also more beloved. A gallant vndaunted spirit leaveth not his pursuits for a bare refusall; so it bee a refusall of chastitie, and not of choise. Wee may sweare, threaten and wailingly complaine; we lie, for we love them the better. *There is no enticing lure to wisdom and secret modestie;* so it be not rude, churlish, and froward. It is blockishnesse and basenesse to be obstinately wilfull against hatred and contempt: But against a vertuous and constant resolution, matched with an acknowledging minde, it is the exercise of a noble and generous minde. They may accept of our service vnto a certaine measure, and make vs honestly perceive how they disdain vs not: for, the law which enioineth them to abhorre vs, because we adore them; and hate vs, forsomuch as we love them; is doubtlesse very cruell, were it but for it's difficultie. Why may they not listen to our offers, and not gaine-say our requests, so long as they containe themselves within the bounds of modestie ■ Wherefore should we imagine, they inwardly affect a freer meaning? A Queene of our time said wittily, that *to refuse mens kinde summo [...].s, is a testimonie of much weaknesse, and an accusing of ones owne facilitie: and that an vnattempted Lady could not vaunt of her chastitie.* Honours limits are not restrained so short; they may somewhat be slacked, and without offending somewhat dispensed withall. At the end of his frontiers ■ there is left a free, indifferent, and newter space. He that could drive and force his mistress into a corner, and reduce her into her fort, hath no great matter in him, if he be not content with his fortune. *The price or honour of the conquest is rated by the difficultie.* Will you know what impression your merits, your services and worth have made in her heart? Iudge of it by her behaviour and disposition.

Some one may give more, that (all things considered) giveth not so much. *The obligation [484] of a benefite hath wholly reference vnto the will of him that giveth:* other circumstances which fall within the compasse of good-turnes, are dumbe, dead and casuall. That little she giveth may cost her more, then all her companion hath. If rarenesse 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 coine, stampe or marke of the place. Whatsoever the spight or indiscretion of some, may vpon the excesse of their discontentment, make them say; *Vertue and truth doe ever recover their advantage.* I have knowen some, whose reputation hath long time beene impeached by wrong, and intere [...]ed by reproach, restored vnto all mens good opinion and generall approbation, without care or Art, onely by their constancie; each repenting and denying what he formerly beleevd. From wenches somewhat

suspected, they now hold the first ranke amongst honourable Ladies. Some told *Plato*, that all the world spake ill of him; *Let them say what they list* (quoth hee) *I will so live, that Ile make them recant and change their speeches*. Besides the feare of God, and the reward of so rare a glory, which should incite them to preserve themselves, the corruption of our age enforceth them vnto it: and were I 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 act it selfe in sweetnesse) was only allowed to such as had some assured, trustie and singular friend; whereas now-a-daies, the ordinary entertainements and familiar discourses of meetings and at tables, are the boastings of favours received, graces obtained, and secret liberalities of Ladies. Verily it is too great an abiection, and argueth a basenesse of heart, so fiercely to suffer those tender, daintie, deliciousioies, to bee persecuted, pelted, and foraged by persons so vngratefull, so vndiscreet, and so giddy-headed. This our immoderate and lawlesse exasperation against this vice, proceedeth and is bred of jealousy; the most vaine and turbulent infirmitie that may afflict mans minde.

Quis vetat appo [...]ito lumen de lumine sumi? O [...]id. Art. Amand [...]. 3. 93.  
 Dent licet assiduè, nil tamen inde perit.  
 To borrow light of light, who would deny?  
 Though still they give, nothing is lost thereby.

That, and Envie her sister, are (in mine opinion) the fondest of the troupe. Of the latter, I cannot say much; a passion which how effectuall and powerfull soever they set foorth; of her good favour she medleth not with me. As for the other, I know it only by sight. Beasts have some feeling of it. The shepheard *Cratis* being fallen in love with a shee Goat, her Bucke for jealousy beat out his braines as hee lay asleepe. Wee have raised to the highest straine the excesse of this moodie feaver, after the example of some barbarous nations: The best disciplined have therewith beene tainted, it is reason; but not caried away by it:

Ense maritali nemo confossus adulter,  
 Purpureo stygias sanguine tinxit [...]quas.  
 With husbands sword yet no adultrer slaine,  
 With purple blood did Stygian waters staine.

*Lucullus, Caes [...],r, Pompey, Anthoni [...], Cato*, and divers other gallant men were Cuckolds, and knew it, though they made no stirre about it. There was in all that time but one gullis [...] coxcombe *Lepidus*, that died with the anguish of it.

Ah tum te miserum mali (que) fati, C [...]tu [...]. lyr. epig. 15. 17.  
 Quem attractis pedibus patente porta,  
 Percurrent mugiles (que) raphanique.  
 Ah thee then wretched, of accursed fate,  
 Whom Fish-wives, Redish-wives of base estate,  
 Shall scoffing over-runne in open gate.

And the God of our Poet, when he surprised one of his companions napping with his wife, was contented but to shame them:

Atque aliquis de ijs non tristibus optat, O [...]id. Met. l. 4. 187.  
 Sic fieri turpis.  
 Some of the merier Gods doth wish in heart,  
 To share their shame, of pleasure to take part.

And yet forbearth not to be en [...]lamed with the gentle dalliances, and amorous blandishments [485]she offereth him, complaining that for so slight a matter he should distrust her to him deare-deare affection:

Quid causas pet is ex alto? [...]iducia cessit [...]rg. Aen. 1. 2. 395.  
Quo tibi Divamei?  
So farre why fetch you your pleas pedigree?  
Whither is fled the trust you had in mee?

And which is more, she becomes a suiter to him in the behalfe of a bastard of hers,

Arma rogo genitrix nato. Ibid. 382.  
A mother for a sonne, I crave,  
An armor he of you may have.

Which is freely granted her: And *Uulcan* speakes honourably of *Aeneas*:

Arma acrifacienda viro. Ibid. 441.  
An armour must be hammered out,  
For one of courage sterne and stout.

In truth with an humanitie, more then humane. And which excesse of goodnesse by my consent shall only be left to the Gods:

Nec divis homines componier aequum est. Catul. eleg. 4. 141.  
Nor is it meet, that men with Gods  
Should be compar'd, there is such ods.

As for the confusion of children, besides that the gravest 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 sort better placed, fitter seated.

Saepe etiam Iuno maxima coelicolum Catul. eleg. 4. 138.  
Coniugis in culpa flagravat quotiaiana.  
Ev'n *Iuno* chiefe of Goddesses oft time,  
Hath growne hot at her husbands daily crime.

When iealousie once seazeth on these silly, weake, and vnresisting soules, t'is pitifull, to see, how cruelly it tormenteth, how insultingly it tyrannizeth them. It insinuateth it selfe vnder colour of friendship: but after it once possesseth them, the same causes which served for a ground of good-will, serve for the foundation of mortall hatred. *Of all the mindes diseases, that is it, whereto most things serve for sustenance, and fewest for remedy.* The vertue, courage, health, merit and reputation of their husbands, are the firebrands of their despight, and motives of their rage.

Nullae sunt inimicitiae nisi amoris acerbae. Prop. 1. 2. el. 8. 3 ■  
No enmities so bitter prove,  
And sharpe, as those which spring of love.

This consuming feaver blemisheth and corrupteth all that otherwise is good and goodly in them. And how chaste or good a huswife soever a jealous woman is, there is no action of hers, bu [...] tasteth of sharpnesse and smaks of importunitie. It is a furious perturbation, a moodie agitation, which throwes them into extremities altogether contrary to the cause. The successe of one *Octavius* in *Rome* was strange, who having laien with, and enioied the love of *Pontia Post humia*, increased his affection by enjoying her, and instantly sued to mary her;



but being vnable to perswade her, his extreme passionate love prec [...]pitated him into effects of a most cruell, mortall and inexorable hatred; whereupon he killed her. Likewise the ordinary *Symptomes* or passions of this other amorous disease, are intestine hates, slie *Monopolies*, close conspiracies:

Notumque, furens quid foemina possit. Virg. Aen. l. 5. 6  
It is knowne what a woman may,  
Whose raging passions have no stay.

And a raging spight, which so much the more fretteth itselfe, by being forced to excuse it selfe vnder pretence of good-will. Now the dutie of chastitie hath a large extension and farrreaching compasse. Is it their will, we would have them to bridle? That's a part very pliable and active. It is very nimble and quick-rolling to be staid. What? If dreames doe sometimes engage them so farre, as they cannot dissemble nor deny them; It lieth not in them (nor perhaps in chastitie it selfe, seeing she is a female) to shield themselves from concupiscence and avoid desiring. If only their will interesse and engage vs, where and in what case [486]are we? Imagine what great throng of men there would bee, in pursuit of this priuilege, with winged-speed (though without eies and without tongue) to be conueied vpon the point of every woman that would buy him. The Scythian women were wont to thrust out the eies of all their slaves and prisoners taken in warre, thereby to make more free and private vse of them. *Oh what a furious advantage is opportunitie!* He that should demand of me, what the chiefe or first part in love is, I would answer, *To know how to take fit time*; even so 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 shield him from harme, that can yet mocke himselfe with it. In this age more rashnesse is required; which our youths excuse vnder colour of heat. But should our women looke neerer vnto it, they might finde, how it rather proceedeth of contempt. I superstitiously feared to offend; and what I love, I willingly respect. Besides that, who depriveth this merchandize of reverence, defaceth all luster of it. I love that a man should therein somewhat play the childe, the dastard and the servant. If not altogether in this, yet in some other things I have some aires or motives of the sottish bashfulnesse, whereof *Plutarch* speaketh; and the course of my life hath diversly bene wounded and tainted by it: a qualitie very ill beseeming my vniversall forme. And *what is there amongst vs, but sedition and [...]jarring?* Mine eies be as tender to beare a refusall, as to refuse; and it doth so much trouble me to be troublesome to others, that where occasions force me or dutie compelleth me to trie the will of any one, be it in doubtfull things, or of cost vnto him, I doe it but faintly and much against my will: But if it be for mine owne private businesle (though *Homer* say most truly, that *in an indigent or needy man, bashfulnesse is but a [...]ond vertue*) I commonly substitute a third party, who may blush in my roome: and direct them that employ mee, with like difficultie: so that it hath sometimes befallen me, *to have the will to deny, when I had not power to refuse*. It is then folly, to goe about to bridle women of a desire, so fervent and so naturall in them. And when I heare them bragge to have so virgin-like a will and cold minde, I but laugh and mocke at them. They recoile too farre backward. If it be a toothlessebeldame or decrepitt grandame, or a yoong drie pthisicke siarveling; if it be not altogether credible, they have at least some colour or apparance to say it. But those which stirre about, and have a little breath left them, marre but their market with such stufte: forsomuch as *inconfiderate excuses are no better then accusations*. As a Gentleman my neighbour, who was suspected of insufficiencie,

Languidi [...] tenera cui pendens sicula beta, Ca [...]l. [...]le. 3. 21.  
Nunquam se mediam sustulis ad tunicam.

to justifie himselfe, three or foure daies after his mariage, swore confidently, that the night before, he had performed twenty courses: which oath hath sincerserved to convince him of meere ignorance, and to divorce him from his wife. Besides, this allegation is of no great worth: For, *there is nor continencie nor vertue, where no resistance is to the c [...]ntrary*. It is true, may one say, but I am not ready to yeeld. The Saints themselves speake so. This is vnderstood of such as boast in good earnest of their coldnesse and insensibilitie, and would be credited with a serious countenance: for, when it is from an affected looke (where the eies give words the lie) and from the faltring speech of their profession (which ever workes against the wooll) I allow of it. I am a duteous servant vnto plainnesse, simplicitie and libertie: but there is no remedie, if it be not meere plaine, simple or infantine; it is fond, inept and vnseemely for Ladies in this commerce: it presently inclineth and bendeth to impudencie. Their disguisings, their figures and dissimulations cozen none but fooles; there lying sitteth in the chaire of honour; it is a by-way, which by a false posterne leads vs vnto truth. If we cannot containe their imaginations, what require we of them? the effects? Many there be, who are free from all strangers-communication, by which chastitie may be corrupted, and honestie defiled.

Illud saepe facit, quod sine teste facit. M [...].l. 7. epig. 6 [...]. 6.  
 What she doth with no witness to it,  
 She often may be found to doe it.

*And those whom we feare least, are per adventure most to be feared:* their secret sins are the worst.

Offendor moecha simpliciore minus.  
 Pleas'd with a whores simplicitie, Ibid. l. 6. epig. 7. 6.  
 Offended with her nicitie.

There are effects, which without impuritie may loose them their pudicitie; and which is [487]more, without their knowledge. *Obstetrix virginis cuiusdam integritatem manu velut explorans, sive malevolentia, sive inscitia, sive c [...]su, dum inspicit, perdidit: A Midwife searching with her finger into a certaine maidens virginie, either for ill will, or of vnskillfulnesse, or by chance, whilst shee seekes and lookes into it, shee lost and spoiled it.* Some one hath lost or wronged her virginie in looking or searching for it; some other killed the same in playing with it. Wee are not able precisely to circumscribe them the actions we forbid them: Our law must be conceived vnder generall and vncertaine termes. The very Idea we forge vnto their chastitie is ridiculous. For, amongst the extremest examples or patternes I have of it, it is *Fatua* the wife of *Faunas*, who after shee was married, would never suffer her selfe to be seene of any man whatsoever. And *Hierons* wife; that never felt her husbands stinking breath, supposing it to be a qualitie common to all men. It were necessary, that to satisfie and please vs, they should become insensible and invisible. Now let vs confesse, that the knot of the iudgement of this duty consisteth principally in the will. There have beene husbands who have endured this accident, not only without reproach and offense against their wives, but with singular acknowledgement, obligation and commendation to their vertue. Some one that more esteemed her honestie then she loved her life, hath prostituted the same vnto the lawlesse lust and raging sensualitie of a mortall hatefull enemy, thereby to save her husbands life; and hath done that for him, which she could never have beene induced to doe for her selfe. This is no place to extend these examples: they are too high and over-rich, to be presented in this luster: let vs therefore reserve them for a nobler seat. But to give you some examples of a more vulgar stampe: Are there not women daily seene amongst vs, who for the only profit of their husbands, and by their expresse order and brokage, make sale of their honesty? And in old times *Phau [...]sius* the *Argian*, through ambition offred his to king *Philip*. Even as that *Galba*, who bestowed a supper on *Mecenas*, perceiving him and his wife

beginne to bandy eie-trickes and signes, of civilitie shrunke downe vpon his cushion, as one oppressed with sleepe; to give better scope vnto their love; which he avouched as pretily: for at that instant, a servant of his presuming to lay hands on the plate which was on the table, he cried outright vnto him; How now varlet? *Seest thou not I sleepe only for Mecenas?* One may be of a loose behaviour, yet of purer will and better reformed, then another who frameth her selfe to a precise apparance. As some are seene complaine because they vowed chastitie before yeeres of discretion or knowledge: so have I seene others vnfainedly bewaile and truly lament that they were vowed to licentiousnesse and dissolutenesse before the age of iudgement and distinction. The parents leaudnesse may be the cause of it; or the force of impulsive necessitie, which is a shrewd counsellor, and a violent perswader. Though chastitie were in the East Indias of singular esteeme, yet the custome permitted, that a married wife might freely betake her selfe to what man soever did present her an Elephant: and that which some glory, to have beene valued at so high a rate. *Phedon* the Philosopher, of a noble house, after the taking of his country *Elis*, professed to prostitute the beauty of his youth to all commers, so long as it should continue, for money to live with and beare his charges. And *Solon* was the first of *Greece* (say some) who by his lawes, gave women libertie, by the price of their honestie, to provide for their necessities: A custome which *Herodotus* reporteth, to have beene entertained before him in divers Common-wealthes. And moreover, what fruit yeelds this carefull vexation? For, what justice soever be in this passion, yet should wee note whether it harrie vs vnto our profit or no. Thinkes any man that he can ring them by his industrie?

Pone seram, cohibe; sed quis custodiet ipsos  
 Custodes? cauta est, & ab illis incipit vxor. Inveu. Sat. 6. 247.  
 Keepe her with locke and key: but from her who shall keepe  
 Her Keepers? She begins with them, her wits so deepe,

What advantage sufficeth them not, in this so skilfull age? *Curiosity is every where vicious; but herein pernicious.* It is meere folly for one to seeke to be resolved of a doubt, or search into a mischief; for which there is no remedie, but makes it worse, but festereth the same: the reproach whereof is increased, and chiefly published by jealousie: and the revenge whereof doth more wound and disgrace our children, then it helpeth or graceth vs. You waste away and die in pursuit of so concealed a mysterie of so obscure a verification. Whereunto how pitiously have they arrived, who in my time have attained their purpose? If the accuser, or intelligencer present not withall the remedie [488]and his assistance, his office is injurious, his intelligence harmefull, and which better deserveth a stabbe, then doth a lie. Wee flout him no lesse, that toileth to prevent it, then laugh at him that is a Cuckold and knowes it not. *The character of cuckoldrie is perpetuall; on whom it once fastneth, it holdeth for ever.* The punishment bewraieith it more then the fault. It is a goodly fight, to draw our private misfortunes from out the shadow of oblivion or dungeon of doubt, for to blazon and proclaime them on Tragicall Stages: and misfortunes which pinch vs not, but by relation. For (as the saying is) shee is a good wife, and that a good mariage, not that is so indeed, but whereof no man speaketh. Wee ought to be wittily-wary to avoid this irk some, this tedious and vnprofitable knowledge. The Romans were accustomed, 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 instituted the Priest to open the way vnto the Bridegroom, on the wedding day, thereby to take from him the doubt and curiositie of searching in this first attempt, whether shee come a pure virgin to him, or be broken and tainted with any former love. But the world speakes of it. I know a hundred Cuckolds, which are so, honestly and little vndecently. An honest man and a gallant spirit, is moaned, but not disesteemed by it. Cause your vertue to suppress your mishap; that honest-minded men may blame the occasion, and curse the cause; that he which offends you, may tremble with onely thinking of it. And moreover, what man is scot-free, or who is not spoken

of in this sense, from the meanest vnto the highest?

—*tot qui legionibus imperitavit*, Lu [...]r. l. 3. 1070  
Et melior quàm tu mult is fuit, improbe, rebus.  
He that so many bands of men commanded,  
Thy better much, sir knave, was much like branded.

Seest thou not how many honest men, even in thy presence, are spoken of and touched with this reproach? Imagine then they will bee as bold with thee, and say as much of thee else-where. For no man is spared. And even Ladies will scoffe and prattle of it. And what doe they now adaies more willingly flout at, then at any well-composed and peaceable mariage? There is none of you all but hath made one Cuckold or other: Now nature stood ever on this point, *Kae mee Ile kae thee*, and ever ready to bee even, alwaies on recompences and vicissitude of things, and to give as good as one brings. The long-continued frequency of this accident, should by this time have seasoned the bitter taste thereof: It is almost become a custome. Oh miserable passion, which hath also this mischiefe, to bee incommunicable.

Fors etiam nostris invidit quaestibus aures. Catul. her. Ar [...]jon. 170.  
Fortune ev'n eares enuied,  
To heare vs when we cried.

For, to what friend dare you entrust your greevances, who, if hee laugh not at them, will not make vse of them, as a direction and instruction to take a share of the quarie or bootie to himselfe? As well the sowrenesse and inconveniences, as the sweetnesse and pleasures incident to mariage, are secretly concealed by the wiser sort. And amongst other importunate conditions belonging to wedlocke, this one, vnto a babling fellow as I am, is of the chiefest; that tyrannous custome makes it vncomely and hurtfull, for a man to communicate with any one all hee knowes and thinkes of it. To give women advice to distaste them from jealousy, were but time lost or labour spent in vaine. Their essence is so infected with suspicion, with vanitie and curiositie, that we may not hope to cure them by any lawfull meane. They often recover of this infirmitie by a forme of health, much more to be feared, then the disease it selfe. For even as some enchantment cannot ridde away an evill, but with laying it on another, so when they lose it, they transferre and bestow this maladie on their husbands. And to say truth, I wot not whether a man can endure any thing at their hands worse then jealousy: of all their conditions it is most dangerous, as the head of all their members. *Pittaeus* said, that *every man had one imperfection or other: his wives curst pate was his*; and but for that, he should esteeme himselfe most happy. It must needs be a weightie inconvenience, wherewith so just, so wise and worthie a man, felt the state of his whole life distempered: what shall wee petie fellowes doe then? The Senate of *Marceille* had reason to grant and enroll his request, who demanded leave to [489]kill himselfe, thereby to free and exempt himselfe from his wives tempestuous scolding humor; for *it is an evill, that is never cleane rid away, but by remooving the whole peece*: and hath no other composition of worth, but flight or sufferance; both too-too hard, God knowes. And in my conceit, he vnderstood it right, that said, *a good mariage might be made betweene a blinde woman and a deafe man*. Let vs also take heed, lest this great and violent strictnesse of obligation we enioine them, produce not two effects contrary to our end: that is to wit, to set an edge vpon their suiters stomacks, and make women more easie to yeeld. For, as concerning the first point, *enhancing the price of the place, we raise the price and endeare the desire of the conquest*. Might it not be *Venus* her selfe, who so cunningly enhanced the market of her ware, by the brokage or panderizing of the lawes? knowing how sottish and tastlesse a delight it is, were it enabled by opinion, and endeared by dearenesse? To conclude, *it is all but hogges flesh, varied by sauce*, as said *Flaminius* his hoast. *Cupid* is a roguish God; his sport is to wrestle with devotion and to contend with justice. It is his glory, that his power checketh and copes all other might, and

that all other rules give place to his.

Materiam culpae prosequitur (que) suae. Ovid. Trist. 1. [...]. el. 1. 34.  
He prosecutes the ground,  
Where he is faulty found.

And as for the second point; should wee not be lesse Cuckolds if wee lesse feared to be so? according to womens conditions: whom inhibition inciteth, and restraint inviteth.

Vbi velis nolunt, vbi nolis volunt vl [...]r [...]: Ter. Eunuc. act. 4. sc [...]. 6.  
Lucan. 1. 2. 4 [...].  
They will not when you will,  
When you will not, they will.  
Concessâpudet ire viâ.  
They are asham'd to passe  
The way that granted was.

What better interpretation can we finde concerning *Messalinas* demeanor? In the beginning she made her silly husband Cuckold, secretly and by stealth (as the fashion is) but perceiving how vncontrolled and easily she went on with her matches, by reason of the stupidity that possessed him, shee presently contemned and forsooke that course, and began openly to make love, to avouch her servants, to entertaine and favour them in open view of all men; and would have him take notice of it, and seeme to be distasted with it: but the silly gull and senselesse coxombe awaked not for all this, and by his over-base facilitie, by which hee seemed to authorize and legitimate her humors, yeelding her pleasures weerish, and her amours tastelesse: what did shee? Being the wife of an Emperour, lustie, in health and living; and where? In *Rome*, on the worlds chiefe Theater, at high noone-day, at a stately feast, in a publike ceremonie; and which is more, with one *Silius*, whom long time before she had freely enioied, she was solemnly married one day that her husband was out of the Citie. Seemes it not that shee tooke a direct course to become chaste, by the retchlesnesse of her husband? or that she sought another husband, who by jealousy might whet her appetite, and who insisting might incite her? But the first difficultie she met with, was also the last. The drowzie beast roused himselfe and suddenly started vp. *One hath often the worst bargaines at the hands of such sluggish logger-heads.* I have seene by experience, that this extreme patience or longsufferance, if it once come to be dissolved, produceth most bitter and outragious revenges: for, taking fire all at once, choller and fury hudling all together, becomming one confused chaos, clattereth fourth their violent effects at the first charge.

Irarum (que) omnes [...]ffundit habenas. Virg. A [...]. 1. 12. 499.  
It quite lets loose the raine,  
That anger should restraine.

He caused both her and a great number of her instruments and abettors to be put to death, yea such as could not doe withall, and whom by force of whipping she had allured to her [490]adulterous bed. What *Virgil* saith of *Venus* and *Vulcan*, *Lucretius* had more sutably said it of a secretly-stolne enjoying betweene her and *Mars*.

—belli fer a munera Mav [...]rs Lucret. 1. 1. 33.  
Armipotens regit, in gremium qui saepe tuum se  
Reijcit, aeterno devinctus vulnere amoris:  
Pascit amore avidos inhians in te Dea visus,  
Eque tuo pendet resupini spiritus ore:  
Hunc tu Diva tuo recubantem corpore sancto  
Circumfusa super, suaveis ex ore loquelas  
Funde.  
*Mars* mighty-arm'd, rules the fierce feats of armes,

Yet often casts himself into thine armes,  
 Oblig'd thereto by endlesse wounds of love,  
 Gaping on thee feeds greedy sight with love,  
 His breath hangs at thy mouth who vpward lies;  
 Goddess thou circling him, while he so lies,  
 With thy celestiall body, speeches sweet  
 Powre from thy mouth (as any Nectar sweet.)

When I consider this, *reijcit, pascit, inhians, molli, foveit, medullas, labefacta, pendet, percurrit*, and this noble *circunfusa*, mother of gentle *infusus*; I am vexed at these small points and verball allusions, which since have sprung vp. To those well-meaning people, there needed no sharpe encounter or witty equivocation: Their speech is altogether full and massie, with a naturall and constant vigor: They are all epigram; not only taile, but head, stomacke and feet. There is nothing forced, nothing wrested, nothing limping; all marcheth with like tenour. *Contextus totus virilis est, non sunt circa flosculos occupati. The whole composition or text is manly, they are not bebusied about Rhetorike flowers.* This is not a soft quaint eloquence, and only without offence, it is sinnowie, materiall, and solid; not so much delighting, as filling and ravishing, and ravisheth most the strongest wits, the wittiest conceits. When I behold these gallant formes of expressing, so lively, so nimble, so deepe: I say not this is to speake wel, but to thinke well. It is the quaintnesse or livenessse of the conceit, that elevateth and puffes vp the words. *Pectus est quod disertum facit. It is a mans owne brest, that makes him eloquent.* Our people terme judgement, language; and full conceptions, fine words. This pourtraiture is directed not so much by the hands dexteritie, as by having the object more lively printed in the minde. *Gallus* speakes plainly, because he conceiveth plainly. *Horace* is not pleased with a sleight or superficiall expressing, it would betray him; he seeth more cleere and further into matters: his spirit pickes and ransacketh the whole store-house of words and figures, to shew and present himselfe; and he must have them more then ordinary, as his conceit is beyond ordinary. *Plutarch* saith, that he discerned the Latine tongue by things. Heere likewise the sense enlightneth and produceth the words: no longer windie or spungie, but of flesh and bone. They signifie more then they vtter. Even weake ones shew some image of this. For, in *Italie*, I spake what I listed in ordinary discourses, but in more serious and pithy, I durst not have dared to trust to an Idiome, which I could not winde or turne beyond it's common grace, or vulgar bias. I will bee able to adde and vse in it somewhat of mine owne. The managing and employment of good wits, endeareth and giveth grace vnto a tongue: Not so much innovating as filling the same with more forcible and divers services, wresting, straining and enfolding it. They bring no words vnto it, but enrich their owne, waigh-downe and cramme-in their signification and custome; teaching it vnwonted motions; but wisely and ingenuously. Which skill how little it is given to all, may plainly bee discerned by most of our moderne French Writers. They are over-bold and scornfull, to shunne the common trodden path: but want of invention and lacke of discretion looseth them. There is nothing to be seene in them but a miserable strained affectation of strange Inke-pot termes; harsh, cold and absurd disguisements, which in stead of raising, pull downe the matter. So they may gallantize and flush it in noueltie, they care not for efficacie. To take hold of a new farre-fetcht word, they neglect the vsuall, which often are more significant, forcible and [491]sinnowy. I finde sufficient store of stufte in our language, but some defect of fashion. For there is nothing but could be framed of our Hunters gibbrish words or strange phrases, and of our Warriours peculiar tearmes; a fruitfull and rich soyle to borrow off. And *as hearbes and trees are bettered and fortified by being transplanted, so formes of speach are embellished and graced by variation.* I finde it sufficiently plenteous, but not sufficiently plyable and vigorous. It commonly faileth and shrinketh vnder a pithy and powerfull conception. If your march therein be far extended, you often feele it droope and languish vnder you, vnto whose default the Latine doth now and then present his helping hand, and the Greeke to some others. By some of these words which I have culled out, we more hardly perceive the *Energi [...]* or effectuall operation of them, forsomuch as vse and

frequencie haue in some sort abased the grace and made their beauty vulgar. As in our ordinary language, we shall sometimes meete with excellent phrases, and quaint metaphors, whose blithnesse fadeth through age, and colour is tarnish by to common vsing them. But that doth nothing distaste those of sound judgement, nor derogate from the glory of those ancient Authours, who, as it is likely were the first that brought these words into luster, and raised them to that straine. The Sciences handle this ouer finely, with an artificiall maner, and different from the vulgar and naturall forme. My Page makes loue, and vnderstands it feelingly; Read *Leon Hebraeus* or *Ficinus* vnto him; you speake of him, of his thoughts and of his actions, yet vnderstands he nothing what you meane. I nor acknowledg nor discern in *Aristotle*, the most part of my ordinary motions. They are clothed with other robes, and shrouded vnder other vestures, for the vse of Academicall schooles. God send them well to speed: but were I of the trade, I would naturalize Arte, as much as they Artize nature. *Benbo* and *Equicola*. When I write, I can well omit the company, and spare the remembrance of bookes; for feare they interrupt my forme. And in truth good Authours deiect me too-toomuch, and quaille my courage. I willingly imitate that Painter, who having bungler-like drawne, and fondly represented some Cockes, forbad his boies to suffer any live Cocke to come into his shop. And to give my selfe some luster or grace haue rather neede of some of *Antinonydes* the Musicians invention; who when he was to play any musicke, gave order that before or after him, some other bad musiciens should cloy and surfet his auditory. But I can very hardly be without *Plutarke*; he is so vniuersal and so full, that vpon all occasions, and whatsoever extravagant subiect you haue vndertaken, he intrudeth himselfe into your worke, and gently reacheth you a helpeaffording hand, fraught with rare embelishments, and inexhaustible of precious riches. It spights me, that he is so much exposed vnto the pillage of those which haunt him. He can no sooner come in my sight, or if I cast but a glance vpon him, but I pull some legge or wing from him. For this my dissignement, it much fitteth my purpose, that I write in mine owne house, in a wilde country, where no man helpeth or releeveth me; where I converse with no body that vnderstands the Latine of his *Paternoster* and as little of French. I should no doubt have done it better else where, but then the worke had beene lesse mine: whose principall drift and perfection, is to be exactly mine; I could mend an accidentall errour, whereof I abound in mine vnwary course; but it were a kinde of treason to remoove the imperfections from me, which in me are ordinary and constant. When any body else, or my selfe have said vnto my selfe: Thou art too full of figures or allegories; here is a word meere bred Gaskoyne; that's a dangerous phrase: (I refuse none that are vsed in the frequented streets of *France*; those that wil combat vse and custome by the strict rules of Grammar do but iest) there's an ignorant discourse, that's a paradoxical relation; or there's a foolish conceit: thou doest often but dally: one will thinke thou speakest in earnest, what thou hast but spoken in iest ■ Yea (say I) but I correct vnaduised, not costumarie errors. Speake I not so euery where? Doe I not liuely display my selfe? that sufficeth; I have my will; All the world my know me by my booke, and my booke by me: But I am of an Apish and imitating condition. When I medled with making of verses (and I neuer made any but in Latine) they euidently accused the Poet I came last from reading: And of my first Essayes, some taste a little of the stranger. At *Paris* I speake somewhat otherwise then at *Montaigne*. Whom I behold with attention, doth easily conuay and imprint something of his in me. What I heedily consider, the same I vsurpe: a foolish countenance, a crabbed looke, a ridiculous manner of speech. And vices more: Because they pricke mee, they take fast hold vpon mee, and leaue mee not, vnlesse I shake them off. I have more often beene heard to swear by imitation, then by [492]complexion. Oh iniurious and dead-killing imitation: like that of those huge in greatnesse and matchlesse in strength Apes, which *Alexander* met withall in a certaine part of *India*: which otherwise it had beene hard to vanquish. But by this their inclination to counterfeit whatsoever they saw done, they afforded the meanes. For, thereby the Hunters learn't in their sight to put on shooes, and tie them with many strings and knots; to dresse their heads with diuers strange attires, full of sliding-knots; and dissemblingly to

rub their eyes with Glew, or Birde-lime. So did those silly harmelesse beastes indiscreetly employ their Apish disposition. They ensnared, glewed, entrameled, haltred and shackled themselves. That other faculty of *Extemp [...]re* and wittily representing the gestures and words of another, which often causeth sport and breedeth admyring, is no more in me then in a blocke. When I sweare after mine owne fashion, it is onely by God; the directest of all oathes. They report that *Socrates* swore by a Dogge; *Zeno* by that interiection (now a daies vsed amongst the Italies) *Cappari*; and *Pithagoras* by water and by aire. I am so apt at vnawares to entertaine these superficiall impressions, that if but for three daies together I vse my selfe to speake to any Prince with your Grace or your Highnesse, for eight daies after I so forget my selfe, that I shall still vse them for your Honour or your Worship: and what I am wont to speake in sport or iest the next day after I shall speake in good serious earnest. Therefore in writing I assume more vnwillingly much beaten arguments, for feare I handle them at others charges. All arguments are alike fertile to me. I take them vpon any trifle. And I pray God this were not vndertaken by the commandement of a minde as fleeting. Let me begin with that likes me best for all matters are linked one to another. But my conceit displeaseth me, for somuch as it commonly produceth most foolish dotages from deepest studies; and such as content me on a suddaine, and when I least looke for them; which as fast fleete away, wanting at that instant some holde fast. On horse-backe, at the table, in my bed; but most on horse-backe, where my amplest meditations and my farthest reaching conceites are. My speach is somewhat nicely iealous of attention and silence; if I be in any earnest talke, who interrupteth me, cuts me off. In travell, even the necessity of waies breakes off discourses. Besides that I most commonly travell without company, which is a great helpe for continued reasonings; whereby I have sufficient leasure to entertaine my selfe. I thereby have that successe I have in dreames; In dreaming I commend them to my memory (for what I dream I doe it willingly) but the next morning, I can well call to minde what colour they were of, whether blith, sad or strange; but what in substance, the more I labour to finde out, the more I overwhelme them in oblivion. So of casuall and vnpremeditated conceits that come into my braine, nought but a vaine image of them remaineth in my memory; so much onely, as sufficeth vnprofitably to make me chafe, spight and fret in pursuite of them. Well then, leaving bookes aside and speaking more materially and simply; when all is done, I finde that *love is nothing else but an insatiate chirst of enjoying a greedily desired subiect*. Nor *Venus* that good huswife, other, then a tickling delight of emptying ones seminary vessels: as is the pleasure which nature giveth vs to discharge other parts: which becommeth faulty by immoderation, and defectiue by indiscretion. To *Socrates*, *loue is an appetite of generation by the mediation of beauty*. Now considering oftentimes the rediculous tickling, or titilation of this pleasure, the absurd, giddy and hare-braind motions wherwith it tosseth *Zeno*, and agitates *Cratippus*; that vnadvised rage, that furious and with cruelty enflamed visage in lous lustfull and sweetest effects: and then a graue, sterne, seuere surly countenance in so fond-fond an action, that one hath pell-mell lodged our ioyes and filthes together: and that the supremest voluptuousnesse both ravisheth and plaineth, as doth sorrow: I beleeve that which *Plato* saies to be true, that *man was made by the Gods for them to toy and play withall*.

— *quanam ista ioc a [...]di Ssuitia?*

What cruelty is this, so set on iesting is?

And that Nature in mockery left vs the most troublesome of our actions, the most common▪ therby to equal vs, and without distinction to set the foolish and the wise, vs and beasts all in one ranke: no barrell better Hering. When I imagine the most contemplative and discreetly-wise-men in these tearmes in that humour, I hold him for a cozoner, for a cheater to [493]seene either studiously contemplatiue, or discreetly wise. *It is the foulennesse of the Peacockes feete, which doth abate his pride, and stoope his gloatiug-eyed tayle;*



—*ridentem dicere verum,*

Quid vetat?

What should forbid thee sooth to say, yet be as merry as we may. *Hor. ser. l. 1* ■  
*sat. 2. 24.*

Those which in playes refuse serious opinions, doe as one reporteth, like vnto him who dreadeth to adore the image of a Saint, if it want a couer, an approne or a tabernacle. We feed full well, and drinke like beastes; but they are not actions that hinder the offices of our minde. In those, we hold good our aduantage ouer them; whereas this brings each other thought vnder subiection, and by it's imperious authority make-brutish and dulleth all *Platoes* philosophie and diuinity; and yet he complaines not of it. In al other things you may obserue decorum and maintaine some decencie: all other operations admit some rules of honesty: this cannot onely be imagined, but vicious or ridiculous. See whether for example sake, you can but find a wise or discreete proceeding in it. *Alexander* said, that he knew himselfe mortall chiefly by this action, and by sleeping: sleepe doth stifle, and suppresseth the faculties of our soule; and that, both endeouureth and dissipates them. Surely it is an argument not onely of our originall corruption, but a badge of our vanity and deformity. On the one side nature vrgeth vs vnto it; hauing thereunto combined, yea fastned, the most noble, the most profitable, and the most sensually-pleasing, of all her functions; and on the other suffereth vs to accuse, to condemne and to shunne it, as insolent, as dishonest and as lewder to blush at it, and allow, yea and to commend abstinence. *Are not we most brutish, to terme that worke beastly which begets, and which maketh vs?* Most people haue concurred in diuers cerimonies of religion, as sacrifices, luminaries, fastings, incensings, offrings; and amongst others, in condemning of this action. All opinions agree in that, besides the so farre extended vse of circumcision. Wee haue perad venture reason to blame our selues, for making so foolish a production as man, and to entitle both the deed and parts thereto belonging, shameful (mine are properly so at this instant). The *Esseniens*, of whom *Plinte* speaketh, maintained themselues a long time without nurces, or swathing clothes, by the arriual of strangers that came to their shoares, who seconding their fond humor, did often visit them. A whole nation hazarding rather to consume, then engage themselues to feminine embracements; and rather loose the succession of all men, then forge one. They report that *Zeno* neuer dealt with woman but once in all his life; which hee did for ciuilitie, least he should ouer obstinately seeme to contemne the sex. *Each one auoideth to see a man borne, but all runne hastily to see him dye.* To destroy him wee seeke a spacious field and a full light; but to construct him, we hide our selues in some darke corner, and worke as close as we may. It is our dutie to conceale our selues in making him; it is our glory, and the originall of many vertues to destroy him, being framed. The one is a manifest iniurie, the other a greater fauor; for *Aristotle* saith, that in a certaine phrase where he was borne, to bonifie or benefit, was as much to say as to kill one. The Athenians, to equall the disgrace of these two actions being to cleanse the Ile of *Delos*, and iustifie themselues vnto *Apollo*, forbad within that precinct all buriall and births. *Nostri nosmet poenitet, We are weary of our selues.* There are some nations that when they are eating, they cover themselues. I know a Lady (yea one of the greatest) who is of opinion that to chew is an vnseemly thing, which much empaieth their graceTer. Phor. and beauty: and therefore by hir will she never comes abroad with an appetite. And a man that cannot endure one should see him eate; and shunneth all company more when he filleth, then when he emptieth himselfe. In the Turkish Empire there are many, who to excell the rest, will not be seene when they are feeding, and who make but one meale in a weeke: who mangle their face and cut their limmes; and who neuer speake to any body; who thinke to honour their nature, by disnaturing themselues: oh fantasticall people, that prize themselues by their contempt, and mend their empairing. What monstrous beast is this that makes himselfe a horror to himselfe, whome his delightes displease, who tyes himselfe vnto misfortune? some there are that conceale their life,

Exilio (que) ■ domos & dulcia limina mutant. Virg. Geor. 1. 2. 51 [...] ■  
They change for banishment, The places that might best content.

and steale it from the sight of other men: That eschew health, and shunne mirth as hatefull qualities and harmefull. Not onely diuers Sects, but many people curse their birth [494]and blesse their death. Some therebe that abhorre the glorious Sunne, and adore the hiddious darkenesse. We are not ingenious but to our owne vexation: It is the true foode of our spirits force: a dangerous and most vnruely implement.

O miseri quorum gaudia crimen habent, Corn. Gal. [...]l. 1. 188.  
O miserable they, whose ioyes in fault we lay.

Alas poore silly man, thou hast but too-too many necessary and vnauoidable incommodities, without increasing them by thine owne inuention, and are sufficiently wretched of condition without any arte: thou aboundest in reall and essentiall deformities, and needest not forge any by imagination. Doest thou finde thy selfe to well at ease, vnlesse the moity of thine ease molest thee? Findest thou to haue supplied or discharged al necessary offices, wherto nature engageth thee, and that she is idle in thee, if thou binde not thy selfe vnto new offices? thou fearest not to offend hir vniuersall and vndoubted lawes, and art mooued at thine owne partiall and fantasticall ones. And by how much more particular, vncertaine, and contradicted they are, the more endeouours thou bestowest that way. The positieue orders of thy parish tie thee, those of the world do nothing concerne thee. Runne but a little ouer the examples of this consideration; thy life is full of them. The verses of these two Poets, handling lasciuiousnes so sparingly & so discreetly, as they do, in my conceite seeme to discouer, and display it nearer; ladies cover their bosome with netwerke; priests many sacred things with a vaile, and painters shadow their workes, to giue them the more luster, and to adde more grace vnto them. And they say that the streakes of the Sunne, and force of the winde, are much more violent by reflection, then by a direct line. The Egyptian answered him wisely, that asked him, what he had hidden vnder his cloake? it is (quoth he) *hidden vnder my cloake, that thou maist not know what it is*. But there are certaine other things which men conceale to shew them. Here this fellow more open.

Et nudam pressi corpus adusque meum. Quid. Am. 1. 1. el. 5. 24.  
My body I applide, Euen to her naked side,

Me thinkes he baffles me. Let *Martiall* at his pleasure tuck-vp *Uenus* he makes her not by much appeare so wholly. *He that speakes all he knows, doth cloy and distaste vs*. Who feareth to expresse himselfe, leadeth our conceite to imagine more then happily he conceiueth. There is treason in this kinde of modesty: and chiefly as these doe, in opening vs so faire a path vnto imagination: Both the action and description should taste of purloyning, The loue of the Spaniards, and of the Italians pleaseth me; by how much more respectiue and fearefull it is the more nicely close and closely nice it is, I wot not who in ancient time wished his throat were as long as a Cranes neck, that so hee might the longer and more leasurly taste what hee swallowed. That wish were more to purpose then this suddaine and violent pleasure: Namely in such natures as mine, who am faulty in suddainenesse. To stay her fleeting, and delay her with preambles, with them all serueth for fauour, all is construed to bee a recompence, a winke, a cast of the eye, a bowing, a word, or a figue, a becke is as good as a Dew guard. *Hee that could dine with the smoake of roste-meat, might we not dine at a cheape rate? would he not soone be rich?* It is a passion that commixeth with small store of solide essence, great quantitie of doating vanity, and febricitant raving: it must therefore be required and served with the like. Let vs teach Ladies, to know how to preuaile; highly to esteeme themselues; to amuse, to circumvent and cozen vs. We make our last charge the first: we shew our selues right French men: ever rash, ever headlong. Wire-drawing their

favours, and enstalling them by retaileeach one, even vnto miserable old age, findes some listes end, according to his worth and merite. He who hath no jovissance but in enjoying; who shootes not but to hit the marke; who loues not hunting but for the prey; it belongs not to him to entermeddle with our Schoole. *The more steps and degrees there are: the more delight and honour is there on the top.* We should bee pleased to bee brought vnto it, as vnto stately Pallaces, by divers porches severall passages, long and pleasant Galleries, and well contrived turnings. This dispensation would in the end, redound to our benefite; we should stay on it, and longer ioue to lie at Racke and Manger; for these snatches and away, marre the grace of it. Take away hope and desire, we grow faint in our courses, we come but lagging after: Our mastery and absolute possession, is infinitely to bee feared of them: After they have wholly yeilded themselues to the mercy of our faith and constancie, they haue hazarded something: They are rare and difficult vertues: so soone as they are ours, we are no longer theirs.

[495]

—*post quam cupidae mentis satiata libido est.*  
 Verba nihil metuere, nihil periuria curant. Catul. Arg. v. 147.  
 The lust of greedy minde once satisfied,  
 They seare no words, nor reke othes falsified,

And *Thrasonides* a young Grecian, was so religiously amorous of his love, that having after much sute gained his mistris hart and favour, he was refused to enjoy hir, least by that jouissance he might or quench, or satisfie, or languish that burning flame and restlesse heat wherwith he gloryed, and so pleasingly fed himselfe. *Things farre fetcht and dearly bought are good for Ladyes. It is the deare price makes viands sauour the better.* See but how the forme of salutations, which is peculiar vnto our nation, doth by it's facilitie bastardize the grace of kisses, which *Socrates* saith, to be of that consequence, waight and danger, to ravish and steale our hearts. It is an vnpleasing and iniurious custome vnto Ladies, that they must afford their lips to any man that hath but three Lackies following him, how vnhandsome and lothsome soeuer he be:

C [...]s liuida naribus caninis,  
 Dependet glacies, riget (que) barba: Mart. l. 5. epig. 94 10.  
 Centum occurrere malo culilingis.  
 From whose dog-nostrils black-blew Ise depends,  
 Whose beard frost-hardned stands on bristled ends, &c.

Nor do we our selues gaine much by it: for as the world is diuided into foure parts, so for foure faire ones, we must kisse fistie foule: and to a nice or tender stomacke, as are those of mine age, one ill kisse doth surpay one good. In *Italy* they are passionate and languishing sutors to very common and mercenarie women; and thus they defend and excuse themselues, saying; *That euen in enjoying there be certaine degrees;* and that by humble seruices, they will endeouour to obtaine that, which is the most absolutely perfect. *They sell but their bodyes, their willes cannot be put to sale;* that is too free, and too much it's owne. So say these, that it is the will they attempt, and they haue reason: It is the will one must serue and most sollicite. I abhor to imagine mine, a body voide of affection. And me seemeth, this frenzie hath some affinitie with that boyes fond humor, who for pure love would wantonize with that fayre Image of *Venus*, which *Praxiteles* had made: or of that furious Aegyptian, who lusted after a dead womans corpes which he was enbaulming and stitching vp: which was the occasion of the lawe that afterwarde was made in *Aegypt*: 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 funerals and burials. *Periander* did more miraculoussie: who extended his coniugall affection (more regular and lawfull) vnto the enjoying of *Melissa* his deceased wife. Seemes it not to be a lunatique humor in the Moone,

being otherwise vnable to enjoy *Endimion* hir fauorite darling, to lull him in a sweete slumber for many moneths together; and feed hirsselfe with the iouislance of a boye, that stirred not but in a dreame? I say likewise, that *a man loveth a body without a soule, when he loveth a body without his consent and desire*. All enioyings are not alike. There are some hecticke, faint and languishing ones, A thousand causes, besides affection and good will, may obtaine vs this graunt of women. It is no sufficient testimonie of true affection: therein may lurke treason, as else-where: they sometime goe but faintlie to worke, and as they say with one buttocke;

Tanquam thura merum (que) parent; Ibid. l. 11. epi 14. 5. 12.  
 As though they did dispense,  
 Pure Wine and Frankincense.  
 Absentem mar more amue putes. Ibid. epig. 61. 8.  
 Of Marble you would thinke she were,  
 Or that she were not present there.

I knowe some, that would rather lend that, then their coach; and who emparte not themselues, but that way: you must also marke whether your company pleaseth them for some other respect, or for that end onely, as of a lustie-strong grome of a Stable: as also in what rank, and at what rate you are there lodged or valued;

—*tibi si datur vni Catul. eleg. 4. 147:*  
 Quo lapide illa diem candidiore notet.  
 If it afforded be to thee alone,  
 [496] Whereby she counts that day of all dayes one.

What if she eate your bread, with the sauce of a more pleasing imagination?

Te tenet, absentes alios suspirat amores.  
 Thee she retaines, yet sigheth she Tibul. l. 4. el. 5. 11.  
 For other loves that absent be.

What? have we not seene some in our dayes, to have made vse of this action, for the execution of a most horrible revenge, by that meanes murthering and empoysoning (as one did) a very honest woman? such as know *Italie* will neuer wonder, if for this subiect, 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 rate and excellent beauties I thinke we match them. The like I judge of their wi [...]; of the vulgar sort they have evidently many more. Blockishnes is without all comparison 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 naturall amongst vs: but in their hands one may sometimes finde it so compleate and vigorous, that it exceedeth all the most forcible examples wee haue of it. The mariages of that countrie are in this somewhat defectiue. Their custome doth generally impose so severe obseruances, and slauish lawes vpon wives, that the remotest acquaintance with a stranger, is amongst them as capitall as the nearest. Which law causeth, that all approaches prooue necessarilie substanciall: and seeing all commeth to one reckoning with them, they haue an easie choise: and haue they broken downe their hedges? Beleeue it, they will have fire: *Luxuria ipsis vinculis, sicut fera bestia, irritata, deinde emissa: Luxurie is like a wilde beast, first made fiercer with tying, and then let loose*. They must have the reynes giuen them a little.

Vidi ego nuper equum contra sua frenat enacem ■  
 Ore reluctanti fulminis ire modo. Quid. am l. 3. [...]. l. 4. 13.  
 I saw, spite of his bit, a resty colt,

Runne head-strong headlong like a thunder-bolt.

*They allay the desire of company, by giuing, it some libertie.* 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 t'is said to be a kinde of discourtesie, to refuse it a gentleman. I have obserued (for, *so many houses so many seuer all formes and orders*) that such Ladies as haue gone about to giue their waiting women, the most austere rules, have not had the best successe. There is required more then ordinary moderation: a great part of their government must bee 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 shee who escapeth safe and vnpolluted from out the schoole of freedome, giueth more confidence of hirselfe, then shee who commeth sound out of the schoole of severitie and restraint. Our forefathers framed their daughters countenances vnto shamefastnesse and feare, (their inclinations and desires alwaies alike) wee vnto assurance. We vnderstand not the matter. That belongeth to the Sarmatian wenches, who by their lawes may lie with noe man, except with their owne hands they have before killed another man in warre. To mee that haue no right but by the eares, it sufficeth, if they retaine me to be of their counsell, following the priuiledge of mine age: I then aduise both them and vs to embrace abstinence, but if this season bee too much against it, at least modestie and discretion. For, as *Aristippus* (speaking to some young men who bl [...]shed to see him go into a bawdy house) said, *the fault was not in entring, but in not comming out againe*, She that will not exempt hir conscience, let hir exempt hir name: though the substance bee not of worth, yet let the apparance hold still good. I loue gradation and prolonging, in the distribution of their fauours. *Plato* sheweth, that in all kinds of love, facilitie and readinesse is forbidden to defendants. T'is a trick of greedinesse, which it behoueth them to cloake with their arte, so rashly and fond-hardily to yeeld themselues in grosse. In their distributions of fauours, holding a regular and moderate course, they much better deceiue our desires, and conceale theirs. Let them ever bee flying before vs: I meane euen those that intend to bee ouertaken as the Scythians 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 giueth them, it is not fit for them to will and desire: their part is to beare, to obay and to consent. Therefore hath nature bestowed a perpetuall capacitie; on vs a seld and vncertaine abilitie. They haue [497]alwayes their houere, that they may euer be ready to let vs enter. And whereas she hath willed our appetites should make apparant shew and declaration, she caused theirs to bee concealed and inward: and hath furnished them with parts vnfit for ostentation; and onely for defence. Such pranks as this, we must leave to the Amazonian libertie. *Alexander* the great marching through *Hircania*, *Thalestris* Queen of the Amazones came to meet him with three hundred lances of her sex, all well mounted and completely armed; having left the residue of a great armie, that followed hir, beyond the neighbouring mountaines. And thus aloud, that all might heare she bespake him; That the farre-resounding fame of his victories, and matchlesse valour, had brought hir thither to see him, and to offer him hir meanes and forces, for the aduancing and furthering of his enterprises. And finding him so faire, so young and strong, she, who was perfectly accomplished in all his qualities, aduised him to ly with hir that so there might be borne of the most valiant woman in the world, and onely valiat man then living, some great and rare creature for posteritie. *Alexander* thanked hir for the rest; but to take leasure for hir last demands accomplishment, he staide thirteene dayes in that place, during which, he reuelled with as much glee, and feasted with as great iollitie as possibly could be deuised, in honour and fauour of so couragious a Princes. Wee are well-nigh-in all things parciall and corrupted Iudges of their action, as no doubt they are of ours. I allow of truth as well when it hurts me, as when it helpes me. It is a foule disorder, that so often vrgeth them vnto change, and hinders them from setting their affection on any one subiect: as wee see in this Goddess, to whom they impute so many changes and severall friends. But withall *it is against the nature of loue, not to be violent, and against the condition of violence, to be constant.* And those

who wonder at it, exclaime against it, and in women search for the causes of this infirmitie, as incredible and vnnatural: why see they not how often, without any amazement and exclaiming, themselues are possessed and infected with it? I might happily seeme more strange to find any constant stay in them. It is not a passion meereley corporeall. *If no end be found in coueteousnesse, nor limit in ambition, assure your selfe there is nor end nor limit in letchery*, It yet continueth after sacietie: nor can any man prescribe it or end or constant satisfaction: it ever goeth on beyond it's possession, beyond it's bounds. And if constancie bee peradventure in some sort more pardonable in them then in vs: They may readily alleage against vs, our ready inclination vnto day lie variety and new ware: And secondly alleage without vs, that they buy a pigge in a poake. *Ione* Queene of *Naples* caused *Andreosse* her first husband to be strangled and hang'd out of the barres of his window, with a corde of Silke and golde wouen with her owne handes; because in bed-businesse shee found neither his members nor endeouours answerable the hope shee had conceiued of him, by viewing his stature, beauty, youth, and disposition, by which she had formerly beene surprised and abused. That action hath in it more violence then passion: so that on their part at least necessitie is ever prouided 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 Iudges might be appointed to take view of yong men which pretended the same, all naked: and of maidens but to the waste: in making triall of vs, they happily find vs not worthy their choise:

Experta latus, madidoque simillima loro  
 Inguina nec lassa stare coacta manu Marti l. 7. epig. 57. 3.  
 Deserit imbelles thalamos.

It is not sufficient, that will kerpe a liuelie course: weakenesse and incapacity may lawfully breake wedlock;

Et quoerendum aliunde foret neruosius illud  
 Quod posset Zonam solituere virgineam. Catul. eleg. 3. 27.

Why not, and according to measure, an amorous intelligence, more licencious and more actiue?

Si blando nequeat superesse labori.  
 If it cannot out last, labor with pleasure past.

But is it not great impudencie, to bring our imperfections and weakenesse, in place where *Virg. Geor. l. 3. 127.* we desire to please, and leaue a good report and commendation behind vs? for the little I now stand in need of.

—*adynum*  
 Mollis opus.  
 Vnable to hold out, one only busie bout,

[498]

I would not importune any one, whom I am to reverence.

—*fuge suspicari*,  
 Cuius vndenum trepidauit at as  
 Claudere lustrum. Her. card. 2. [...].d. 4. 22.  
 Him of suspition cleare,  
 Whom age hath brought well neare  
 To fiue and fifty yeare,

Nature should have been 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 week, take-on and swagger as fiercely, as if he had some great and lawfull dayes-worke in his belly: a right blast or puffe of winde: And admire his itching, so quick and nimble, all in a moment to be lubberly squat and benumbed. This appetite should onely belong to the blossom of a prime youth. Trust not vnto it, thogh you see it second that indefatigable, full, constant and swelling heate, that is in you: for truly it will leave you at the best, and when you shall most stand in neede of it. Send it rather to some tender, irresolute and ignorant girle, which yet trembleth for feare of the rod, and that will blush at it,

Indum sanguineo veluti violauerit ostro, Virg' Ae [...]. 12. 67.  
Si quis ebur, vel mista rubent vbi lilia, multa  
Albarosa.  
As if the Indian Yuory one should taint,  
With blodie Scarlet-graine, or Lillies paint,  
White entermixt with red with Roses enter-spred.

Who can stay vntill the next morrow, and not die for shame, the disdain of those loue sparkling eyes, prive to his faintnesse, dastardise and impertinencie;

Et taciti fecere tamen conuitia vultus. [...]. Iud. A [...]. 1. el. 7. 21.  
The face though silent, yet silent vpbraydes-it.

he never felt the sweet contentment, and the sence-moouing earnestnes, to have beaten and tarnished them by the vigorous exercise of an officious and active night. When I haue perceiued any of them weary of me, I have not presently accused her lightnes: but made question whether I had not more reason to quarrell with nature, for handling me so vnlawfully and vnciuilly,

Si non longa satis, si non benè mentula crassa: Lus. P [...].iap. penu [...]. 1. [...].  
8. 4.  
Nimirum sapiunt vident que paruam  
Matronae quo que mentulam illibenter.

and to my exceding hurt. Each of my pieces are equally mine, one as another: and no other doth more properly make me a man then this. My whole pourtraiture I vniuersally owe vnto the world. The wisdom and reach of my lesson, is all in truth, in liberty, in essence: Disdaining in the catalogue of my true duties, these easie, saint, ordinary and prouinciall rules. All naturall, constant and generall [...]; whereof ciuility and cerimonie, are daughters, but bastards. We shall easily haue the vices of apparance, when we shall have had those of essence. When we haue done with these, we run vpon others, if we finde need of running. For there is danger, that we devise new offices, to excuse our negligence toward naturall offices, and to confound them. That it is so, we see that in places where faults are bewitchings, bewitchings are but faults. That among nation, where lawes of seemelnesse are more rare and slacke, the primitiue lawes of common reason are better obserued: The innumerable multitude of so manifold duties stifling, languishing and dispersing our care. The applying of our selues vnto sleight matters, with-draweth vs from such as be iust. Oh how easie and plausible a course do these superficiall men vndertake, in respect of ours. These are but shadowes vnder which we shroud, and wherwith we pay one another. But we pay not, but rather heape debt on debt, vnto that great and dreadfull judge, who tucks vp our clouts and rags from about our prive parts, and is not squeamish to view all over, even to our most inward and secret deformities: a beneficiall decencie of our maidenly bashfulnesse, could it debar him of this tainted discovery. To conclude, he that could recouer or vn-be [...]o [...] man, from so scrupulous and verball a superstition, should not much prejudice the world.

*Our life consisteth partly in folly, and partly in wisdom.* Hee that writes of it but reverently and regularly, omits the better moytie of it. I excuse me not vnto my selfe, and if I did, I would rather excuse my excuses, then any fault else of mine: I excuse my selfe of certaine humors, which in number I hold stronger, then [499]those which are on my side: In consideration of which I will say thus much more (for I desire to please all men; though it be a hard matter, *Esse vnum hominem accommodatum ad tantam morum, ac sermonum & voiuntatum varietatem, That one man should be applyable to so great variety of manners, speeches and dispositions*) that they are not to blame me, for what I cause auctorities receiued and approued of many ages, to vtter: and that it is not reason, they should for want of ryme denie me the dispensation, which ever some of our churchmen vsurpe and enjoy in this season; whereof behold here two, and of the most pert and cocker amongst them:

Rimula dispeream, ni monogramma tua est.  
 Un vit a' amy la contente et bien traitte.

How many others more? I love modestie; nor is it from iudgement that I have made choise of this kinde of scandalous speech; t'is nature hath chosen the same for me: I commend it no more, then all formes contrary vnto receiued custome: onely I excuse it; and by circumstances aswell generall, as particular, would qualifie the imputation. Well, let vs proceed. Whence commeth also the vsurpation of soveraine auctoritie, which you assume vnto your selues, over those that fauour you to their cost and preiudice,

Si furtiua dedit nigra munuscula nocte, Catul. el. 4. 145.  
 If she have giu'n by night, The stolne gift of delight.

that you should immediatly inuest withall the interest, the coldnes, and a wedlock aucturity? It is a free bargaine, why doe you not vndertake it on those termes you would have them to keepe? *There is no prescription vpon voluntarie things.* It is against forme, yet it is 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, and not without some colour of iustice: and have giuen them no further testimonie of mine affection, then I sincerely felt: and have lively displaide vnto them the declination, vigor and birth of the same; with the fits and deferring of it: *A man cannot alwayes keepe an even pace,* nor ever go to it alike. I haue bin so sparing to promise, that (as I thinke) I have paid more then either I promised or was due. They have found mee faithfull, euen to the seruice of their inconstancie: I say an inconstancie avowed, and somtimes multiplied. I never broke with them, as long as I had any hold, were it but by a threds end: and whatsoever occasion they have giuen me by their ficklenes, I never fell-off vnto contempt and hatred: for such familiarities, though I attaine them on most shamefull conditions, yet do they bind mee vnto some constant good will. I have sometime giuen them a taste of choller and indiscreet impacience, vpon occasions of their wyles, sleights, close-conuayances, controuersies and contestations betweene vs; for, by complexion, I am subiect to hastie and rash motions, which often empeach my trafficke, and marre my bargaines, though but meane and of small worth. Have they desired to essay the libertie of my iudgement, I neuer dissembled to giue them fatherly counsell and biting aduise, and shewed my selfe ready to scrath them where they itched. If I haue given them cause to complaine of mee, it hath bin most for finding a love in me, in respect of our moderne fashion, foolishly conscientious. I haue religiously kept my word in things: that I might easily haue bin dispensed with. They then yeilded sometimes with reputation, and vnder conditions, which they would easily suffer to bee infringed by the conqueror. I have more then once, made pleasure In hir greatest efforts strik saile vnto the interest of their honor: and where reason vrged me, armed them against me, so that they guided themselues more safely and seuerly by my prescriptions, if they once freely yeilded vnto them, then they could haue done by their owne. I haue as much as I could endeoured to take on my selfe the charge and



hazard of our appointments, thereby to discharge them from all imputation; and euer contrived our meetings in most hard, strange and vnsuspected manner, to be the lesse mistrusted, and (in my seeming) the more accessible. They are opened, especially in those parts, where they suppose themselues most concealed. *Things lest feared are lest defended and obserued.* You may more securely dare, what no man thinks you would dare, which by difficulty becommeth easie. Neuer had man his approches more impertinently, genitale. This way to loue, 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,

—*me tabulasacer* H [...]r. car. 1 [...]. od. 5 13.  
 V [...]tiua paries, indicat vuida,  
 Suspendisse potenti  
 [500]Uestimenta maris Deo.  
 By tables of the vowes which I did owe  
 Fastned thereto the sacred wall doth showe;  
 I have hung-vp my garments water-wet,  
 Vnto that God whose power on seas is great.

It is now high time to speake plainly of it. But even as to another, I would perhaps say; My friend thou dotest, the love of thy times hath small affinitie with faith and honestie;

—*haec si tu postule* [...] Y [...]. [...]ct. 1. sc. 1  
 Ratione certa facere, nihilo plus agas,  
 Quàm si des operam, vt cum ratione insanias.  
 If this you would by reason certaine make,  
 You doe no more, then if the paines you take,  
 To be starke mad, and yet to thinke it reason fit,

And yet if I were to beginne anew, it should bee by the very same path and progresse, how fruitlesse soeuer it might prooue vnto me. *Insufficiency and so [...]tishnesse are commendable in a discommendable action.* As much as I seperate my selfe from their humour in that, so much I approach vnto mine owne. Moreover, I did neuer suffer my selfe to bee wholly given over to that sport; I therewith pleased, but forgot not my selfe. I ever kept that little vnderstanding and discretion, which nature hath bestowed on me, for their seruice and mine; some motion towards it, but no dotage. My conscience also was engaged therein, even vnto incontineny and excesse, but neuer vnto ingratitude, treason, malice or cruelty. I bought not the pleasure of this vice at all rates; and was content with it's owne and simple cost. *Nullum intrase vi [...]ium est, There is no vice contained in it selfe.* I hate almost alike a crouching and dull lasinesse, and a toilesome and thorny working. The one pincheth, the other dulleth mee. I loue wounds asS [...]. epi 95. much as bruses, and blood wipes as well as dry-blowes. I had in the practise of this solace, when I was fitter for it, an even moderation betweene these two extremities. *Loue is a vigila [...], liuely and blithe agitation:* I was neither troubled nor tormented with it, but heated and distempred by it: There wee must make a stay; It is onely hurtfull vnto fooles. A young man demanded of the Philosopher *Panetius*, whether it would be seeme a wise man to be in loue; *Let wisemen alone* (quoth he) *but for thee and me that are not so, it were best not to engage our selues into so stirring and violent a humor, which maks vs slaves to others and contemptible vnto our selues.* He said true, for we ought not entrust a matter so dangerous, vnto a mind that hath not wherwith to sustaine the approaches of it, nor effectually to quaille the speach of *Agesilaus*; *That wisdom and loue cannot liue together:* It is a vaine occupation (t'is true) vnseemely, shamefull and lawlesse: But vsing it in this manner, I esteeme it wholsome and fit to rouze a dull spi [...] and a heauy body: and as a phisition experienced, I wold prescribe the same vnto a man of my complexion and forme, as soone as any other receipt, to keepe him awake and in strength, when he is well in yeares; and delay him from the gripings of olde age. As long as wee are

but in the suburbes of it, and that our pulse yet beateth.

Dum noua canities, dum prima & recta senectus, [...]. Sat 3. 26.  
Dum superest Lachefi quod torqueat, & pedibus me  
Port [...] meis, nullo dex [...]ram subeunte bacillo.  
While hoarie haire is new, and ould-age fresh and straight,  
While *Lachesis* hath yet to spin, while I my waight  
Beare on my feeete, and stand, without staffe in my hand.

Wee had need to bee sollicit and tickled, by some biting agitation, as this is. See but what youth, vigour and iollitie it restored vnto wise *Anacreon*. And *Socrates*, when hee was elder then I am, speaking of an amorous obiect: leaning (saies hee) shoulder to shoulder, and approaching my head vnto his, as we were both together looking vpon a booke, I felt, in truth, a sudden tingling or prickling in my shoulder, like the biting of some beast, which more then five daies after tickled mee, whereby a continuall itching glided into my heart. But a casuall touch, and that but in a shoulder, to enflame, to distemper and to distract a minde, enfeebled, tamed and cooled through age; and of all humane mindes the most reformed. And why not I pray you? *Socrates* was but a man, and would neither bee nor seeme to bee other. Philosophie contends not against naturall delights, so that due measure bee ioined therewith; and alloweth the moderation, not the shunning of [501]them. The efforts of her resistance are employed against strange and bastard or lawlesse ones. She saith, that *the bodyes appetites ought not to be encreased by the minde*. And wittily aduise vs, that we should not excite our hunger by sacietie; not to stuffe, instead of filling our bellies: to auoide all iouissance that may bring vs to want: and shunne all meat and drink, which may make vs hungry or thirstie. As in the seruice of love, she appoints vs to take an obiect, that onely may satisfie the bodies neede, without once moouing the mind: which is not there to have any doing, but onely to follow and simply to assist the body. But have I not reason to thinke, that these precepts, which (in mine opinion are elsewhere somewhat rigorous) haue reference vnto a body which doth his office; and that a dejected one, as a weakned stomacke may be excused if he cherish and sustaine the same by arte, and by the entercourse of fantazie, to restore it the desires, the delights and blithnesse, which of it selfe it hath lost? May we not say, that there is nothing in vs, during this earthly prison, simply corporall, or purely spirituall? and that iniuriouslie we dismember a living man? that there is reason wee should carrie our selues in the vse of pleasure, at least as fauourable as we doe in the pangs of grieffe? For example, it was vehement, even vnto perfection, in the soules of Saints, by repentance. The body had naturally a part therein, by the right of their combination, and yet might haue but little share in the cause: and were not contented that it should simply follow and assist the afflicted soule: they haue tormented the body it selfe with conuenient and sharpe punishments; to the end that one with the other, the body and the soule might a vie plunge man into sorrow; so much the more saving, by how much the more smarting. In like case, in corporall pleasures, is it not iniustice to quaille and coole the minde and, say, it must thereunto be entrained, as vnto a forced bond, or servile necessitie? Shee should rather hatch and cherish them, and offer and invite it selfe vnto them; the charge of swaying rightly belonging to her. Even as in my conceit, it is her part, in her proper delights, to inspire and infuse into the body all sense or feeling which his condition may beare, and indeavour that they may be both sweet and healthy for him. For, as they say, tis good reason; that the body follow not his appetites to the mindes preiudice or dammage. But why is it not likewise reason, that the minde should not follow hers to the bodies danger and hurt? I have no other passion that keepes mee in breath. What avarice, ambition, quarels, sutes in law, or other contentions worke and effect in others, who as my selfe have no assigned vacation, or certaine leisure, love would performe more commodiously: It would restore me the vigilancie, sobrietie, grace and care of my person; and assure my countenance against the wrinckled frowns of age (those deformed and wretched frownes) which else would blemish and deface the same; It would reduce me to

serious, to sound and wise studies, whereby I might procure more love, and purchase more estimation: It would purge my minde from despaire of it selfe, and of its vse, acquainting the same againe with it selfe: It would divert me from thousands of irksome tedious thoughts, and melancholie carking cares, wherewith the doting idlennesse and crazed condition of our age doth charge and comber vs: It would restore and heat, though but in a dreame, the blood which nature forsaketh: It would vphold the drooping chinne, and somewhat strengthen or lengthen the shrunken finewes, decaied vigour, and dulled lives-blithenesse of silly wretched man, who gallops apace to his ruine. But I am not ignorant how hard a matter it is to attaine to such a commoditie: Through weakenesse and long experience, our taste is growne more tender, more choise and more exquisite. We challenge most, when we bring least; we are most desirous to choose, when we least deserve to be accepted: And knowing our selves to bee such, we are lesse hardy and more distrustfull: Nothing can assure vs to be beloved, seeing our condition and their quality. I am ashamed to be in the companie of this greene, blooming and boyling youth;

Cuius in indomito constantior inguine neruus,  
Quàm noua collibus arbor inhaeret: Hor. Epod. 12. 19.

Why should we present our wretchednesse admid this their iollitie?

Possint vt iuuenes visere feruidi Hor. car. l. 4. [...]d. 13. 26.  
Multo non fine risu,  
Dilapsam in cineres facem,  
That hot young men may goe and see,  
Not without sport and mery glee,  
Their fire-brands turn'd to ashes be.

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They have both strength and reason on their side: let vs give them place: we have no longer holde fast. This bloome of budding beauty, loues not to be handled by such nummed, and so clomsie hands, nor would it be dealt-with by meanes purely materiall or ordinarie stufte, For, as that ancient Philosopher answered one that mocked him, because hee could not obtaine the fauour of a yongling, whom he suingly pursued: *My friend* (quoth hee) *the hooke bites not at such fresh cheese*. It is a commerce needing relation and mutuall correspondency: other pleasures that we receiue, may bee requitted by recompences of different nature: but this cannot be repaid but with the very same kinde of coyne. Verily, the pleasure I do 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 minde that would haue all duty and delights to feed with conference, those vnder whose charge hee remaineth. There is no beautie, nor fauour, nor familiarity so exquisite, which a gallant minde should desire at this rate. Now if women can do vs no good but in pittie, I had much rather not to live at all, then to live by almes. I would I had the priuiledge to demande of them, in the same stile I haue heard some begin *Italy: Fate bene per voi, Doe some good for your selfe*: or after the manner that *Cyrus* exhorted his souldiers; *Whosoever loveth mee, let him follow mee*. Consort your selfe, will some say to me, with those of your owne condition, whom the company of like fortune will yeelde of more easie accesse. Oh sottish and wallowish composition;

—*nolo*  
Barbam vellere mortuo leoni. Mar. l. 10. epig. 90. 9.  
I will not pull (though not a fearde)  
When he is dead a Lions beard.

*Xenophon* vseth for an obiection and accusation against *Menon*, that in his love hee dealt with fading objects. I take more sensuall pleasure by onely viewing the mutuall, even proporcioned and delicate commixture of two yong beauties; or only to consider the same in mine imagination, then if my selfe should be second in a lumpish, sad and disproportioned coniunction. I refigne such distasted and fantastical appetites vnto the Emperour *Galba*, who medled with none but cast, worne, hard-old flesh, And to that poore slave,

O ego dij faciant talem te cernere possim,  
 Char áque mutatis osculaferre comis.  
 Amplectique meis corpus non pingue lacertis. Quid. P [...].nt. l■ 1. el. 5. 49.  
 Gods graunt I may beholde thee in such case,  
 And kisse thy chang'd locks with my dearest grace,  
 And with mine armes thy limmes not fat embrace.

And amongst blemishing-deformities, I deeme artificiall and forced beautie to be of the chieffest. *Emonez* a young lad of *Chios*, supposing by gorgeous attires to purchase the beautie, which nature denied him, came to the Philosopher *Ar [...].silaus*, and asked of him, *whether a wise man could be in l [...].ue, or no? Yes marrie* (quoth hee) *so it were not with a painted and sophisticate beautie, as thine is*. The fowlenesse of an olde knowne woman is in my seeming, not so aged nor so ill-fauoured, as one that's painted and sleeked. Shall I bouldly speake it, and not haue my throate cut for my labour? *Loue is not properly nor naturallie in season, but in the age next vnto infancie:*

Quam si puellarum insereres choro,  
 Mille sagaces falleret hospites,  
 Discrimen obscurum, solutis Hor. car. l. 2. [...].d. 5. 12.  
 Crinibus, ambiguoque vultu.  
 Whom if you should in crue of wenches place,  
 With haire loose-hanging, and ambiguous face,  
 Strangely the vndiscern'd distinction might  
 Deceiue a thousand strangers of sharpe sight.

No more is perfect beautie. For, whereas *Homer* extends it vntill such time as the chinne begins to bud. *Plato* himselfe hath noted the same for very rare, And the cause for which the Sophister *Dion* termed youthes budding hayres; *Aristogitons* and *Harmodij*, is notoriouslie knowne. In man-hoode I finde it alreadie to bee somewhat out of date, much more in olde age.

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Importunus enim transuolat aridas  
 Quercus. Ibid. l. 4. od. 13. 9.  
 Importune loue doth ouer-flie.  
 The Okes with withered olde-age drie.

And *Margaret* Queene of *Nauarre*, lengthens much (like a woman) the priuledge of women: *Ordaining thirty feares to be the season, for them to change the title of faire into good*. The shorter possession we allow it ouer our liues, the better for vs. Behold it's behaiour, It is a princock boy, who in his schoole, knowes not, how far one proceeds against all order: *study, exercise, custome and practise, are paths to insufficiencie*: the novices beare all the sway; *Amor ordinem nescit, Loue knowes or keeps no order*. Surely it's course hath more garbe, when it is commixt with vnaduisednes and trouble: faultes and contrary successes, giue it edge and grace: so it be eager and hungry, it little importeth whither it bee prudent. Obserue but how he staggers, stumbleth and fooleth; you fetter and shackle him, when you guide him by arte and discretion: and you force his sacred liberty, when you submit him to those bearded, grim and tough-hard hands. Moreover I often heare them

display this intelligence as absolutely spirituall disdainning to draw into consideration the interest which all the sences have in the same. All serueth to the purpose: But I may say, that I haue often seen some of vs excuse the weaknesse of their minds, in fauour of their corporall beauties; but I never saw them yet, that in behalfe of the mindes-beauties, how sound and ripe soeuer they were, would afforde an helping hand vnto abedy, that never so little falleth into declination. 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 her thighes a Philosophicall and spirituall breed and intelligence? which is the highest rate she can possibly value them at. *Plato* appointeth in his lawes, that he who performeth a notable and worthy exploite in warre, during the time of that expedition, should not be denide a kisse or refused any other amorous fauour, of whomsoever he shall please to desire it, without respect either of his ill-fauourdnes, deformitie, or age. What he deemeth so just and allowable in commendation of Military valour, may not the same be thought as lawfull in commendation of some other worth? and why is not some one of them possessed with the humor to preoccupate on hir companions the glory of this chaste loue? chaste I may well say;

—*nam si quando ad praelia ventum est,*  
 Ut quondam stipulis magnus sine viribus ignis Virg. Geor. 1. 3. 98. [...]  
 In cassum furit.  
 If once it come to handy-gripes; as great,  
 But force-lesse fire in stubble; so his heate  
 Rageth amaine, but all in vaine.

Vices smothered in ones thought, are not the worst. To conclude this notable commentarie, escaped from me by a flux of babling: a flux sometimes as violent as hurtfull,

Ut missum sponsi furtiuo munere malum,  
 Procurrit casto virginis è gremio: Catul. eleg 1 ■ 19  
 Quod miserae oblitae molli sub veste locatum,  
 Dum aduentu matris prosilit, excutitur,  
 Atque illud prono praeceps agitur decursu,  
 Huic manat tristi conscius ore rubor.  
 As when some fruite by stealth sent from hir friend,  
 From chaste lap of a virgin doth descend,  
 Which by hir, vnder hir soft aprone plast,  
 Starting at mothers comming thence is cast:  
 And trilling downe in hast doth head-long goe,  
 A guiltie blush in hir sad face doth floe.

*I say, that both male and female, are cast in one same mould; instruction and custome excepted, there is no great difference betweene them: Plato calleth them both indifferently to the societie of all studies, exercises, charges and functions of warre and peace, in his Commonwealth. And the Philosopher Antisthenes took away al distinction betweene their vertue and ours. It is much more easie to accuse the one sexe, then to excuse the other. It is that which some say prouerbialie. Ill may the Kill call the Ouen burnt taile.*

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## The sixth Chapter. Of Coaches. ↩

IT is easie to verifie, that excellent authors, writing of causes doe not only make vse of those which they imagine true, but eftsoones of such as themselues beleeeue not: alwayes prouided they have some inuention and beautie. They speake sufficiently, trulie and profitably, if they speake ingeniouslie. We cannot assure ■ our selues of the chiefe cause: we

huddle vp a many together, to see whether by chance it shall be found in that number,

Namque vnam dicere causam. Lucret. l. 6. 700.  
Non satis est, verum plures vnde vna tamensit.  
Enough it is not one cause to devise,  
But more, whereof that one may yet arise,

Will you demand of me, whence this custome ariseth, to blesse and say God helpe to those that sneeze? Wee produce three sortes of winde; that issuing from belowe is too vndecent; that from the mouth, implieth some reproach of gourmandise; the third is sneezing: and because it commeth from the head, and is without imputation, wee thus kindly entertaine it: Smile not at this subtiltie, it is (as some say) *Aristotles*. Mee seemeth to haue read in *Plutarch* (who of all the authors I know, hath best commixt arte with nature, and coupled iudgement with learning) where he yeeldeth a reason, why those which trauell by sea, doe sometimes feele such qua [...]mes and risings of the stomacke, saying, that it proceedeth of a kinde of feare: hauing found-out some reason, by which hee prooveth, that feare may cause such an effect. My selfe who am much subiect vnto it, knowe well, that this cause doth nothing concerne me. And I know it, not by argument, but by necessarie experience, without alleaging what some haue tolde mee, that the like doth often happen vnto beasts, namely vnto swine, when they are farthest from apprehending any danger: and what an acquaintance of mine hath assured mee of himselfe, and who is greatly subiect vnto it, that twice or thrice in a tempestuous storme, being surprised with excedding feare, all manner of desire or inclination to vomit had left him. As to that ancient good fellow; *Peius vexabar quàm vt periculum mihi succurreret. I was worse vexed then that danger covld helpe me*. I never apprehended feare vpon the water; nor any where else (yet haue I often had [...]st cause offred me, if death it selfe may give it) which eyther might trouble or astonie mee. It proceedeth sometimes as well from want of iudgement, as from lacke of courage. All the dangers I haue had, have beene when mine, eyes were wide-open and my sight cleare, sound and perfect: For, *even to feare, courage is required*. It hath sometimes steaded me, in respect of others, to direct and keepe my flight in order, that so it might be, if not without feare, at least without dismay and astonishment. Indeede it was mooued, but not amazed nor distracted. Vndanted mindes marche further, and represent flight, not onely temperate, settled and sound, but also fierce and bolde. Report we that which *Alcibiades* relateth of *Socrates* his companion in armes. I found (saith he) after the route and discomfiture of our armie, both him and *Lachez* in the last ranke of those that ranne away, and with all safetie and leasure considered him, for I was mounted vpon an excellent good horse, and he on foote, and so had we combatted all day. I noted first, how in respect of *Lachez*, he shewed both discr [...]te iudgement and [...]ndanted resolution: then I obserued the vndismaide brauery of his marche, nothing different from his ordinarie pace: his looke orderly and constant, duly obs [...]uing and [...]eedily iudging what euer passed round about him: sometimes viewing the one, and sometimes looking on the other both friendes and enemies, with so composed a manner, that he seemed to encourage the one and menace the other, signifying, that whosoever should attempt his life, must purchase the same, or his blood at a high-valued rate; and thus they both saued themselues; for, men doe not willingly grapple with these; but follow such as shew or feare or dismay. Loe heare the testimonie of that renow [...]ed Captaine, who teacheth vs what wee daily finde by experience, that there is nothing doth sooner cast vs into dangers, then an inconsiderate greedinesse to a [...]de them. *Quo timoris minus est, eo minus fermè periculi est. The lesse feare there is most commonly, [505] the lesse danger there is*. Our people is to blame, to say, such a one feareth death, when it would signifie, that he thinkes on it, and doth foresee the same. Foresight doth equally belong as well to that which concerneth vs in good, as touche vs in euill. *To consider and iudge danger, is in some sort, not to be danted at it*. I doe not finde my selfe sufficiently strong to withstand the blow and violence of this passion of feare, or of any other impetuosity, were I once therewith vanquished and

deterred, I could never safely recouer my selfe. Hee that should make my minde forgoe hir footing, could never bring her vnto her place againe. She doth ouer liuely sound, and ouer deeply search into hirselfe: And therefore neuer suffers the wound which pierced the same, to be throughly cured and consolidated. It hath beene happy for me: that no infirmity could euer yet displace her. I oppose and present my selfe in the best warde I have, against all charges and assaults that beset mee. Thus the first that should beare mee away, would make mee vnrecouerable. I encounter not two: which way soeuer spoile should enter my holde, there am I open, and remedilessly drowned. *Epicurus* saith, that a *wise man can neuer passe from one state to its contrary*. I have some opinion answering his sentence, that *hee who hath once beene a very foole, shall at no time prooue very wise*. God sends my colde answerable to my clothes, and passions answering the meanes I haue to indure them. Nature hauing discouered me on one side, hath couered me on the other. Hauing disarmed me of strength, she hath armed me with insensibility, and a regular or soft apprehension. I cannot long endure (and lesse could in my youth) to ride either in coach or litter, or to go in a boate; and both in the Citty and country I hate all manner of riding, but a horse-back: And can lesse endure a litter, then a coach, and by the same reason, more easily a rough agitation vpon the water, whence commonly proceedeth feare, then the soft stirring a man shall feele in calme weather. By the same easie gentle motion, which the oares giue, conuaying the boate vnder vs, I wot not how, I feele both my head intoxicated and my stomacke distempered: as I cannot likewise abide a shaking stoole vnder me. When as either the saile, or the gliding course of the water doth equally carry vs away, or that wee are but towed, that gently, gliding and euen agitation, doth no whit distemper or hurte mee. It is an interrupted and broken motion, that offendes mee; and more when it is languishing. I am not able to displaye it's forme. Phisitions haue taught mee to binde and gird my selfe with a napkin or swath round about the lower part of my belly, as a remedy for this accident; which as yet I haue not tride, being accustomed to wrestle and with stand such defects as are in me; and tame them by my selfe. Were my memory sufficientlye informed of them, I would not thinke my time lost, heere to set downe the infinite variety, which histories present vnto vs, of the vse of coaches in the seruice of warre: diuers according to the nations, and different according to the ages: to my seeming of great effect and necessitye. So that it is wondrouslye strange, how wee haue lost all true knowledge of them; I will onely aheadge this, that euen lately in our fathers time, the Hungarians did very auailefully bring them into fashion, and profitablie set them a worke against the Turkes; euery one of them containing a Targattier and a Muskettier, with a certaine number of harquebus [...]'s or caliuers, ready charged; and so ranged, that they might make good vse of them: and all ouer couered with a pauesado, after the manner of a Galliotte. They made the front of their battaile with three thousand such coaches: and after the Cannon had playde, caused them to discharge and shoote off volie of smale shotte vpon their enemies, before they shoulde know or feele, what the rest of their forces could doe: which was no smale aduancement; or if not this, they mainely droue those coaches amidde the thickest of their enemies squadrons, with purpose to breake, disroute and make way through them. Besides the benefit and helpe they might make of them, in any suspicious or dangerous place, to flanke their troupes marching from place to place: or in hast to encompassse, to embarricado, to couer or fortifie any lodgement or quarter. In my time, a gentleman of quality, in one of our frontieres, vnwealdy and so burly of bodye, that hee coulde finde no horse able to beare his waight, and hauing a quarrell or deadly fude in hand, was wont to trauaile vp and downe in a coach made after this fashion, and found much ease and good in it. But leaue wee these warlike coaches, as if their nullity were not sufficientlye knowne by better tokens; The lastkings of our first race were wont to trauell in chariots drawne by foure oxen. *Marke Antonie* was the first, that caused himselfe, accompanied with a minsterell harlot to bee drawne by Lyons fitted to a coach. So did *Heliogabalus* after him, naming himselfe *Cibele* [506] the mother of the Gods; and also by Tigers, counterfetting God *Bacchus*: who sometimes would also bee drawne in a coach by two Stagges: and an-other

time by foure mastiue Dogs: and by foure naked wenches, causing himselfe to bee drawne by them in pompe and state, hee being all naked. The emperour *Firmus*, made his coach to bee drawne by Estriges of exceeding greatnesse, so that hee rather seemed to flye, then to roule on wheeles. The strangenesse of these inuentions, doth bring this other thing vnto my fantasie. That it is a kinde of pusilanimity in Monarkes, and a testimony that they doe not sufficiently know what they are, when they labour to shew their worth, and endeouour to appeare vnto the world, by excessiue and intolerable expences. A thing, which in a strange country might somewhat bee excused; but amongst his natiue subiects, where hee swayeth all in all, hee draweth from his dignity the extreamest degree of honour, that hee may possible attaine vnto. As for a gentleman, in his owne priuate house to apparrell himselfe richly and curiously, I deeme it a matter vaine and superfluous; his house, his houshold, his traine and his kitchin doe sufficiently answere for him. The counsell which *Isocrates* giueth to his King (in my conceite) seemeth to carry some reason: when hee willeth him to bee richly-stored and stately adorned with moouables and housholde-stuffe, forsomuch as it is an expence of continuance, and which descendeth euen to his posterity or heires: And to auoyde all magnificences, which presently vanish both from custome and memory. I loued when I was a yonger brother to set my selfe foorth and bee gaye in cloathes, though I wanted other necessaries; and it became mee well: There are some on whose backes their ritche Robes weepe, or as wee say their rich cloathes are lyned with heauye debts. We haue diuers strange tales of our auncient Kings frugalitie about their owne persons, and in their gifts: great and farre renowned Kings both in credit, in valour and in fortune. *Demosthenes* mainly combates the law of his Cittie, who assigned their publique money to be employed about the stately setting forth of their playes and feastes: He willeth that their magnificence should bee seene in the quantity of tall ships well manned and appointed, and armies well furnished. And they haue reason to accuse *Theophrastus*, who in his booke of riches established a contrarie opinion, and vpholdeth such a quality of expences, to be the true fruite of wealth and plenty. They are pleasures (saith *Aristotle*) that onely touch the vulgar and basest communalty, which as soone as a man is satisfied with them, vanish out of minde; and whereof no man of sound judgement of gravity can make any esteeme. The employment of it, as more profitable, just and durable would seeme more royall, worthy and commendable, about portes, heauens, fortifications and walles; in sumptuous buildings, in churches, hospitales, colledges, mending of heighwayes and streetes, and such like monuments: in which things Pope *Gregory* the thirteenth shall leaue aye-lasting and commendable memory vnto his name: and wherein our Queene *Catherin* should witnes vnto succeeding ages her naturall liberality and exceeding bounty, if her meanes were answarable to her affection. Fortune hath much spighted mee to hinder the structure and brake-off the finishing of our new-bridge in our great Citty; and before my death to depriue mee of all hope to see the great necessity of it set forwarde againe. Moreouer, it appeareth vnto subjects, spectators of these triumphs, that they haue a show made them of their owne riches, and that they are feasted at their proper charges: For, the people doe easily presume of their kings, as wee doe of our seruants; that they should take care plenteously to provide vs of whatsoever wee stand in neede of, but that on their behalfe they should no way lay handes on it. And therefore the Emperor *Galba*, sitting at supper, hauing taken pleasure to heare a musicion play and sing before him, sent for his casket, out of which he tooke a handful of Crowns and put them into his hand, with these wordes; *Take this, not as a giuft of the publique money, but of mine owne priuate store*. So is it, that it often commeth to passe, that the common people haue reason to grudge, and that their eyes are fedde, with that which he should feede their belly. Liberality it selfe, in a soueraigne hand is not in her owne luster: priuate men haue more right, and may challenge more interest in her. For, taking the matter exactlye as it is, *a King hath nothing that is properly his owne; hee oweth euen himselfe to others. Authority is not giuen in fauour of the authorising, but rather in fauour of the authorised. A superiour is neuer created for his owne profit, but rather for the benefit of the inferiour: And a Phisition is instituted for the sicke, not*



for himselfe. *All Magistracie, euen as each arte, reiecteth her end out of her selfe. Nulla ars in se versatur. No arte is all in it selfe.* Wherefore the gouernours and [507]overseers of Princes childhood or minoritie, who so earnestly endeavour to imprint this vertue of bountie and liberalitie in them; and teach them not to refuse any thing, and esteeme nothing so well imploied, as what they shall give (an instruction which in my daies I have seene in great credit) either they preferre and respect more their owne profit then their masters; or else they vnderstand not aright to whom they speake. It is too easie a matter to imprint liberalitie in him, that hath wherewith plenteously to satisfie what he desireth at other mens charges. And his estimation being directed not according to the measure of the present, but according to the qualitie of his meanes, that exerciseth the same, it commeth to proove vaine in so puissant hands. They are found to be prodigall, before they be liberall. Therefore is it but of small commendation, in respect of other royall vertues. And the only (as said the tyrant *Dionysius*) that agreed and squared well with tyrannie it selfe. I would rather teach him the verse of the ancient labourer,

[...]Plat de Athen. Eras. chil. 3. cent. 1. ad. 32.

Not whole sackes, but by the hand  
A man should sow his seed i'the land.

That whosoever will reape any commoditie by it, must sow with his hand, and not powre out of the sacke: that *corne must be discreetly scattered, and not lavishly dispersed*: And that being to give, or to say better, to pay and restore to such a multitude of people, according as they have deserved, he ought to be a loyall, faithfull, and advised distributer thereof. If the liberalitie of a Prince be without heedy discretion and measure, I would rather have him covetous and sparing. *Princely vertue seemeth to consist most in iustice*. And of all parts of justice, that doth best and most belong to Kings, which accompanieth liberalitie. For, they have it particularly reserved to their charge; whereas all other justice, they happily exercise the same by the intermission of others. *Immoderate bountie, is a weake meane to acquire them good will*: for, it reiecteth more people, then it obtaineth: *Quo in plures vsus sis, minus in multos* Cic. off. 1. [...]. *vti possis. Quid autem est stultius, quàm, quod libenter facias, curare vt id diutius facere non possis? The more you have vsed it to many, the lesse may you vse it 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 employed without respect of merit, it shameth him that receiveth the same, and is received without grace. Some Tyrants have beene sacrificed to the peoples hatred, by the very hands of those, whom they had rashly preferred and wrongfully advanced: such kinde of men, meaning to assure the possession of goods vnlawfully and indirectly gotten, if they shew to hold in contempt and hatred, him from whom they held them, and in that combine themselves vnto the vulgar iudgement and common opinion. *The subiects of a Prince, rashly excessive in his gifts, become impudently excessive in begging*: they adhere, not vnto reason, but vnto example. Verily we have often iust cause to blush, for our impudencie. We are over-paid according to justice, when the recompence equalleth our service: for, doe we not owe a kinde of naturall dutie to our Princes? If he beare our charge, he doth over-much; it sufficeth if hee assist it: the over-plus is called a benefit, which cannot be exacted; for the very name of liberalitie implieth libertie. After our fashion, we have never done; what is received is no more reckoned of: only future liberalitie is loved: Wherefore *the more a Prince doth exhaust himselfe in giving, the more friends he impoverisheth*. How should he satisfie intemperate desires, which increase according as they are replenished? *Who so hath his mind on taking, hath it no more on what he hath taken. Covetousnesse hath nothing so proper, as to be vngratefull*. The example of *Cyrus* shall not ill fit this place, for the behoofe of our kings of these daies, as a touch-stone, to know whether their gifts be well or ill employed; and make them perceiue, how much more happilie that Emperour did wound and oppresse them, then they doe. Whereby they are afterward forced to exact and borrow of

their vnknown subjects, and rather of such as they have wronged and aggrieved, then of those they have enriched and done good vnto: and receive no aids, where any thing is gratitude, except the name. *Craesus* vpbra [...]ded him with his lavish bountie, and calculated what his treasure would amount vnto, if he were more sparing and close-handed. A desire surprised him to iustifie his liberalitie, and dispatching letters over all parts of his dominions, to such great men of his estate, whom hee had particularly advanced, intreated every one to assist him with as much money as they could, for an vrgent [508]necessitie 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 received of his bounteous liberalitie, but adding much of their owne vnto it, it was found, that the said summe amounted vnto much more, then the niggardly sparing of *Croesus*. Whereupon *Cyrus* said, *I am no lesse greedy of riches, then other Princes, but am rather a better husband of them. You see with what small venture I have purchased the vnvaluable treasure of so many friends, and how much more faithfull treasurers they are to mee, then mercenarie men would be, without obligation and without affection: and my exchequer or treasure better placed then in paltery coafers; by which I draw vpon mee the hate, the envie and the contempt of other Princes.* The ancient Emperours were wont to draw some excuse, for the superfluitie of their sports and publike shewes, for so much as their authoritie did in some sort depend (at least in apparence) from the will of the Roman people; which from all ages was accustomed to be flattered by such kindes of spectacles and excesse.

But they were particular-ones who had bred this custome, to gratifie their con-citizens and fellowes: especially with their purse, by such profusion and magnificence. It was cleane altered, when the masters and chiefe rulers came once to imitate the same. *Pecuniarum translatio* Cic. Off. 1. 1. *à iustis dominis ad alienos non debet liberalis videri.* *The passing of money from right owners to strangers should not seeme liberalitie.* *Philip*, because his sonne endeoured by gifts to purchase the good will of the Macedonians, by a letter seemed to be displeased and chid him in this manner: *What? Wouldest thou have thy subjects to account thee for their purse-bearer, and not repute thee for their King? Wilt thou frequent and practise them? Then doe it with the benefits of thy vertue, not with those of thy coafers:* Yet was it a goodly thing, to cause a great quantity of great trees, all branchie and greene, to be farre brought and planted in plots yeelding nothing but drie gravell, representing a wilde shady forest, divided in due seemely proportion: And the first day, to put into the same a thousand Estriges, a thousand Stagges, a thousand wilde Boares, and a thousand Buckes, yeelding them over to be hunted and killed by the common people: the next morrow in the presence of all the assembly to cause a hundred great Lions, a hundred Leopards, and three hundred huge Beares to be baited and tugg'd in peeces: and for the third day, in bloodie manner and good earnest to make three hundred couple of Gladiators or Fencers, to combat and murder one another; as did the Emperour *Probus*. It was also a goodly shew, to see those wondrous huge Amphitheaters all enchased with rich marble, on the out side curiously wrought with carved statues, and all the inner side glittering with precious and rare embellishments,

Baltheus en gemmis, en illita porticus auro.  
A belt beset with gemmes behold,  
Behold a walke bedawb'd with gold.

All the sides round about that great void, replenished and environed from the ground vnto the very toppe, with three or foure score rankes of steps and seats, likewise all of marble covered with faire cushions,

—*exeat, inquit, Iauen. Sat. 3. 153.*  
Si pudor est, & de pulvino surgat equestri,  
Cuius res legi non sufficit.

If shame there be, let him be gone, he cries,  
And from his knightly cushion let him rise,  
Whose substance to the law doth not suffice.

Where might conveniently bee placed an hundred thousand men, and all sit at ease. And the plaine-ground-worke of it, where sports were to bee acted, first by Art to cause the same to open and chap in sunder with gaps and cranishes, representing hollow cavernes which vomited out the beasts appointed for the spectacle: That ended, immediately to overflow it all with a maine deepe sea, fraught with store of sea-monsters and other strange fishes, all overlaid with goodly tall ships, ready rigd and appointed to represent a Sea-fight; and thirdly, suddenly to make it smooth and drie againe, for the combat of Gladiators: and [509]fourthly being forthwith cleansed, to strewe it ouer with Vermillion and Storay, insteede of gravell, for the erecting of a solemne banket, for all that infinite number of people: the last act of one onely day.

—*quoties nos descendentis arenae*  
Udimus in partes, rupta (que) voragine terrae  
Emersisse feras, & ijsdem saepe latebris  
Aurea cum croceo creuerunt arbuta libro.  
Nec solum nobis siluestria cernere monstra  
Contigit, aequoreos ego cum certantibus vrsis  
Spectaui vitulos, et equorum nomine dignum,  
Sed deforme pecus.

How oft have we beheld wilde beasts appeare  
From broken gulfes of earth, vpon some parte  
Of sande that did not sinke? how often there  
And thence did golden boughs oresaffron'd starte?  
Nor onely saw we monsters of the wood,  
But I have seene Sea-calues whom Beares withstood,  
And such a kinde of beast as might be named  
A horse, but in most foule proportion framed.

They haue sometimes caused an high steepy mountaine to arise in the midst of the sayde Amphitheaters, all ouer-sprede with fruitfull and flourishing trees of all sortes, on the top whereof gushed out streames of water, as from out the source of a purling spring. Other times they haue produced therein a great tall Ship floating vp and down, which of it selfe opened and split a sunder, and after it had disgorged from out it's bulke, foure or fiue hundred wilde beasts to bee baited, it closed and vanished away of it'selfe, without any visible helpe. Sometimes from out the bottome of it, they caused streakes and purlings of sweete water to spoute vp, bubling to the highest top of the frame, and gently watring, sprinkling and refreshing that infinite multitud. To keepe and couer themselues from the violence of the wether, they caused that huge compasse to bee all ouer-sprede, sometimes with purple sailes, all curiously wrought with the needle, sometimes of silke, and of some other colour, in the twinkling of an eye, as they pleased, they displaid and sprede, or drewe and pulled them in againe.

Quamuis non modico caleant spectacula sole  
Uelareducuntur cumvenit Hermogenes.  
Though fervent Sunne make't hotte to see a play,  
When linnen-thieues come, sailes are kept away.

The nets likewise, which they vsed to put before the people, to save them from harme and violence of the baited beasts, were wouen with golde.

auro quoque tortarefulgent  
Retia.  
Nets with golde enterlaced,  
Their shewes with glittering graced.

If any thing bee excusable in such lavish excesse, it is, where the inuention and strangenesse breedeth admiration, and not the costlie charge. Euen in those vanities, wee may plainly perceiue how fertile and happy those former ages were of other manner of wittes, then ours are. It hapneth of this kinde of fertilitie, as of all other productions of nature. Wee may not say what nature employed then the vtmost of hir power. Wee goe not, but rather creepe and stagger here and there: wee goe our pace. I imagine our [510]knowledge to bee weake in all sences: *wee neither discerne far-forward, nor see much backward*. It embraceth little, and liueth not long: It is shotte both in extension of time, and in amplenesse of matter or inuention.

Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona H [...]r. car. l. 4. ed. 9. 25.  
Multi, sed omnes illachrymabiles  
Vrgentur, ignoti [...] longa  
Nocte.  
Before great *Agamemnon* and the rest,  
Many liu'd valiant, yet are all suppress,  
Vnmoan'd, vnknowne, in darke oblivions nest.

Et supera bellum Troianum & funera Troiae, Lucret. l. 5. 326.  
Mul [...]s alias alij quoque res cecinere poetae.  
Beside the Troian warre, *Troyes* funerall night,  
Of other things did other Poets write.

And *Solons* narration concerning what he had learned of the Aegiptian Priests, of their states long-life, and manner how to learne and preserue strange or forraine histories, in mine opinion is not a testimony to bee refused in this consideration. *Si interminatam in omnes partes* Cit. Nat. De [...]. l. 1. *magnitudinem regionum videremus, & temporum, in quam se iniiciens animus & intendens, ita latè longeque peregrinatur, vt nullam oram vltimi videat, in qua possit insistere: In haec immenfitate infinita, vis innumerabilium appareret formarum. If wee behold an vnlimited greatnesse on all sides both of religions and times, wherevpon the minde casting it selfe and intentine doth trauell farre and neare, so as it sees no bounds of what is last, whereon it may insist; in this infinite immenfi [...]te there would appeare a multitude of innumerable formes.* If whatsoever hath come vnto vs by report of what is past were true, and knowne of any body, it would bee lesse then nothing, in respect of that which is vnknowne. And even of this image of the world, which whilest wee liue therein, glideth and passeth away, how wretched, how weake and how short is the knowledge of the most curious? Not onely of the particular events, which fortune often maketh exemplar and of consequence: but of the state of mighty common wealths, large Monarkies and renowned nations, there escapeth our knowledge a hundred times more, then commeth vnto our notice. Wee keepe a coyle, and wonder at the miraculous inuention of our artilerie, and rest amazed at the rare deuise of Printing: when as vnknowne to vs, other men, and an other end of the worlde named *China*, knew and had perfect vse of both, a thousand yeares before. *If wee sawe as much of this vaste worlde, as wee see but a least part of it, it is very likely wee should perceiue a perpetuall multiplicity, and euer-rouling vicissitude of formes. Therein is nothing singular, and nothing rare, if regard bee had vnto nature, or to say better, if relation bee had vnto our knowledge:* which is a weake foundation of our rules, and which dooth commonly present vs a right-false Image of things. How vainely doe wee now-adaies conclude the declination and decrepitude of the worlde, by the fond arguments wee drawe from our owne weakenesse, drooping and declination:

Iamque adeo affecta est [...]tas, affecta (que) tellus: Lucret. 1. 2. 1159.  
And now both age and land  
So sicke affected stand.

And as vainly did another conclude it's birth and youth, by the vigour he perceived in the wits of his time, abounding in novelties and invention of divers Arts:

Uerùm, vt opinor, habet novitatem, summa, recensque Ibid. 5. 330.  
Natura est mundi, ne (que) pridem exordia cepit:  
Quare etiam quaedam nunc artes expoliuntur,  
[511] Nunc etiam augescunt, nunc addita navigijs sunt  
Multae.

But all this world is new, as I suppose,  
Worlds nature fresh, nor lately it arose:  
Whereby some arts refined are in fashion,  
And many things now to our navigation  
Are added, daily growne to augmentation.

Our world hath of late discovered another (and who can warrant vs whether it be the last of his brethren, since both the *Daemons*, the *Sybilles*, and all we have hitherto beene ignorant of this?) no lesse large, fully-peopled, all-things-yeelding, and mighty in strength, than ours: neverthelesse so new and infantine, that he is yet to learne his A. B. C. It is not yet full fifty yeeres that he knew neither letters, nor waight, nor measures, nor apparell, nor corne, nor vines. But was all naked, simply-pure, in Natures lappe, and lived but with such meanes and food as his mother-nurce afforded him. If wee conclude aright of our end, and the foresaid Poet of the infancie of his age, this late-world shall but come to light, when ours shall fall into darknesse. The whole Vniverse shall fall into a palsey or convulsion of sinnowes: one member shall bee maimed or shrunk, another nimble and in good plight. I feare, that by our contagion, wee shall directly have furthered his declination, and hastened his ruine; and that wee shall too dearely have sold him our opinions, our new-fangles and our Arts. It was an vnpolluted, harmelesse infant world; yet have wee not whipped and submitted the same vnto our discipline, or schooled him by the advantage of our valour or naturall 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 negotiations wee have had with them, witness that they were nothing short of vs, nor beholding to vs for any excellencie of naturall wit or perspicuitie, concerning pertinencie. The woonderfull, or as I may call it, amazement-breeding magnificence of the never-like seene Cities of *Cusco* and *Mexico*, and amongst infinite such like things, the admirable Garden of that King, where all the Trees, the Fruits, the Hearbes and Plants, according to the order and greatnesse they have in a Garden, were most artificially framed in golde: as also in his Cabinet, all the living creatures that his Countrey or his Seas produced, were cast in gold; and the exquisite beautie of their workes, in precious Stones, in Feathers, in Cotton and in Painting; shew that they yeelded as little vnto vs in cunning and industrie. But concerning vnfained devotion, awefull observance of lawes, vnspotted integritie, bounteous liberalitie, due loyaltie and free libertie, it hath greatly availed vs, that wee had not so much as they: By which advantage, they have lost, cast-away, sold, vndone and betraied themselves.

Touching hardinesse and vndaunted courage, and as for matchlesse constancie, vnmooved assurednesse, and vndismaied resolution against paine, smarting, famine and death it selfe; I will not feare to oppose the examples which I may easily finde amongst them, to the most famous ancient examples, wee may with all our industrie discover in all the Annalles and memories of our knowen old World. For, as for those which have subdued them, let them lay aside the wiles, the policies and stratagems, which they have employed to cozen, to cunny-catch, and to circumvent them; and the iust astonishment which those

nations might iustly conceive, by seeing so vnexpected an arrivall of bearded men; divers in language, in habite, in religion, in behaviour, in forme, in countenance; and from a part of the world so distant, and where they never heard any habitation was: mounted vpon great and vnknown monsters; against those, who had never so much as seene any horse, and lesse any beast whatsoever apt to beare, or taught to carry either man or burden; covered with a shining and hard skinne, and armed with slicing-keene weapons and glittering armour: against them, who for the wonder of the glistring of a looking-glasse or of a plaine knife, would have changed or given inestimable riches in Gold, Precious Stones and Pearles; and who had neither the skill nor the matter [512]wherewith at any leasure, they could haue pierced our steele: to which you may adde the flashing-fire and thundring roare ofshotte and Harguebuses; able to quell and daunt even *Caesar* himselfe, had hee beene so sodainely surprised and as little experienced as they were: and thus to come vnto, and assault silly-naked people, sauing where the inuention of weauing of Cotton cloath was knowne and vsed: for the most altogether vnarmed, except some bowes, stones, staues and wodden bucklers: vnsuspecting poore people, surprised vnder colour of amity and well-meaning faith, overtaken by the curiosity to see strange and vnknowne things: I say, take this disparity from the conquerors, and you depriue them of all the occasions and cause of so many vnexpected victories. When I consider that sterne-vntamed obstinacy, and vndanted vehemence, wherewith so many thousandes of men, of women and children, doe so infinite times present themselves vnto inevitable dangers, for the defence of their Gods and liberty: This generous obstinacie to endure all extremities, all difficulties and death, more easily and willingly, then basely to yeelde vnto their domination, of whome they haue so abhominably beene abvsed: some of them choosing rather to starue with hunger and fasting, being taken, then to accept foode at their enemies hands, so basely victorious: I perceauie, that whosoeuer had vndertaken them man to man, without ods of armes, of experience or of number, should haue had as dangerous a warre, or perhaps more, as any 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 befell not so great a change and alteration of Empires and people, vnder such handes as would gently haue polished, reformed and incivilized, what in them they deemed to be barbarous and rude: or would haue nourished and fostered those good seedes, which nature had there brought forth: adding not onely to the manuring of their grounds and ornaments of their citties such artes as wee had; and that no further then had beene necessary for them, but therewithall ioy ning vnto the originall vertues of the country, those of the ancient Grecians and Romanes? What reputation and what reformation would all that farre-spredding worlde haue found, if the examples, demeanors and pollicies, wherewith wee first presented them, had called and allured those vncorrupted nations, to the admiration and imitation of vertue, and had established betweene them and vs a brotherly society and mutuall correspondencie? How easie a matter had it beene, profitably to reforme, and christianly to instruct, mindes yet so pure and new, so willing to bee taught, beeing for the most part endowed with so docile, so apt and so yeelding naturall beginnings? whereas contrarywise, wee have made vse of their ignorance and inexperience, drawe them more easily vnto treason, fraude, luxurie, auarice and all manner of inhumanitie and cruelty, by the example of our life, and patterne of our customes. Who ever raised the seruice of marchandize and benefit of trafficke to so high a rate? So many goodly citties ransacked and razed; so many nations destroyed and made desolate; so infinite millions of harmelesse people of all sexes, states and ages, massacred, ravaged and put to the sworde; and the richest, the fayrest and the best part of the world topsituruied, ruined and defaced for the trafficke of Pearles and Pepper: Oh mecanicall victoryes, oh base conquest. Never did blinde ambition, never did greedy revenge, publike wrongs or generall enmities, so moodily enrage, and so passionately incense men against men, vnto so horrible hostilities, bloody dissipation, and miserable calamities.

Certain Spaniards coasting along the Sea in search of mines, fortuned to land in a very fertile, pleasant and well peopled country: vnto the inhabitants whereof they declared their intent, and shewed their accustomed perswasions; saying: That they were quiet and well meaning-men, comming from farre-countries, being sent from the King of *Castile*, the greatest king of the habitable earth, vnto whom the Pope, representing God on earth, had given the principalltie of all the *Indies*. That if they would become tributaries to him, they should bee most kindly vsed aud courteously entreated: They required of them victualles for their nourishment; and some golde for the behoofe of certaine Physicall experiments. Moreover, they declared vnto them, the beleeuing in one [513]onely God, and the trueth of our religion, which they perswaded them to embrace, adding thereto some minatorie threates. Whose answer was this: That *happily they might be quiet and well-meaning, but their countenance shewed them to be otherwise: As concerning their King, since he seemed to begge, he shewed to be poore and needie: And for the Pope, who had made that distribution, he expressed himselfe a man louing dissention, in going about to give vnto a third man, a thing which was not his owne: so to make it questionable and litigious amongst the auncient possessors of it. As for victualles, they should haue part of their store: And for golde, they had but little, and that it was a thing they made very small accoumpt of, as meere vnprouitable for the seruice of their life, whereas all their care was but how to passe it happily and pleasantly: and therefore, what quantity soever they should finde, that onely excepted which was employed about the seruice of their Gods, they might bouldly take it. As touching one onely God, the discourse of him had very well pleased them: but they would by no meanes change their religion, vnder which they had for so long time liued so happily: and that they were not accustomed to take any counsell, but of their friendes and acquaintance. As concerning their menaces, it was a signe of want of iudgement, to threaten those, whose nature, condition, power and meanes was to them vnknowne. And therefore they should with all speed hasten to auoyd their dominions, forsomuch as they were wont to admit or take in good part the kindenesses and remonstrances of armed people, namely of strangers, otherwise they would deale with them, as they had done with such others, shewing them the heads of certaine men sticking vpon stakes about their Cittie, which had lately bene executed.* Loe here an example of the stammering of this infancy.

But so it is, neither in this, nor in infinite other places, where the Spaniards found not the marchandise they sought for, neither made stay or attempted any violence, whatsoever other commodity the place yeelded: witness my Canibales. Of two the most mighty and glorious Monarkes of that world, and peradventure of all our Westerne partes, Kings ouer so many Kings: the last they deposed and ouercame: He of *Peru*, hauing by them bene taken in a battell, and set at so excessiue a ransome, that it exceedeth all beliefe, and that truely paide: and by his conuersation hauing giuen them apparant signes of a free, liberall, vndanted and constant courage, and declared to be of a pure, noble, and well composed vnderstanding; a humour possessed the conquerors, after they had most insolently exacted from him a Million, three hundred fiue and twenty thousand, and fiue hundred waights of golde; besides the siluer and other precious things, which amounted to no lesse a summe (so that their horses were all shood of massive golde) to discouer what disloyalty or treachery soever it might cost them) what the remainder of this kings treasure might be, and without controlment enioy what euer he might haue hidden or concealed from them. Which to compasse, they forged a false accusation and prooffe against him; That he practised to raise his prouinces, and intended to induce his subiects to some insurrection, so to procure his liberty. Whereupon, by the very iudgement of those who had complotted this forgery and treason against him, hee was condemned to be publikely hanged and strangled: hauing first made him to redeeme the torment of being burned aliue, by the baptisme which at the instant of his execution in charity they bestowed vpon him. A horrible and the like neuer heard of accident: which nevertheless he vndismayedly endured with an vnmooued manner, and truly-royall grauity, without euer contradicting himselfe eyther in countenance or speech. And then, somewhat

mittigate and circumvent those silly vnsuspecting people amazed and astonished at so strange a spectacle, they counterfetted a great mourning and lamentation for his death and appointed his funeralls to be solemnly and sumptuously celebrated.

The other King of *Mexico*, having a long time manfully defended his besieged Citie, and in that tedious siege, 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 successe having delivered him alive into his enemies hands, vpon conditions to bee vsed as beseemed a King: who during the time of his imprisonment, did neuer make the least shew of any thing vnworthy that glorious title. After which victory, the Spaniards not finding that quantitie of gold, they had promised themselves, when they had ransacked and ranged all corners, they by meanes of the crue [...]lest tortures and horriblest torments they could possibly devise, beganne to wrest and draw some more from such prisoners as they had in keeping. But vnable to profit any thing that waye, finding stronger hearts then their torments, they in the end fell to such moody [514]outrages, that contrary to all law of nations, and against their solemne vowes and promises, they condemned the King himselfe and one of the chieftest Princes of his Court, to the Racke, one in presence of another: The Prince, environed round with hot burning coales, being ouercome with the exceeding torment, at last in most pittious sort turning his dreary eyes toward his Master, as if hee asked mercy of him for that hee could endure no longer▪ The king fixing rigorously and fiercely his lookes vpon him, seeming to vpbraide him with his remisnesse and pusilanimity, with a sterne and settled voyce vttered these few wordes vnto him; *What? supposest thou I am in a colde bath? am I at more ease then thou art?* Where at the silly wretch immediately fainted vnder the torture, and yeelded vp the ghost. The king halfe rosted, was carryed away: Not so much for pittie (for what ruth could euer enter so barbarous mindes, who vpon the surmised information of some odde peece or vessell of golde, they intended to get, would broyle a man before their eyes, and not a man onely, but a king, so great in fortune and so renoued in desert?) but forsomuch as his vnmarched constancie did more and more make their inhumane cruelty ashamed: They afterward hanged him, because he had couragiously attempted by armes to deliuer himselfe out of so long captiuity and miserable subiection; where he ended his wretched life, worthy an high minded and neuer danted Prince. At another time, in one same fire, they caused to be burned all aliue foure hundred common men, and three score principall Lordes of a prouince, whom by the fortune of warre they had taken prisoners. These narrations we have out of their owne bookes: for they doe not onely auouche, but vauntingly publish them. *May it be, they doe it for a testimony of their iustice or zeale toward their religion?* verily they are wayes ouerdifferent and enemies to so sacred an ende. Had they proposed vnto themselues to enlarge and propagate our religion, they would haue considered, that it is not amplified by possession of landes, but of men: and would have beene satisfied with such slaughters, as the necessity of warre bringeth, without indifferently adding therevnto so bloody a butchery, as vpon savage beastes; and so vniversall as fire or sword could ever attaine vnto; having purposely preserued no more then so many miserable bond slaues, as they deemed might suffice for the digging, working and seruice of their mines: So that diuers of their chieftaines have beene executed to death, even in the places they had conquered, by the appointment of the Kings of *Castile*, iustly offended at the seld-seene horror of their barbarous demeanours, and well nigh all disesteemed, contemned and hated. God hath meritoriously permitted, that many of their great pillages, and ill gotten goods, have eyther beene swallowed vp by the revenging Seas in transporting them, or consumed by the intestine warres and ciuill broyles, wherewith themselues have deuoured one another; and the greatest part of them have beene ouerwhelmed and buried in the bowels of the earth, in the very places they found them, without any fruite of their victory. Touching the obiection which some make, that the receipte, namely in the handes of so thrifty, wary and wise a Prince, doth so little answer the fore-conceaved hope, which was given vnto his predecessors and the said former abundance of riches, they mette withall at the first discovery of this



new-found world, (for although they bring home great quantity of gold and silver, we perceive the same to be nothing, in respect of what might be expected thence) it may be answered, that the use of money was there altogether unknowne; and consequently, that all their gold was gathered together, serving to no other purpose, then for shew, state and ornament, as a moveable reserved from father to sonne by many puissant Kings, who exhausted all their mines; to collect so huge a heape of vessels and statues for the ornament of their Temples, and embellishing of their Pallaces: whereas all our gold employed in commerce and trafficked betwene man and man. Wee mince and alter it into a thousand formes: wee spend, wee scatter and disperse the same to severall uses. Suppose our Kings should thus gather and heape up all the gold they might for many ages hoarde up together, and keepe it close and vntouch't. Those of the kingdom of *Mexico* were somewhat more encivilized, and better artistes, then other nations of that worlde. And as wee doe, so judged they, that this Vniuers was neare his end: and tooke the desolation wee brought amongst them as an infallible signe of it. They beleued the state of the worlde, to be divided into fiew ages, and in the life of fiew succeeding Sunnes, whereof foure had already ended their course or time; and the same which now shined vpon them, was the fifth and last. The first perished together with all other creatures, by an vniuersall inundation of waters. The [515]second by the fall of the heavens vpon vs which stifled and ouerwhelmed euery living thing: in which age they affirme the Giants to haue bene, and shewed the Spaniards certaine bones of them, according to whose proportion the stature of men came to be of the height of twenty handfulls. The third, was consumed by a violent fire, which burned and destroyed all. The fourth by a whirling motion of the ayre and windes, which with the violent fury of it selfe, remoued and ouerthrew diuers high mountaines: saying, that men dyed not of it, but were transformed into Munkies. (*Oh what impressions doth not the weakenesse of mans beliefe admit?*) After the consummation of this fourth Sunne, the world continued fiew and twenty yeares in perpetuall darknesse: in the fifteenth of which one man and one woman were created, who renewed the race of man-kinde. Ten yeares after, vpon a certaine day, the Sunne appeared as newly created: from which day beginneth euer since the calculation of their yeares. On the third day of whose creation, died their ancient Gods, their new ones haue day by day bene borne since. In what manner this last Sunne shall perish, my auctor could not learne of them. But their number of this fourth change, doth iumpe and meete with that great coniunction of the Starres, which eight hundred and odde yeares since, according to the Astrologians supposition, produced diuers 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 *Aegipt*, can (bee it in profit, or difficultie or nobility) equall or compare sundrie and diuers of their workes. The cawcy or high-way which is yet to be seene in *Peru*, erected by the Kings of that cuntry, stretching from the city of *Quito*, vnto that of *Cusco* (containing three hundred leagues in length) straight, euen, and fine, and twentie paces in breadth, curiously paved, rayed on both sides with goodly, high masonrie-walles, all along which, on the inner side there are two continuall running streames, pleasantly beset with beautiful trees, which they call *Moly*. In framing of which, where they mette any mountaine or rockes, they haue cut, raised and leuelled them, and filled all hollow places with lime and stone. At the ende of euery dayes journey, as stations, there are built stately great pallaces, plentifully stored with all manner of good victuals, apparrell and armes, as well for daylie way-fairing men, as for such armies that might happen to passe that way. In the estimation of which worke I haue especially considered the difficulty, which in that place is particulrly to be remembred. For they built with no stones that were lesse then ten foote square: They had no other meanes to cary or transport them, then by meere 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 deuise, then to raise so much earth or rubbish, against their building, according as the worke riseth, and afterwarde to take it a way againe. But returne we to our coaches. In steade of them, and of all other carrying beastes

they caused themselves to be carried by men, and vpon their shoulders. This last King of *Peru*, the same day hee was taken, was thus carried vpon rafters or beames of massiue Golde, sitting in a faire chaire of state, likewise all of golde, in the middle of his battaile. Looke how may of his porters as were slaine, to make him fall (for all their endeouour was to take him aliue) so many others, and as it were aye, tooke and vnder-went presently 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, vntill such time as a horseman furiously ranne to take him by some parte of his body, and so pulled him to the ground.

### **The seuenth Chapter.** **Of the incommodie of greatnesse.** ↩

Since we cannot attaine vnto it, let vs revenge our selues with railing against it: yet is is not absolute railing, to finde faulte with any thing: *There are defects found in all [516] things, how faire soever in show, and desirable they be.* It hath generally this evident aduantage, that when ever it pleaseth it will decline, and hath well-nigh the choise of one and other condition. For a man doth not fall from all heights; diuers there are, whence a man may descend without falling. Verily, mee seemeth, that we value it at too high a rate: and prize over-deare the resolution of those, whom we have either seene or heard, to have contemned, or of their owne motion rejected the same. Hir essence is not so evidently 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 greatnesse, therein I see no great difficulty. In my conceit, it is a vertue, wherevnto my selfe, who am but a simple n [...]nny, might easily attaine, and without great contention. What shall they doe, who would also bring into consideration, the glory, which accompanieth this refusall, wherein may fall more ambition, then even in the desire and absolute enjoying of greatnesse? *For somuch as ambition is never better directed according to it selfe, then by a straying and vnfrequented path.* I sharpen my courage toward patience, and weaken the same against desire. I have as much to wish for as another, and leave my wishes as much liberty and indiscretion: but yet, it never came into my minde, to wish for Empire, for royalty or eminency of high and commanding fortunes. I aime not that way: I love my selfe too well. When I thinke to grow, it is but meanely; with a forced and coward aduancement; fit for me: yea in resolution, in wisdom, in health, in beauty and also in riches. But this credite, this aspiring reputation, this overswaying authority, suppresseth my imagination. And cleane opposite to some other, I should peradventure loue my selfe better, to be the second or third man in *Perigot*, then the first in *Paris*: At least, without faining, I had rather be the third man in *Paris*, then the first in charge. I will neither contend with an Vsher of a doore, as a silly vnknownen man; nor with gaping and adoration make a Lane through the throng as I passe. I am enured to a meane calling; mediocrity best fitteth me, as well by my fortune, as by mine owne humor. And have shewed by the conduct of my life and course of my enterprises, that I have rather sought to avoid, then otherwise to embrace beyond the degree of fortune that at my birth it pleased God to call me vnto. *Each naturall constitution, is equally iust and easie.* My minde is so dull and slowe, that I measure 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 weaknesse. Should any will me, on the one part, to conferre and consider the life of *L. Thorius Balbus*, a worthy gallant man, wise, faire, goodly, healthie, of good vnderstanding, richly-plentious in all maner of commodities and pleasures, leading a quiet easefull life, altogether his owne, with a minde armed, and well prepared against death, superstition, griefes, cares and other encombrances of humane necessity; 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 side the life of *M. Rugulus*, so high and great, as all men know, together with his admirable and glorious ende: the one vnmentioned and without dignity, the other exemple and wonderfull renowned: truly I would say what *Cicero* saith of it, had I the gift

of well-speaking as hee had. But if I were to sute them vnto mine, I would also say, that the former is asmuch agreeing to my quality, and to the desire I endeouour to conforme my quality vnto, as the second is farre beyond it. That to this I cannot attaine but by veneration; and to the other I would willingly attaine by custome. But returne we to our temporall greatnesse, whence we have digressed. I am distasted of all mastry, both actiue and passiue. *Otanes* one of the seauen that by right might challenge the crowne, or pretend the kingdome of *Persia*, resolved vpon such a resolution as I should easily have done the like: which was, that he vtterly renounced all maner of claime he might in any sort pretend vnto that crowne, to his fellow competitores, were it either by election or chance: alwaies provided that both himselfe and all his, might liue in that Empire, free from all subjections, and exempted from all maner of commandement, except that of the ancient lawes: and might both challenge all liberty, and enjoy all immunities, that should not preiudice them: being as impacient to command, as to becommanded. *The sharpest and most aifcile profession of the world*, is (in mine opinion) *worthily to act and play the King*. I excuse more of their faults, then commonly other men doe: and that in consideration of the downe-bearing waight of their immense charge, which much astonisheth me: *It is a very hard task to keep a aue measure, in so vnmeasurable a power*. Yet is it, that euen with those, that are of a lesse excellent [517]nature, it is a singular incitation to vertue, to be seated in such a place, where you shall doe no manner of good, that is not registred and recorded: And where the least well-dooing, extendeth to so many persons: And where your sufficiencie (as that of Preachers) is principally directed to the people; a weake and parciall iudge, easilie to be beguiled, and easie to bee pleased *There are but few things, of which we may giue a sincere iudgement*: for there bee very few, wherein in some sort or other, we are not particularly interessed. Superioritie and inferioritie, maistrie and subiection, are joyntly tied vnto a naturall kinde of enuie and contestation; they must perpetually enter-spoile one another. I beleue neither the one nor the other, concerning hir companions rights: let vs suffer reason to speake of it, which is inflexible and impassible, when or how wee shall make an end. I was not long since reading of two Scottish bookes striuing vpon this subiect. The popular makes the King to bee of worse condition then a Carter: and hee that extolleth Monarchie, placeth him both in power and soueraignty, many steps aboue the Gods. Now the incommoditie of greatnesse, which heere I have vndertaken to note and speake of, (vpon some occasion lately befallne mee) is this. There is peradventure nothing more pleasing to the commerce of men, then the *Essayes*, which wee through ielousie of honour or valour, make one against another, bee it in the exercise of the body or of the minde: wherein soueraigne greatnesse, hath no true or essentiall part. Verily, it hath often seemed vnto mee, that through over much respect, Princes are therein vsed disdainfully and treated iniurioushe: For, the thing whereat (in my youth) I was infinitely offended, was, that those which were trained and schooled with mee, should for beare to doe it in good earnest, because they found mee vnworthy to bee withstood or to resist their endeouours. It is that wee dayly see to happen vnto them; euery man finding himselfe vnworthy to force himselfe against them. If one perceiue them never so little affected to haue the victorie, there is none but will striue to yeelde it them, and that will not rather wrong his glory, then offend theirs: No man imployeth more diligence then needes hee must to serue their honour. What share haue Princes in the throng, where all are for them? Mee thinkes I see those *Paladines* of former ages, presenting themselues in ioustes, tiltings and combates, with bodies and armes enchanted. *Brisson* running against *Alexander*, counterfetted his course: *Alexander* chid him for it: but hee should haue caused him to bee whipt. For this consideration, was *Carneades* wont to say, that *Prince children learn't nothing aright but to mannage and ride horses; for somuch as in all other exercises, euery manyeeldeth, and giueth them the victory: but a horse who is neither a flatterer nor a Courtier, will as soone throw the childe of a king as the sonne of a base porter*. *Homer* hath beene forced to consent that *Venus* (so sweete a saint and delicate a Goddess) should be hurt at the siege of *Troy*, thereby to ascribe courage and hardinesse vnto her qualities neuer seene in those that are

exempted from danger. The Gods themselues are fained to bee angry, to feare, to bee jealous, to greeue, to shew passion, and bee subiect to mortall sence, thereby to honour them with the vertues which Poets deuise and Philosophers inuent amongst vs: Nay, they are supposed to runne away▪ and to haue a feeling of all our imperfections. *Who doth not participate both hazard and difficulties, cannot iustly pretend interest in the honour, or challenge share in the pleasure, that followeth dangerous actions or hazardous attempts.* It is pittie a man should bee so powerfull, that all things must yeeld and giue place vnto him. Such as are in so high eminencie of greatnesse, their fortune reiects society and conuersation too farre from them; shee placeth them in over remote and vncouth places. This easefull life and plausible facilitie to bring all vnder, and subiect mens mindes, is an enemy to all manner of pleasure. It is a kinde of sliding▪ and not a going▪ It is to sleepe, and not to liue. Conceauue man accompanied with omnipotencie, you ouerwhelme him: hee must in begging manner craue some empeachment and resistance of you. His beeing and his good, is in want and indigence. Their good qualities are dead and lost: for, they are not heard but by comparison, and they are excluded: they haue little knowledge of true praise, beeing beaten with so continuall and vniforme an approbation. Have they to doe with the simplest of their subiects? thy haue no meane to take aduantage of him, if hee but say; It is because hee is my King, hee supposeth to haue sufficiently expressed, and you must vnderstand, that in so saying, hee hath lent a helping hand to ouerthrow himselfe. This qualitie suppresseth and consumeth all other true and essentiall qualities: they are euen drowned in the Royaltie; which gives them no leave, to make the offices of their charge to preuaile, except in such actions as directly concerne and stead the same. *To be a King, is a matter of that consequence, [518] that onely by it he is so.* That strange glimmering and eye-dazeling light, which round about enuironeth, overcasteth and hideth him from vs: our weake sight is thereby bleared and dissipated, as being filled and obscured by that greater and further-spredding brightnes. The Senate allotted the honor and prise of eloquence vnto *Tiberius*; he refused it, supposing that if it had beene true, he could not revenge himselfe of so limited and partiall iudgement. As we yeeld Princes all aduantages of honor, so we authorize their defects and sooth-vp their vices: not onely by approbation, but also by imitation. All *Alexanders* followers bare their heads sideling, as hee did. And such as flattered *Dionysius*, in his owne presence did run and iustle one another, and either stumbled at, or over-threw what euer stood before their feete, to inferre; that they were as short-sighted or spur-blinde, as hee was. Naturall imperfections haue sometimes serued for commendation and fauour. Nay I haue seene deafnesle affected. And because the maister hated his wife, *Plutarch* hath seen courtiers to sue a diuorce of theirs, whom they loued very well. And which is more paillardise and all maner of dissolution hath thereby beene held in credit; as also disloyaltie, blasphemy, cruelty, heresie, superstition, irreligion, wantonnesse and worse, if worse may be. Yea by an example more dangerous, then that of *Mithridates* his flatterers, who forsomuch as their maister pretended to haue skill in phisicke, and aspired to the honour of a good Physition, came to him to haue their members incized and cauterized. For, these others suffer to haue their soules cauterized; a much more precious and nobler part then the body. But to end where I began: *Adrian* the Emperor debating with *Fauorinus* the Philosopher about the interpretation of some word; *Fauorinus* did soone yeeld the victory vnto him, his friends finding fault with him for it; you but jest, my maisters (quoth hee) *would you not haue him to bee much wiser then I, who hath the absolute command ouer thirty legions?* *Augustus* writ some verses against *Asinius Pollio*, which *Pollio* hearing, hee said, I will hould my peace; for, *it is no wisdome to contend in writing with him, who may proscribe.* And they had reason: For, *Dionysius*, because he could not equall *Philoxenus* in Poesie, nor match *Plato* in discourse, condemned the one to the stone-quaries, and sent the other to be sould as a slave in the Ile of *Aegina*.

**The eight Chapter.**  
**Of the Arte of conferring.↩**

IT is a custome of our law, to condemne some, for the warning of others. To condemne them because they haue misdome, were folly, as saith *Plato*. For what is once done can neuer be vndone: but they are condemned to the end that they should not offend againe, or that others may auoide the example of their offence. *Hee who is hanged is not corrected, but others by him*. Even so doe I. My errors are sometimes naturall, incorrigible and remedillesse. But whereas honest men profit the Common-wealth in causing themselues to be imitated. I shall happily benefit the same, in making my selfe to be evitated.

Nonne vides Albivt malè viuat filius, utque Hor Ser. 1. 1. Sect. 4. 109.  
 Barrus inops? magnum documentum, ne patriam rem  
 Perdere quis velit.

Doe you not see, how that mans sonne lives badly,  
 That man's a begger by his spending madly?  
 A lesson great, that none take ioy: His patrimonie to destroy.

By publishing and accusing my imperfections, some man may peraduenture learne to feare them. The partes I most esteeme in my selfe, reape more honour by accusing, then by commending my selfe. And that's the cause I more often fall into them againe, and rest vpon them. But *when all the cardes bee told, a man neuer speakes of himselfe, without losse*. A mans own [519] condemnations are ever increased: praises ever decreased. There may be some of my complexion, who am better instructed by contrariety then by similitude; and more by escaping then by following. *Cato senior* had a speciall regard to this kind of discipline, when he said, that *wisemen have more to learne of fooles, then fooles of wisemen*. And that ancient player on the Lyra, whom *Pausantas* reporteth, to haue beene accustomed to compell his schollers sometimes to goe heare a bad Player, who dwelt right over-against him; where they might learne to hate his discordes and false measures. The horror of cruelty drawes me neerer vnto clemency, then any patterne of clemencie can possibly win mee. A cunning rider or skilfull horseman doth not so properly teach mee, to sit well on horse-backe, as doth one of our Lawyers, or a Venetian by seeing him ride. And an ill manner of speech doth better reforme mine, then any well-polished forme of speaking. The sottish countenance of another, doth dayly advertise and forewarne me. That which pricketh, toucheth and rouzeth better, then that which delighteth. These times are fit to reforme vs backward, more by dissenting, then by consenting; more by difference then by accord. Being but little instructed by good examples, I make vse of bad: the lesson of which is ordinary. I haue endeouored, nay I haue laboured to yeeld my selfe as pleasing and affable, as I saw others peevisch and froward: as constant, as I saw others variable; as gentle and milde, as I perceived others intractable and wild: and as good and honest, as I discerned others wicked and dishonest. But I proposed certaine invincible measures vnto my selfe. The most fruitful and natural exercise of our spirit, is, in my selfe-plea [...]ing conceit, conference. The vse whereof, I finde to bee more delightsome, then any other action of our life: And that's the reason, why, if I were now forced to choose, (being in the minde I now am in) I would rather yeeld to loose my sight, then fogue my hearing or my speech. The Athenians and also the Romans, did ever hold this exercise in high honor and reputation, namely in their *Academies*. And at this day, the Italians doe yet keepe a kinde of forme and trace of it, to their great profit, as may apparantly bee discerned by comparing their wits vnto ours. The study and plodding on bookes, is a languishing and weake kinde of motion, and which heateth or earnesteth nothing; whereas conference doth both learne, teach and exercise at once. If I confer [...]e with a stubborne wit, and encounter a sturdy wrestler, he toucheth me to the quicke, hits me on the flanks, and pricks me both on the left and right side: his imaginations vanquish and confound mine. Ielousie, glory and contention, driue, cast and raise me aboue my selfe. And an vnison or consent, is a qualitie altogether tedious and wearisome in conference. But as our minde is fortified by the communication of regular and vigorous

spirits; it cannot well be expressed, how much it looseth and is bastardized, by the continuall commerce and frequentation, we have with base, weake and dull spirits. No contagion spreads it selfe further then that. I know by long experience what an ell of it is worth. I love to contest and discourse, but not with many, and only for my selfe. For, to serue as a spectacle vnto great men, and by way of contention ■ for one to make a glorious shew of his ready wit and running tongue; I deeme it a profession farre vnfitting a man of honor. Sottishnes is an ill quality, but not to be able to endure it, and to fret and vex at it, as it hapneth to me, is another kinde of imperfection, which in opportunity is not much behinde sottishnes: and that's it I will now accuse in my selfe: I doe with great liberty and facilitie, enter into conference and disputation: forsomuch as opinion findes but a hard soile to enter and take any deepe roote in me. No propositions amaze me, no conceit woundeth me, what contrarietie soever they have to mine. There is no fantazie so frivolous or humour so extravagant, that in mine opinion is not sortable to the production, of humane wit. We others, who debarre our judgement of the right to make conclusions, regard but negligently the diuerse opinions: and if wee lend it not our judgement, wee easily affoord it our eares. Where one scale of the ballance is altogether empty. I let the other waver too and fro, vnder an old wiues dreames. And me seemeth, I may well be excused, if I rather accept an odde number, then an even: Thursday in respect of Friday, if I had rather make a twelfth or fourteenth at a table, then a thirteenth: if when I am traouelling I would rather see a Hare coasting, then crossing my way: and rather reach my left, then my right foote, to be shod. All such fond conceits, now in credit about vs, deserue at least to be listned vnto. As for me, they only beare away inanity, and surely they do so. Vulgar and casuall opinions are yet of some waight, which in nature are something els then nothing. And who wadeth not so far into them, to auoide the vice of superstition, falleth happily into the blame of wilfulnesse. The contradictions then of judgements, [520]doe neither offend nor mooue, but awaken and exercise me. Wee commonly shunne correction whereas we should rather seeke and present our selves vnto it, chiefly when it commeth by the way of conference, and not of regency. At every opposition, wee consider not whether it be iust; but be it right or wrong, how we may auoide it: In steede of reaching our armes, we stretch forth our clawes vnto it. I should endure to be rudely handled and checked by my friends, though they should call me foole, coxcombe or say I raved. I love a man that doth stoutly expresse himselfe, amongst honest and worthy men and whose wordes answer his thoughts. We should fortifie and harden our hearing, against the tendernesse of the cerimonious sound of wordes. I love a friendly society and a virile and constant familiarity: An amitie, which in the earnestnesse and vigor of it's commerce, flattereth it selfe: as love in bitings and bloody scratchings. It is not sufficiently generous or vigorous, except it bee contentious and quareulous: If she be civilised and a skilfull artiste: if it feare a shocke or free encounter, and have hir starting hoales or forced by-ways. *Neque enim disputari sine reprehensione potest. Disputation 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 toward 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 iudgement: trouble, before reason hath seized vpon it. It were both profitable and necessary, that the determining of our disputations, might be decided by way of wagers; and that there were a materiall marke of our losses: that we might better remember and make more account of it: and that my boy might say vnto me: Sir, if you call to minde; your contestation, your ignorance and your selfe-wilfulnesse, at severall times, cost you a hundred crownes the last yeare: I feast, I cherrish and I embrace truth, where and in whom soever I finde it, and willingly and merily yeeld my selfe vnto hir; as soone as I see but hir approach, though it bee a farre-off, I lay downe my weapons and yeeld my selfe vanquished. And alwayes provided, one persist not or proceede therein, with an over imperious stiffnesse or commanding surlinesse; I am well pleased to be reprooved. And I often accomodate my selfe vnto my accusers, more by reason of civilitie, then by occasion of amendment: loving by the

facilitie of yeelding, to gratifie and foster their liberty, to teach or advertise mee. It is notwithstanding no easie matter to draw men of my times vnto it. They have not the courage to correct, because they want the hart to endure correction: And ever 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 so often contradict and condemne it selfe, that if another doe it, all is one vnto me; especially seeing, I give his reprehension no other auctoritie then I list. But I shall breake a straw or fall at ods with him, that keepes himselfe so alost; as I know some, that will fret and chafe if their opinions be not believed, and who take it as an iniury, yea and fall out with their best friends, if they will not follow it. And that *Socrates* ever 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 assuredly to fall on his side, he tooke them as a subject of a new victory. Neverthelesse we see on the contrary, that nothing doth so nicely yeeld our sence vnto it as the opinion of preheminance and disdaine of the adversary. And that by reason, it rather befits the weakest to accept of oppositions in good part, which restore and repaire him. Verily I seeke more the conversation of such as curbe me, then of those that feare me. It is an vnsavory and hurtfull pleasure, to have to doe with men, who admire and give vs place. *Antisthenes* commanded his children, never to bee boholding vnto, or thanke any that should command them. I feele my selfe more lustie and cranke for the victory I gaine over my selfe, when in the heate or fury of the combate, I perceive to bend and fall vnder the power of my adversaries reason, then I am pleased with the victory, I obtaine of him by his weakenesse. To conclude, I receive all blowes and allow all attaints given directly, how weake soever: but am very impacient at such as are stricken at randan and without order, I care but little for the matter, and with me opinions are all one, and the victory of the subject in a manner in different. I shall quietly contest a whole day, if the conduct of the controvesie be followed with order and decorum. It is not force nor subtiltie, that I so much require, as forme and order. The forme and order, dayly seene in the altercations of Shepherds, or contentions [521]of shop-prentise-boyes; but never amongst vs; If they part or give one another over, it is with incivility: and so doe we. But their wrangling, their brawling and impacience, cannot make them to forgoe or forget their theame.

Their discourse holdes on his course. If they prevent one another, if they stay not for, at least they vnderstand one another. A man doth ever answere sufficiently well for mee, if he answere what I say. But when the disputation is confounded and orderlesse, I quit the matter, and betake me to the forme, with spight and indiscretion: and embrace a kinde of debating, teasty, headlong, malicious and imperious, whereat I afterward blush. *It is impossible to treat quietly and dispute orderly with a foole.* My judgement is not onely corrupted vnder the hand of so imperious a maister, but my conscience also. Our disputations ought to be forbidden and punished, as other verball crimes. What vice raise they not, and heape vp together, beeing ever swayed and commaunded by choller? First wee enter into enmity with the reasons, and then with the men. Wee learne not to dispute, except it be to contradict: and every man contradicting and being contradicted, it commonly followeth, that the fruit of disputing, is to loose and to disanull the trueth. So *Plato* in his common wealth, forbiddeth foolish, vnapt and base-minded spirits, to vndertake that exercise. To what purpose goe you about to quest or enquire that which is with him, who hath neither good pace nor proceeding of woorth? No man wrongs the subject, when he quits the same, for want of meanes to treat or mannage it. I meane not a scholasticall and artist meane, but intend a naturall meane, and of a sound vnderstanding. What will the end bee? one goeth Eastward, and another Westward: They loose the principall, and stray 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 pursuite and thinke to follow themselues, and not you. Some finding themselues weake-backt, feare all, refuse all, and at the very entrance

mingle the subject and confound the purpose: or in the heate of the disputation, mutine to holde their peace altogether: through a spitefull ignorance, affecting a proud kinde of contempt, or a foolish modesty auoydiug of contention. Prouided that one strike and hit, hee careth not how open hee lie. Another compteth his wordes, and wayeth them for reasons; Another employeth no thing but the aduantage of his voyce and winde. Here one concludeth against himselfe; here another wearieth you with idle prefaces, and friuolous digressions. Another armeth himselfe afore hand with iniuries, and seekes after a Dutch quarrell, to rid himselfe of the society, and shake off the conference of a spirite, that presseth and ouer beareth his. This last hath no insight at all in reason, but still beleagreth you with the dialecticall or logicall close of his claws [...], and ties you to the rule of his arte or forme of his skill. Now who doth not enter into distrust of sciences, and is not in doubt, whether in any necessity of life hee may reape solid fruite of them; if hee consider the vse wee haue of them? *Nihil sanantibus literis. Since learning doth not cure. Who hath learnt any wit or vnderstanding in Logique? Where are her faire promises? Nec ad melius vi [...]jendum nec, ad commodius disserendum. Nether to liue better or to dispute fitter.* Shall a man heare more brabbling or confusion in the tittle-tattle of fish wi [...]jes or scoulding sluts, then in the publike disputations of men of this profession? I had rather my childe should learne to speake in a Taverne, then in the schooles of well-speaking Arte. Take you a maister of artes, and conferre with him, why doth hee not make vs perceiue his artificiall exceliencie, and by the admiration of his reasons-constancie, or with the beauty of his quaint order, and grace of his method, ravish silly women, and bleare ignorant men as wee are? Why doth hee not sway, winde, and perswade vs as he list? Why should one so advantageous in matter and conduct, entermixe injuries, indiscretion and chollericke rage with his fence? Let him pull-off his twofaced hoode, his gowne and his latine, let him not fill our eares with meereley beleeeved *Aristotle*, you will discover and take him for one of vs, and worse if worse my bee. Mee thinkes this implication and entangling of speech, wherewith they doe so much importune vs, may fitly bee compared vnto jugglers play of fast and loose: their nimblenesse combates and forceth our senses, but it nothing shaketh our beliefe: Take away their jugling, what they doe is but base, common and slight. Though they bee more wittie and nimble spirited, they are not the lesse foolish, simple and vnapt. I love wit, and honour wisdom, as [522]much as them that haue it. And being rightly vsed, it is the noblest, the most forcible, yea and richest purchase men can make. But in such (of which kinde the number is infinite) that vpon it establish their fundamentall sufficiency and worth: that from their wit refer themselves to their memory, *sub aliena vmbra latentes: reposing them vnder another mans protection*; and can do nothing but by the booke (if I may be bold to say so) I hate the same, a little more then sottishnes. *In my country, and in my daies, learning and bookishnes, doth much mend purses, but minds nothing at all.* If it chance to finde them empty light and dry, it filleth, it over-burthens and swelleth them: a raw and indigested masse: if thinne, it doth easily purifie, clarifie, extenuate and subtilize them, even vnto exinanition or evacuation. It is a thing of aquality very neare indifferent: a most profitable accessory or ornament vnto a well borne minde, but pernicious and hurtfully domagable vnto any other. Or rather a thing of most precious vse, that wil not basely be gotten, nor vilie possessed. In some hands a royal scepter, in other some a rude mattocke. But let vs proceed. *What greater or more glorious victory can you expect, then teach your enemy, that he cannot withstand 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 winne. I am of opinion, that both in *Plato* and in *Xenophon*, *Socrates* disputeth more in fauour of the disputers, then in grace of the disputation: and more to instruct *Euthydemus* and *Protagoras* with the knowledge of their impertinency, then with the impertinency of their arte. He takes hold of the first matter, as he who hath a more profitable end, then to cleare it; that is, to cleare the spirits he vndertaketh to manage and to exercise. Agitation, stirring and hunting is properly belonging to our subject or drift; we are not excusable to conduct the same ill and impertinently, but to misse the game, and faile in



taking, that's another matter. *For wee are borne to quest and seeke after trueth; to possesse it belongs to a greater power.* It is not (as *Democritus* said) hidden in the deepes of abisse: but rather elevated in infinite height of diuine knowledge. *The world is but a Schoole of inquisition.* The matter is not who shall put in, but who shall runne the fairest courses. As well may hee play the foole that speaketh truely, as hee that speaketh falsely: for wee are vpon the manner, and not vpon the matter of speaking. My humour is, to haue as great aregarde to the forme, as to the substance; as much respect to the Aduocate, as to the cause; as *Alcibiades* appointed wee should doe. And I day lie ammuse my selfe to reade in authors, without care of their learning: therein seeking their manner, not their subiect. Euen as I pursue the communication of some famous wit, not that hee should teach mee, but that I may know him; and knowing him (if he deserue it) I may imitate him. Every one may speake truely, but to speake orderly, methodically, wisely and sufficiently, few can doe it. So falsehood proceeding of ignorance doth not offend mee; ineptnesse and trifling doth. I haue broken-off diuers bargaines, that would haue beene very commodious vnto me, by the impertinencie of their contestation, with whome I did bargaine. I am not moued once a yeare, with the faults or ouersights of those, over whom I have power: but touching the point of the sottishnesse and foolishnesse of their allegations, excuses, and defences, rude and brutish, wee are every day ready to goe by the eares. They neyther vnderstand what is said nor wherefore, and even so they answer; a thing able to make one dispaire. I feele not my head to shock hard but by being hit with another. And I rather enter into composition with my peoples vices, then with their rashnesse, importunity and foolishnesse. Let them doe lesse, prouided they be capable to doe. You liue in hope to enflame their will: *But of a block there is nothing to bee hoped for, nor any thing of worth to bee enjoyed.* Now, what if I take things otherwise then they are? So it may bee: And therefore I accuse my impatience. And first I hould, that it is equally vicious in him, who is in the right, as in him, that is in the wrong: For, it is ever a kinde of tyrannicall sharpenesse, not to be able to endure a forme different from his: and verily, since there is not a greater fondnesse, a more constant gullishnesse, or more heteroclitic insipidity then for one to move or vex himselfe at the fondnesse, at the gullishnesse, or insipidity of the world: For it principally formalizeth and moveth vs against our selves: and that Philosopher of former ages should never have wanted occasion to weepe, so long as he had considered himselfe. *Miso*, one of the seaven sages (a man of a Timonian disposition and Democraticall humour) being demanded, where-at hee laughed alone; he answered, because I laugh alone; How many follies doe I speake and answer every day, according to my selfe; and then how much more frequent according to others? And if [523] I bite mine owne lips at them, what ought others to doe? *In fine, wee must live with the quicke, and let the water runne vnder the bridge, without any care, or at least without alteration to vs.* In good sooth, why meet we sometimes with crooked, deformed, and in body mishapen men, without falling into rage and discontent, and cannot endure to light-vpon a froward, skittish, and ill-ranged spirit, without falling into anger and vexation? This vicious austeritie is rather in the Iudge, then in the fault. Let vs ever have that saying of *Plato* in our mouthes: *What I finde vnwholsome, is it not to be vnhealthy my selfe? Am not I in fault my selfe? May not mine owne advertisement be retorted against my selfe?* Oh wise and diuine restraint, that curbeth the most vniversall and common error of men: Not only the reproches, we doe one to another, but our reasons, our arguments and matters controversed, are ordinarily retortable vnto vs: and we pinch our selves vp in our owne armes. Whereof antiquitie hath left me diuers grave examples. It was ingeniously spoken and fit to the purpose, by him that first devised the same.

Stercus cuique suum bene olet. Eras. chil. 3. cent. 4. ad. 2.  
 Ev'ry mans ordure well, To his owne sense doth smell.

Our eyes see nothing backward. A hundred times a day we mocke our selves, vpon our neighbours subject, and detest some defects in others, that are much more apparant in vs; yea and admire them with a strange impudencie and vnheedinesse. Even yesterday, I chanced to see a man of reasonable vnderstanding, who no lesse pleasantly then iustly flouted at anothers fond fashion, and yet vpon every silly occasion doth nothing but molest all men with the impertinent bedrowle and register of his pedigrees, genealogies and alliances, more then halfe false and wrested in; (for it is the maner of such people, commonly to vndertake such foolish discourses, whose qualities are more doubtfull and lesse sure) who if he had impartially considered and looked vpon himselfe, should doubtlesse have found himselfe no lesse intemperate, indiscreet, and tedious, in publishing and extolling the prerogative of his wives pedigree and descent. Oh importunate presumption, wherewith the wife seeth her selfe armed by the hands of her owne husband. If he vnderstand Latine, a man should say to him,

Age si h [...]c non insanit satis sua sponte, instiga. Ter. And. act. 4. sc. 2.  
 Goe too, if of her owne accord before,  
 She were not mad enough, provoke her more.

I say not, that *none should accuse, except hee bee spotlesse in himselfe*: For then none might accuse: no not spotlesse in the same kinde of fault. But my meaning is, that our iudgement charging and blaming another, of whom there is then question, spareth vs nothing, of an inward and severe iurisdiction. It is an office of charitie, that *he who cannot remove a vice from himselfe, should nevertheless endeavour to remove it from others, where it may have a lesse hurtfull and froward seed*. Nor doe I deeme it a fit answer, for him that warneth me of my fault, to say, the same is likewise in him. But what of that? *Well meaning warning is alwaies true and profitable*. Had we a good and sound nose, our owne ordure should be more vnsavory vnto ourselves, forasmuch as it is our owne. And *Socrates* is of opinion, that he, who should find himselfe, and his son, and a stranger guilty of any violence or iniurie, ought first begin by himselfe, and present himselfe to the sentence and condemnation of the law, and for his owne discharge and acquital implore the assistance of the executioners hand: secondly for his son, and lastly for the stranger. If this precept take his tune somewhat too high: it should at least be first presented to the punishment of ones owne conscience. Our senses are our proper and first iudges, who distinguish not things, but by externall accidents; and no marvell, if in all parts of the service belonging to our societie, there is so perpetuall and vniversall commixture of ceremonies and superficial apparances: so that the best and most effectuall part of policies, consists in that. It is man with whom we have alwaies to doe, whose condition is marvellously corporall. Let those, who in these latter daies haue so earnestly laboured, to frame and establish vnto vs, an exercise of religion and service of God, so contemplative and immateriall, wonder nothing at all, if some be found, who thinke, 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 division and faction, more then by it selfe. As in conference: The gravitie, the gowne and the fortune of him that speaketh, doth often adde and winne credit vnto vaine, trifling and absurd discourses. It is not to be presumed, that one of these gowne ■ Clarkes or quoified Serjants, so followed, [524] and so redoubted, have not some sufficiencie within him, more then popular: and that a man so sullen so grim aud so disdainfull, to whom so many commissions, charges and auctorities are given ■ be not more sufficient and worthy, then another, who saluteth and vaileth to him so farre-off, and whom no man employeth. Not onely the wordes, but the powtings of such people, are considered and registred, every one applying himselfe to give them some notable and solide interpretation. If they sloop to common conference, and that a man affoord or shew them other then reverence and approbation, they ouerthrow you with the authoritie of their experience: they haue read, they haue heard, seene and done goodly things, you are cleane ouerwhelmed with examples. I would faine tell them, that the fruit of a Chirurgions experience, is not the storie of his practises, or the remembrance that hee hath cured foure

who had the plague, and healed as many that had the Goute, except he know and haue the wit, from his vse and experience, to draw a methode how to frame his judgements and by his skill and practise make vs perceauē, hee is become wiser in his arte. As in a consort of instruments, one heares not seuerally a Lute, a Vyol, a Flute, or a paire of Virginalles, but a perfect-full harmonie: the assemblie and fruit of all those instruments in one. If their travels and charges have amended them, it is in the production of their vnderstanding to make it appeare. It sufficeth not to number the experiments; they ought to be well poised and orderly sorted: and to extract the reasons and conclusions they containe, they should bee well digested and thorowly distilled. There were never so many Historians. It is ever good and profitable to heare them: for out of the magazin of their memorie, they store vs with diuers good instructions and commendable documents. Verily a chiefe part, for the assistance and directing of our life. But now a daies wee seeke not after that, but raier whether the Collectors and reporters of them be praise woorthy themselues. I hate all maner of tyrannie, both verball and effectuall. I willingly bandie and oppose my selfe against these vaine and friuolous circumstances, which by the sences delude our judgement; and holding my selfe aloofe of from these extraordinarie greatneses, haue found, that for the most part, they are but men as others be:

Rarus enim fermè sensus communis in illa  
 Fortuna. [...]ven. S [...]t. 8. 73.  
 For common sense is seldome found  
 In fortunes that so much abound.

They are peradventure esteemed and discerned lesse then they bee, forsomuch as they vndertake more, and so shew themselues; they answer not the charge they haue taken. *There must necessarily be more vigour and strength in the bearer, then in the burden.* Hee who is not growne to his full strength, leaves you to ghesse, whether hee haue any left him beyond that, or haue beene tried to the vtmost of his power. Hee who sainteth vnder his burden, bewraieith his measure and the weakenesse of his shoulders. Thats the reason, why amongst the wiser sort, there are so many foolish and vnapt mindes seene, and more then of others. They might happily haue beene made good husbandmen, thriving merchants, and plodding artificers. Their naturall vigour was cut out to this proportion. Learning is a matter of great consequence: they faint vnder it. To enstall and distribute, so rich and so powerfull a matter, and availefully to employ the same, their wit hath neither sufficient vigour, nor conduct enough to manage it. It hath no preuailing vertue but in a strong nature; and they are very rare: and such as are but weake (saith *Socrates*) corrupt and spoilingly deface the dignitie of Philosophie, in handling the same. Shee seemeth faultie and vnprofitable, being ill placed and vnorderly disposed. Loe how they spoile and entangle themselves.

Humani qualis simulator simius oris,  
 Quem puer arridens, pretioso stamine serum Claud. [...]trop. 1. 303.  
 Delavit, nudas (que) nates ac terga reliquit,  
 Ludibrium mensis.  
 Such counterfets as Apes are of mans face,  
 Whom children sporting at, featly incase  
 [525] In coastly coates, but leave his backside bare  
 For men to laugh at, when they feasting are.

To those likewise, who sway and command vs, and haue the world in their owne hands, t'is not sufficient to haue a common vnderstanding, and to be able to doe, what wee can effect. They are farre beneath vs, if they be not much above vs. As they promise more, so owe they more. And therefore silence is in them, not onely a countenance of respect and grauitie, but often of thrift and profit: *Megabysus* going to visite *Apelles* in his worke-house, stood still a good while without speaking one word, and then began to discourse of his

workes. Of whom he received this rude and nipping checke: *So long as thou heldest thy peace, by reason of thy garish clothes, goodly chaines and stately pompe, thou seemedst to be some worthy gallant: but now thou hast spoken, there is not the simplest boy of my shop, but scorneth and contemns thee.* That great state of his, those rich habilliments, and goodly traine, did not permit him to bee ignorant with a popular ignorance and to speake impertinently of painting. He should have kept mute, and concealed his externall and presuming sufficiency. Vnto how many fond and shallow minds, hath in my dayes, a sullen, cold and silent countenance, served as a title of wisdom and capacity? Dignities, charges and places, are necessarily given, more by fortune then by merit: and they are often to blame, that for it lay the blame on Kings. Contrariwise it is a wonder, that being so vntoward, they should therein have so good lucke: *Principis est virtus maxima, nosse suos. Chiefe vertue it is knowne, In Kings to know their owne.* For Nature hath not given them so perfect a sight, that it might extend it selfe and overlooke so many people, to discern their pre-excellency; and enter their breasts, where lodgeth the knowledge of our will and better worth. It is by coniectures, and as it were groping they must try vs: by our race, alliances, dependences, riches learning, and the peoples voice: all over-weake arguments. *He that could devise a meane, how men might be iudged by law, chosen by reason, and advanced by desert, should establish a perfect forme of a Commonwealth.* Yea but he hath brought that great businesse vnto a good passe. It is to say something: but not to say sufficiently. For, this sentence is justly received, *That counsels ought not to be iudged by the events.* The Carthaginians were wont to punish the ill counsels of their Captaines, although corrected by some fortunate successe. And the Roman people hath often refused triumphes too famous, succesfull and most profitable victories, forsomuch as the Generals conduct, answered not his good fortune. It is commonly perceived by the worldes actions, that fortune, to teach vs, how farre hir power extendeth vnto all things; and who taketh pleasure to abate our presumption, having not beene able to make silly men wise, she hath made them fortunate, in enuie of vertue: And commonly gives hir selfe to favour executions, when as their complot and devise is meerely hirs. Whence we dayly see, that the simplest amongst vs, compasse diverse great and important affaires, both publike and private. And as *Sirannez* the Persian Prince, answered those, who seemed to wonder how his negotiations succeeded so ill, his discourses being so wise: *That he was only maister of his discourses, but fortune mistris of his affaires successe.* These may answer the like; but with a contrary bias. Most things of the world are made by themselves.

Fata viam inveniunt.

Fates finde and know, which way to goe. *Sirg. Aen. 1. 3. 395.*

The issue doth often authorize a simple conduct. Our interposition is in a manner nothing els but an experience, and more commonly a consideration of vse and example, then of reason. And as one amazed at the greatnesse of some businesse, I have somtimes vnderstood by those who had atchieved them, both their motives and addresses: wherein I have found but vulgar advises: and the most vulgar and vsed, are peradventure the surest and most commodious for the practise, if not for the shew. And what if the plainest reasons are the best seated: the meanest, basest and most beaten, are best applied vnto affaires? To maintaine the aucthority of our Kings-counsell, it is not requisite, that prophane persons should be partakers of it, and looke further into it, then from the first barre. To vphold it's reputation, it should be revered vpon credit, and at full. My consultation doth somewhat roughly hew the matter, and by it's first shew, lightly consider the same: the maine and chiefe point of the worke, I am wont to resigne to heaven.

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Permitte diuis caetera,  
How all the rew shall goe, Hor. l. 1. od. 9 9  
Giue leaue to Gods to know.

Good and bad fortune, are in my conceit two soveraigne powers T'is folly to thinke, that humane wisdomme may act the full part of fortune. And vaine is his enterprise, that presumeth to embrace both causes and consequences, and lead the progresse of his fact by the hand. And aboue all, vainest in military deliberations. There was neuer more circumspection and militaty wisdomme, then is sometimes seene amongst vs: May it bee that manfeareth to loose himselfe by the way, reseruing himselfe to the catastrophe of that play? I say moreover, that euen our wisdomme and consultation for the most part followeth the conduct of hazard. My will and my discourse, is sometimes mooued by one ayre, and sometimes by another: and there be many of these motions, that are governed without me. My reason hath dayly impulsions and casuall agitations:

Vertuntur species animorum, & pectoramotus Virg. Geor. l [...]. [...] 20.  
Nunc alios, alios dum nubila ventis agebat.  
Concipiunt.  
The shoues of mindes are chang'd, and brests conceaue  
At one time motions, which anon they leave,  
And others take againe, As windes drive clouds amaine.

Let but a man looke who are the mightiest in Citties and who thrive best in their businesse: he shall commonly find, they are the silliest 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 gullish or shallow-pated (saith *Thucidides*) doe more ordinarily come vnto them, then the wisest and subtilest. We ascribe their good fortunes effects, vnto their prudence.

—*vt quisque fortuna vititur*, Pla [...].c. Pscu. a [...]. 5 sc. 4.  
Ita praecellit: at que exinde sapere illum omnes dicimus.  
As men their fortune vse, so they excell,  
And so we say, they are wise and doe well.

Wherefore I say well, that howsoeuer, events are but weake testimonies of our worth and capacitie. I was now vpon this point, that we need but looke vpon a man aduanced to dignity; had we but three dayes before knowne him to bee of little or no worth at all: an image of greatnesse, and an Idea of sufficiencie, doth insensibly glide and creepe into our opinions; and wee perswade our selues, that increasing in state and credit and followers, hee is also increased in merit. Wee iudge of him, not according to his worth; but after the manner of castingcounters, according to the prerogatiue of his ranke. But let fortune turne hir wheele, let him againe decline and come downe amongst the vulgar multitude; euery one with admiration enquireth of the cause, and how he was raised so high. Good Lord, is that he? will some say. What? knew he no more? had he no other skill when hee was so aloft? Are Princes pleased with so little? Now in good sooth wee were in very good hands, will others say. It is a thing my selfe have often seene in my dayes. Yea the very maske of greatnesse, or habite of maiesty, represented in Tragedies, doth in some sort touch and beguile vs. The thing I adore in Kings, is the throng of their adoratores. All inclination and submission is due vnto them, except the mindes. My reason is not framed to bend or stoope; my knees are. *Melanthius* being demanded, what he thought of *Dionysius* his tragedy, answered, I haue not seene it, so much was it over-clouded with language. So should those say, that iudge of great mens discourses: I haue not vnderstood his discourse, so was it ouerdarkned with grauity, with greatnes and with maiesty. *Antisthenes* one day perswaded the Athenians, to command, that their asses should as well be employed about the manuring of grounds, as were their horses:

who answered him, that the Asse was not borne for such seruice: that's all one (quoth he) there needs but your allowance for it: for the most ignorant and incapable men you employ about the directing of [527]your warres, leaue not to become out of hand most worthy, onely because you employ them. Wherevpon depends the custome of so many men, who canonize the king, whom they haue made amongst them, and are not contented to honour him, vnlesse they also adore him. Those of *Mexico*, after the cerimonies of his consecration are finished, dare no more looke him in the face: but as if by his royalty, they had deified him, they afterward deeme him to bee a God: amongst the oathes, they make him sweare *to maintain their religion, to keepe their lawes, to desend their liberties, to be valiant, iust and debonaire*; hee is also sworne to make the Sunne march in his accustomed light: in time of need to cause the cloudes showre downe their waters; to enforce riuers to runne in their right wonted chanel; and compell the earth to produce all necessary things for his people. I differ from this common fashion, and more distrust sufficiencie, when I see it accompanied with the greatnes of fortune, and applanded by popular commendation. We should heedfully marke, of what consequence it is, for a man to speake in due time, to choose fit opportunity, to breake or change his discourse with a magistrale authority: to defend himselfe from others oppositions, by a nod or moouing of the head, by a smile, a shrug or a silence, before an assembly, trembling with reuerence and respect. A man of monstrous fortune, chancing to shoote his boults, and giue his opinion vpon a frivolous subiect, which but jestingly was tossed too and fro at his table, beganne ever thus; he cannot choose but be a lyer, or an ignorant asse, that will say otherwise then, &c. Follow this Philosophicall point, out commeth a dagger, and there is some mischief. Loe here another aduertisement; from whence I reape good vse; Which is, that in disputations and conferences, all good seeming wordes, ought not presently to be allowed and accepted. Most men are rich of a strange sufficiencie. Some may chance to speake a notable saying, to give a good answer, to vse a witty sentence, and to propound it, without knowing the force of it. That a man holdeth not all he borroweth, may peraduenture be verified in my selfe. A man should not alwayes yeeld, what truth or goodnes soever it seemeth to containe. A man must either combat the same in good earnest, or draw-backe, vnder colour of not vnderstanding the matter: to try on all parts, how it is placed in it's author. It may fortune, that we shut our selues vp, and further the stroake, beyond its bearing. I haue sometimes in necessity and throng of the combat, employed some reuiradoes or turnings, which beyond my intent, haue prooued false offers. I but gave them by tale, and they were received by waight. Euen as when I contend with a vigorous man; I please my selfe to anticipate his conclusions: I ease him the labour to interpret himselfe, I endeouour to preuent his imperfect and yet budding imagination: the order and pertinencie of his vnderstanding for warneth and menaceth a farre off: of these others I doe cleane contrary; a man must vnderstand or presuppose nothing but by them. If they judge in generall termes: *This is good; that's naught*: and that they iump right; see whither it be fortune, that iumpeth for them. Let them a little circumscribe and restraine their sentence; wherefore it is, and which way it is. These vniuersall judgements, I see so ordinarily say nothing at all. They are men, that salute a whole multitude, in throng and troupe. Such as haue true knowledge of the same, salute and marke it by name and particularly. But it is a hazardous enterprise. Whence I haue oftner and dayly seen, to happen that wits weakly grounded, intending to shew themselues ingenious, by obseruing in the reading of some worke, the point of beaury: stay their admiration with so bad a choise, that in lieu of teaching vs the authors excellencie, they shew vs their owne ignorance. This manner of exclamation is safe; *Loe this is very excellent; Surely this is very good*, hauing heard a whole page of *Virgil*. And that's the shift whereby the subtill saue themselues, But to vndertake to follow him by shrugs and crinches, and with an expresse selected iudgement to goe about to marke which way a good author surmounteth himselfe; pondning his words, his phrases, his inuentions, and his severall vertues one after another: *Away; goe by; It is not for you. Videndum est non modo, quid quisque loquatur, sed etiam quid quis (que) sentiat, at que etiam qua de causa quis (que) sentiat. Man must take*

heed not onely what he speakes, but what he thinkes, and also why he thinkes. I dayly heate fooles vtter vnfoolish words. Speake they any good thing; let vs vnderstand whence they know it, how farre they vnderstand and whereby they hold it. We helpe them to employ this fine word, and this goodly reason, which they possesse not, and have but in keeping; they haue happily produced the same by chance and at randan, our selues bring it in credit and esteeme with them. You lend them your hand; what to doe? to konne you no thanks, and thereby become more simple, and more foolish. Doe not second them; let [528]them goe-on: they will handle this matter as men affraide to bewray themselues, they dare neither change her seate or light, nor enter into it. Shake it neuer so little, it escapeth them; quit the same how strong and goodly soeuer it bee. They are hand-some weapons, but ill hafted. How often haue I seene the experience of it? Now if you come to expound and confirme them, they take hold of you, and presently steale the aduantage of your interpretation from you. *It was that which I was about to say: It was iust my conceite: if I have not so exprest it, it is but for want of speech.* Handy-dandy, what is this? Malice it selfe must be employed to correct this fierce rudenesse. *Hegesias* his position, that *a man must neither hate nor accuse, but instruct*, hath some reason else where. But heere, it is iniustice to affist, and inhumanity to raise him vp againe, that hath nothing to doe with it, and is thereby of lesser worth. I love to have them entangle and bemire themselues more then they are and if it bee possible, to wade so deepe into the gulfes of error, that in the end they may recall and aduise themselues. *Sottishnesse and distraction of the sences, is no disease curable by a tricke of aduertisement.* And wee may fitly say of this reparation, as *Cyrus* answered one, who vrged him to exhort his army in the nicke when the battell should beginne; *That men are not made warlike and couragious in the field, by an excellent oration; no more then one becommeth a ready cunning musition, by hearing a good song.* They are prentisages that must bee learnt a forehand, by long and constant institution. This care wee owe to ours, and this assiduitie of correction and instruction: but to preach to him that first passeth by, or sway the ignorance or fondnesse of him wee meete next, is a custome I cannot well away with. I seldome vse it, even in such discourses as are made to mee; and I rather quit all, then come to these far-fetcht and magistrale instructions. My humour is no more proper to speake, then to write, namely for beginners. But in things commonly spoken, or amongst others, how fals and absurd soeuer I iudge them, I neuer crosse or gibe them, neither by word nor signe. Further, nothing doth more spight mee in sottishnesse then that it pleaseth it selfe more, then any reason may iustly be satisfied. It is ill lucke, that wisdom forbids you to please and trust your selfe, and sends you alwayes away discontented and fearefull: whereas wilfulnes and rashnesse, fill their guests with gratulation and assurance. It is for the simplest and least able, to looke at other men ouer their shoulders, ever returning from the combatful of glory and gladnes. And most often also, this outrecuidance of speech and cheerefulnesse of countenance, giueth them the victory ouer the by-standers, who are commonly weake, and incapable to iudge aright and discerne true aduantage. *Obstinacie and earnestnesse in opinion, is the surest tryall of folly and selfe conceite.* Is there any thing so assured, so resolute, so disdainefull, so contemplatiue, so serious and so grave, as the *Asse*; May wee not commixe with the title of conference and communication, the sharpe and interrupted discourses, which mirth and familiaritie introduceth amongst friends, pleasantly dallying and wittily iesting one with another? An exercise, to which my naturall blithenesse makes me very apt. And if it be not so wire-drawne and serious, as this other exercise I now speake of, yet is it no lesse sharpe or ingenious, no lesse profitable, as it seemed to *Lycurgus*. For my regard I bring more liberty then wit vnto it, and have there in more lucke then inuention: but I am perfect in sufferance; for I endure the revenge, not onely sharpe but also indiscreete, without any alteration. And to any assault giuen me, if I have not presently or stoutly wherewith to worke mine own amends, I amuse not my selfe to follow that ward or point, with a tedious and selfe-wil'd contestation, enclining to pertinacie: I let it passe, and hanging downe mine eares, remit my selfe to a better houre to right my selfe. *He is not a marchant that ever gaineth.* Most men

change both voice and countenance, where might faileth them: And by an importunate rage, instead of avenging themselues, they accuse their weakenesse and therewith bewray their impacience. In this [...]ollitie we now and then harpe vpon some secret strings of our imperfections; which settled or considerate we cannot touch without offence: and wee profitably enter-aduertize our selues of our defects. There are other handy-sportes in discreete, fond and sharpe, iust after the French manner; which I hate mortally: I have a tender and sensible skinne: I have in my dayes seene two Princes of our royall blood brought to their graues for it. *It is an ill seeming thing for men, in iest to hitte, or in sport to strike on another.* In other matters, when I shall iudge of any body. I demaund of him, how farre or how much he is contented with himselfe how: how farre his speath or his worke pleaseth him. I will auoyde these goodly excuses, *I did it but in iest:*

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Ablatum medijs opus est incudibus istud.

This worke away was brought, *Ovid. Trist. l. 1. l. 1. [...]leg. 6. 29.*

Halfe hammered, halfe wrought.

*I was not an houre there; I haue not seene him since.* Now I say, let vs then leaue these partes, giue 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 or this part? the grace or the matter, the inuention, the iudgement, or the learning? For I ordinarily perceiue, that *a man misseth as much in iudging of his owne worke, as of anothers.* Not onely by the affection, he therein imployeth; but because he hath not sufficiencie to know, nor skill to distinguish it. The worke of it's owne power and fortune, may second the worke-man, and transport him beyond his inuention and knowledge. As for me, I iudge not the worth of anothers worke more obscurely then of mine owne: and place my Essayes sometimes lowe, sometimes high, very vnconstantly and doubtfully. There are dyuers bookes profitable by reason of their subjects of which the author reapeth no commendations at all: And good bookes, as also good workes, which make the workeman ashamed. I shall write the manner of our bankets, aud 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 publikely passe 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 booke shall come to be lost; and such like things. Posterity shall reape singular profit by such compositions: but I, what honour, except by my good fortune? Many famous bookes are of this condition.

When I read *Philip de Commynes*, (now dyuers yeares since) a right excellent author, I noted this speach in him, as a saying not vulgar: *That a man should carefully take heed▪ how he do his master so great or much seruice, that he thereby be hindred from finding his due recompence for it.* I should haue commended the inuention, but not him. After that I found it in *Tacitus: Beneficia* Corn. Tacit. Annal. l. 4. *eo vsque lata sunt, dum videntur exolui posse, vbi multum antevenere progratia odium redditur. Benefites are so long wel-come, as wee thinke they may be requited, but when they much exceede all power of recompence, hate is return'd for thankes and good will.* And *Seneca* very stoutely. *Nam qui putat esse turpe non reddere, non vult esse cui reddat. For he that thinks it a shame not to S [...]n. epist. 81. f. Cicero. requite, could wish, he were not whom he should requite. Q. Cicero* with a looser byas: *Qui se non putat satisfacere, amicus esse nullo modo potest. He that thinks he doth not satisfie, can by no meanes be a friend.* The subiect according as it is, may make a man be iudged learned, wise and memorious: but to iudge in him the parts most his owne and best worthy, together with the force and beautie of his minde; t'is very requisite we know first what is his owne, and what not: and in what is not his owne, what we are beholding to him for, in consideration of his choise, disposition, ornament, and language he hath thereunto furnished. What if he have borrowed the matter and empaired the forme? as many times it



commeth to passe. Wee others that have little practise with bookes, are troubled with this; that when wee meet with any rare or quaint inuention in a new Poet, or forcible argument in a Preacher, we dare not yet commend them, vntill we have taken instruction of some wise man, whether that part be their owne or another bodies. And vntill then I ever stand vpon mine owne guard. I come lately from reading ouer, (and that without any intermission) the story of *Tacitus* (a matter not vsuall with me; it is now twenty yeares, I never spent one whole houre together vpon a booke) and I have now done it, at the instant request of a gentleman, whom *France* holdeth in high esteeme; as well for his owne worth and valour, as for a constant forme of sufficiencie and goodnes, apparantly seene in diuers brethren of his. I know no author, that in a publike register entermixeth so many considerations of manners, and particular inclinations. And I deeme cleane contrary, to what hee thinketh: who being especially to follow the lives of the Emperours of his time, so diuers and extreme in all manner of forme, so many notable and great actions, which, namely their crueltie produced in their subiects: he had a more powerfull and attractiue matter, to discourse and relate, then if hee had beene to speake or treat of battles and vniversall agitations. So that I often finde him barren, sleightlie running-over those glorious deaths, as if he feared to attediate and molest vs with their multitude and continuance. This forme of historie is much more profitable: *Publike innouations, depend more on the conduct of fortune: priuate on ours.* It is rather a iudgement, then [530]a deduction of an history: therein are more precepts, then narrations: It is not a booke to reade, but a volume to study and to learne: It is so fraught with sentences, that right or wrong they are hudled vp: It is a seminary of mortall, and a magazine of polittique discourses, for the prouision and ornament of those, that possesse some place in the managing of the world. He ever pleadeth with solide and forcible reasons; after a sharpe and witty fashion: following affected and laboured stile of his age: They so much loved to raise and puffe themselues vp, that where they found neither sharpenesse nor subtilty in things, they would borrow it of wordes. He draweth somewhat neare to *Senecas* writing. I deeme *Tacitus* more sinnowy, *Seneca* more sharpe. His seruice is more proper to a crazed troubled state, as is ours at this present: you would often say, hee pourtrayeth and toucheth vs to the quicke. Such as doubt of his faith, doe many festly accuse themselues to hate him for somewhat else. His opinions be sound, and encl [...]ing to the better side of the Romane affaires. I am neuerthelesse something greeued, that he hath more bitterly iudged of *Pompey*, then honest mens opinions, who lived and conuersed with him, doe well allow-off: to have esteemed him altogether equall to *Marius* and *Silla*, saving that he was more close and secret. His intention and canuasing for the gouernment of affaires, hath not beene exempted from ambition, nor cleared from revenge: and his owne friends haue feared, that had he gotten the victory, it would have transported him beyond the limites of reason; but not vnto an vnbridled and raging measure. There is nothing in his life that hath threatned vs with so many fest a cruelty, and expresse tyranny. Yet must not the suspition be counterpoised to the euidence: So doe not I beleeeue him.

That his narrations are naturall and right, might happily be argued by this: That they doe not alwayes exactly apply themselues to the conclusions of his iudgments; which hee pursueth according to the course hee hath taken, often beyond the matter hee sheweth vs; which hee hath dained to stoope vnto with one only glance. He needeth no excuse to have approved the religion of his times, according to the lawes which commaunded him, and beene ignorant of the true and perfect worship of God. That's his ill fortune, not his defect. I have principally considered his iudgement, whereof I am not every where throughly resolved. As namely these wordes contayned in the letter, which *Tiberius* being sicke and aged, sent to the Senate. *What shall I write to you my masters, or how shall I write to you, or what shall I not write to you in these times? May the Gods and Goddesses loose mee worse, then I dayly feele my selfe to perish, if I can tell.* I cannot perceiue why hee should so certainly apply them vnto a stinging remorse, tormentiug the conscience of *Tiberius*: *At least when my selfe was in the same plight, I saw it not.* That hath likewise seemed somewhat demisse and base

vnto me, that having said, how hee had exercised a certayne honourable magistracy in *Rome*, he goeth about to excuse himselfe, that it is not for ostentation, he spake it: This on tricke, namely in a minde of his quality, seemeth but base and cource vnto me: For, not to dare speake roundly of himselfe, accuseth some want of courage: A constant, resolute and high iudgement, and which iudgeth soundly and surely, euery hand while vseth his owne examples, as well as of any strange thing; and witnesseth as freely of himselfe as of a third person: A man must ouergoe these populare reasons of ciuility, in fauour of trueth and liberty. I dare not onely speake of my selfe: but speake alone of my selfe. I stragle when I write of any other matter, and digresse from my subiect. I doe not so discreetly love my selfe, and am so tide and commixt to my selfe, as that I can not distinguish and consider my selfe a part: as a neighbour; as a tree. it is an equall error, eyther not to see how farre a mans worth stretcheth, or to say more of it then one seeth good cause. *We owe more love to God, then to our selues, and know him lesse, and yet we talke our fill of him.* If his writings relate any thing of his conditions: he was a notable man, vpriht and couragious; not with a superstitious vertue, but Philosophicall and generous: He may be found over-hardy in his testimonies: As where hee holdeth, that a souldier carrying a burden of wood, his hands were so stifly benumbed with cold, that they stucke to his woode, and remayned so fast vnto it, that as dead flesh they were divided from his armes. In such cases I am wont to yeeld vnto the authoritie of so great testimonies. Where he also saith, that *Despasian* by the fauour of the God *Serapis*, healed in the [...]itie of *Alexandria* a blinde woman, with the rubbing and anointing her eies with fasting spertle: and some other miracles, which I remember not well now: hee doth it by the example and devoire of all good historians. They keepe a register of important euent: among publike [531]accidents, are also populare reports and vulgar opinions. It is their part to relate common conceits, but not to sway them. This part belongeth to Diuines and Philosophers, directors of consciences. Therefore that companion of his, and as great a man as hee, saide most wisely: *Equidem plura transcrib [...] quam credo: Nam nec affirmare sustineo, de quibus dubito, nec subducere quae accepi: I write out more then I beleeeue: for neither can I bide to affirme what I doubt of, nor to withdrawe what I have heard:* And that other: *Haec neque affirmare neque refellere operae precium est: fama rerum standum est. It is not worth the talke, or to avouch, or to refute these things; wee must stand to report.* And writing in an age, wherein the beliefe of prodigies began to decline, he saith, he would notwithstanding not ommit to insert in his Annals, and giue footing to a thing receiued and allowed of so many honest men, and with so great reuerence by antiquity. It is very well said: That they yeelde vs the history, more according as they receaue, then according as they esteeme it. I who am king of the matter I treat of, and am not to giue accompt of it to any creature liuing, doe neuerthelesse not altogether beleeeue my selfe for it: I often hazard vpon certaine outslips of my minde, for which I distrust my selfe; and certaine verball wilie-beguilies, whereat I shake mine eares: but I let them runne at hab or nab; I see some honour them selues with such like things: T'is not for me alone to iudge of them. I present my selfe standing and lying, before and behinde, on the right and left side, and in all by naturall motions. *Spirits alike in force, are not euer alike in application and taste.* Loe here what my memory doth in grose, and yet very vncertainely present vnto me of it. In breefe, all iudgements are weake, demisse and imperfect.

### The ninth Chapter. Of Vanitie. ↩

There is peradventure no vanity more manyfest, then so vainely to write of it. What Divinity hath so divinely expressed thereof vnto vs, ought of all men of vnderstanding to be diligently and continually meditated vpon. Who seeth not, that I have entred so large a field, and vndertaken so high a pitch, wherein so long as there is either Inke or Paper in the world, I may vncessantly wander and fly without encombrance? I can keepe no register of my life by my actions: fortune placeth them too Iowe: I hould them of my fantasies. Yet haue I seen a

gentleman, who neuer communicated his life, but by the operations of his belly; you might haue seene in his house, set out for a show, a row of basins for seauen or eight dayes: It was all his study; it was all his talke: All other discourses were vnsavory to him. These are somewhat more ciuile, the excrements of an ould spirite, sometimes hard, sometimes laxatiue; but euer indigested. And when shall I come vnto an end of representing a continuall agitation or vncessant alteration of my thoughts, what subiect soeuer they happen vpon; since *Diomedes* filled six thousand bookes only with the subiect of Grammar? What is idle babling like to produce, since the faltring and liberty of the tongue hath stufft the world with so horrible a multitude of volumes? So many words onely for words. Oh *Pythagoras*, why didst thou not coniure this tempest? One *Galba* of former ages, being accused for liuing idlie; answered, that *all men ought to giue an account of their actions, but not of their abiding*. He was deceived; for iustice hath also knowledge and animaduersion ouer such as gather stubble (as the common saying is) or looke about for gape ■ seed. But *there should be some correction appointed by the lawes, against foolish and vnprofitable writers, as there is against vagabonds and loiterers*: so should both my selfe and a hundred others of our people be banished. It is no mockerie: *Scribling seemeth to be a Symthome or passion of an irregular and licentious age*. When writ we ever so much as we haue done since our intestine troubles? or when filled the Romans so many volumes, as in the times of their ruine? Besides that, *the r [...]fining of wits in a common wealth, doth seldome make them the wiser*: this idle working proceedeth of this that all men doe ouer ■ slowly giue them selues to the office of their function, and are easily withdrawe from it. The corruption of the times we live in, is wrought by the particular contribution of euery [532]one of vs: some conferre treason vnto it, some iniustice, other some irreligion, tyranny, auarice and cruelty; according as they are more or lesse powerfull: the weaker sort, whereof I am one imparte foolishnesse, vanity and idlenesse vnto it. It seemeth to bee the season of vaine things; when the damageable presse vs. *In a time, where to doe euill is common: to do nothing profitable, is in a manner commendable*. One thing comforts me, that I shall be of the last, that shall be attached: whilst they shall prouide for the worsers sort and the most hurtfull, I shall haue leasure to amend my selfe: For, mee thinkes it would bee against reason busily to insist and pursue petty inconueniences, when great ones infect vs. And the Phisition *Philotimus*, to one that offred him his finger to dresse, by whose face, looke and breath he apparantly perceaued, that he had an impostume in his loonges; My friend (quoth he) *It is now no fit time to busie your selfe about your nayles*. Yet concerning this purpose, I saw not many yeares since a friend of mine, whose name and memory (for diuerse respects,) I hould in singular account, who in the midst of our troublous mischiefes: when, no more then at this time, neither lawe, nor iustice, nor magistrate was executed or did his office, published certaine silly reformations, concerning the excesse of apparell gluttony and diet, and abuses committed among petty-fogging lawiers. They be ammusings wherewith a people in a desperate taking is fed, that so men may say they are not cleane forgotten. Euen so doe these others, who mainely apply them selues to forbid certaine manners of speach, dances and vaine sports, vnto a people wholly giuen ouer to all licenciousnesse and execrable vices. *It is then no conuenient time for a man to wash and netifi [...] himselfe when he is assailed, by a violent feuer*. It onely belongs to Spartans, to tricke, to combe and wash themselues at what time they are ready to cast themselues into some extreame hazard of life. As for me, I am subiect to this ill custome, that if but a pump sit not handsomly vppon my foote, I shall also neglect my shirt and my cloake: for I disdaine to correct my selfe by halses: when I am in bad estate, I flesh my selfe on euil and abandon my selfe through dispaire, and run to downfall, and (as the saying is) cast the hast after the hatchet. I grow obstinate in empairing; and esteeme my selfe no more worthy of my care, eyther all well or all euill. It is a fauour to me, that the desolation of our state doth sutably meet with the desolation of my age: I rather endure that my euills should thereby be surcharged, then if my goods had thereby beene troubled. The wordes I vtter agaynst misfortune, are wordes of spite. My courage insteede of yeelding, doth grow more obstinate;

and contrary to others. I finde my selfe more giuen to deuotion, in prosperous then aduerse fortune: according to *Xenophons* rule, if not according to his reason. And I rather looke on heauen with a chearefull eye, to thanke it, then to begge any thing. I am more carefull to increase my health when it smiles vpon me, then to recouer it when I haue lost it. Prosperities are to me as discipline and instruction, as aduersities and crosses are to others. As if good fortune were incompatible with a good conscience, men neuer become honest but by aduerse and crosse chances. Good fortune is to me a singular motiue vnto moderation, and forcible spurre vnto modesty. Prayers winne me, menaces reiect me, sauoures relent me, feare imperuerseth me. Amongst humane conditions, this one is verie common, that we are rather pleased with strange things then with our owne: we loue changes, affect alterations, and like innouations.

Ipsa dies ideo nos grato perluit haus [...],  
 Quod permutatis hora recurrit equis.  
 Times therefore vs refresh with welcome ayre,  
 Because their houres on chang'd horse doe repayre.

And my share is therein. Such as follow the other extremitie, onely to bee well pleased with and in themselues; and selfe-conceitedly to ouer▪ esteeme what they possesse aboue others; and acknowledge no forme fayrer, then that they see; if they bee not more aduised then we, they are indeed more happy. I enuie not their wisdom, but grudge their good fortune: This greedy humour of new and vnquenched desire of vnknowne things, dooth much increase and nourish in me a desire to trauell: but diuers other circumstances conferre vnto it. I am well pleased to neglect and shake▪ of the gouernment of mine owne household. *It is some pleasure to command, were it but a mole-hill, and a delight to be obaied.* But it is a pleasure over-vniforme and languishing. Besides that it is ever necessarily intermixed with troublous [533]cares, and hart-wearing thoughts. Sometimes the indigence and oppression of your owne people; sometimes the contentions and quarels of your neighbours, and othertimes their insulting and vsurpation ouer you, doth vexe, doth trouble and afflict you,

Aut verberatae grandine vine [...], H [...].r. [...].ar. l. 3. [...].d. 1. 29.  
 Fundusque mendax, arbore nunc aquas  
 Culpante, nunc torrentia agros  
 Sydera, nunc hyemes iniquas.  
 Or Vineyards beate and wet with haile and raine,  
 Or grounds defrauding hope, while trees complaine;  
 Sometime of waters, sometime of those starres,  
 That scorch the fields, sometime of winters warres.

And that God will hardly once in halfe a yeare send you a season, that shal throughly please your Bayly, and content your Receauer: and that if it be good for your vines, it be not hurtfull for your meddowes.

Aut nimijs torret feruoribus aetherius Sol,  
 Aut subiti perimunt imbres, gelidaeque pruinae, Lucret. l. 5▪ 215.  
 Flabràque ventorum violento turbine vexent.  
 Or with excessiue heate heau'ns Sunne doth toast,  
 Or sodaine stormes do kill, and chilling frost,  
 Or violent whirle-winde blasts doe vexe the coast.

As that new and well-shapen shoe of that man of former ages, which hurts and wrings your foote: and that a stranger knowes not what it costes you, and what you contribute to maintaine the show of that order, which is seene in your housholde: and which peradventure you purchase at too high a rate. It was very late before I betooke my selfe to husbandrie. Those whom nature caused to be borne before mee, haue long time ridde mee of that carefull

burthen: I had already taken another habite, more sutable to my complexion. Neuerthelesse by that I haue obserued therein, I finde it to be rather a troublesome, then a hard occupation. Whosoever is capable of any other thing, may easily discharge that. If I would seeke to grow rich; that way would seeme ouer-long and tedious to mee: I would then haue serued our kings; a trade more beneficiall then all others; since I pretend but to get the reputation, that as I haue gotten nothing, so haue I not wasted any thing; sutable to the rest of my life; as vnfit to affect any good, as improper to worke any euill of consequence: and that I onely seeke to weare out my life, I may (God bee thanked) doe it without any great attention: if the worst come to passe, before pouerty assaile you, seeke by preuention to cut of your charges, and by husbanding your expences keepe afore hand with it; that is it I trust vnto, and hope to reforme my selfe before it come neare or enforce mee to it. As for other matters, I haue forestalled many degrees and established sundry wayes in my minde, to liue and rubbe out with lesse then I haue. I say to liue with contentment. *Non aestimatione Cic. Parad. census, verum victu atque cultu, terminatur pecuniae modus. The measure of money is lymited not by the estimate of wealth or place, but by the manner of liuing and other furniture.* My very neede doth not so precisely possesse my whole estate, but that without touching to the quick or empairing the maine, fortune shall finde something to play vpon, or take hold of. My very presence as ignorant and grim as it is, affordeth much helpe to my houshold affaires: I apply my selfe thereunto but somewhat dispightfully: considering the manner of my house, which is, that seuerally to burne my candle at one end, the other is thereby nothing spared. Trauels do not much hurt mee, were it not for the charges ■ which are exceeding great and beyond my ability: hauing euer beene accustomed to iourney not onely with necessary, but also decent equipage: and that's the reason I make but short iorneis and trauel not to often: wherein I employ but the scumme and what I can well spare, temporising and differing, according as it commeth more or lesse. *I will not haue the pleasure of my wandring to corrupt the delight of my retiring.* Contrary-wise my intent is, that they nourish and fauor one another. Fortune hath steaded me in this; that since my chiefest profession in this life, was to [534]liue delicately and quietly, and rather negligently then seriously, it hath depriued me of need to hoard vp riches, to prouide for the multitude of my heires. For one, if that be not sufficient for him, where with I haue liued so plentiously, at his owne perill be it. His indiscretion shall not deserue, that I wish him more. *And euery man* (according to the example of *Phocion*) *prouid [...]th sufficiently for his children, that prouid [...]th they be not vnlike to him.* I should by no meanes be of *Crates* his mind, or commend his proceeding. He left his mony with a banquier vpon this condition: That if his children were fooles he should deliuer it them: but prouing wise and able to shift for themselues, hee should distribute the same amongst the greatest fooles. As if fooles being least capable to make shift without it, were more capable to vse riches. So it is, that the hurt ■ proceeding from my absence, doeth not (in mine opinion) deserue, so long as I shall haue meanes to beare it, I should refuse to accept the occasions that offer themselues, to distract mee from this toylesome assistance. There is euer some peece out of square. Sometimes the businesse of one house, and other times the affaires of another, doe hurry you. You pry too neare into all things: herein, as well as els where, your perspicuity doth harme you. I steale from such occasions as may mooue me to anger; and remooue from the knowledge of things, that thriue not: yet can I not so vse the matter, but still I stumble (being at home) vpon some inconuenience, which displeaseth me. And sleight knaveries, that are most hidden from mee are those I am best acquainted with Some there are, which to avoyd a further mischiefe, a man must helpe to concea [...] himselfe: vaine prickings (vaine sometimes) but yet ever prickings. The least and sleightest hindrances, are the sharpest. *And as the smallest letters hurt our eyes most, so the least affaires grieue vs most:* A multitude of slender euils offendeth more, then the violence of one alone, how great soeuer. Euen as ordinary thornes being small and sharpe pricke vs more sharpely and sans threatning, if on a sudden we hit vpon them. I am no Philosopher: Euils oppresse me according as they waigh; and waigh according to their forme, as well as according to the

matter; and often more. I haue more insight in them, then the vulgar sort; and so haue I more pacience. To conclude, if they hurt me not, they lie heauie vpon me. Life is a tender thing, and easie to be distempered. Since I began to grow towards peeuish age, andby consequence toward frowardnes, *nemo enim resisti [...] S [...] [...]p. 1. 13▪ f. sibi eum ceperit impelli; For no man stayes himselfe when he is set on going.* What euer fond cause hath brought me to it; I prouoke the humour that way: which afterward by his owne motion is sos [...]red and exasperated, attracting and heaping vp one matter vpon another, to feede it selfe withal.

Stillici [...]i [...] casus lapidem cauat:  
By often falling on,  
Euen water breakes a stone.

These ordinary distilling drops consume and v [...]cerate me. Ordinary inconueniences are never light. They are continuall and irreparable, if they continually and inseperatly aryse from the members of husbandry. When I consider my affaires a farre off, and in grosse, I finde, be it because I have no exact memory of them, that hitherto they have thrived beyond my reasons and expectation. Me thinks I draw more from them, then there is in them: then good successe betraieth me. But am I waded into the businesse? See I all these parcels march?

Tum vero in curas animum deducimus omnes. Virg. Aen. 1. 5. 720.  
Then we our minde divide,  
To cares on every side.

A thousand things therein giue me cause to desire and feare. Wholy to forsake them is very easie vnto me: without toyling and vexation altogether to apply my selfe vnto them; is most hard. It is a pittie full thing, to be in a place, where whatsouer you see, doeth set you a worke and concerne you. And me thinkes, I enjoy more blithely and taste more choisely the pleasures of a stranger house, then of mine owne: and both my minde and taste runne more freely and purely on them. *Diogenes* answered according to my humor when being demanded what kinde of Wine he liked best: *Another mans*, said he. My father delighted to build at *Montaigne* ▪ where he was borne: and in all this policy of domestik affairs, I loue to make vse of his examples and rules; vnto which I will as much as possibly I can tie my successors. Could I [535]doe better for him, I would performe it. I glory his will is at this day practised by mee, and doth yet worke in me. God forbid I should ever suffer any image of life to perish vnder my hands, that I may yeeld vnto so good and so kinde a father. If I have vndertaken to finish any old peece of wall, or repaire any building either imperfect or decayed: it hath certainly beene, because I had rather a respect to his intention, then a regard to my contentment. And I blame my negligence or lithernesse, that I have not continued to perfect the foundations he had laid, or beginnings he had left in his house: by so much the more, because I am in great likelihood to be the last possessor of it, namely of my race, and set the last hand vnto it. For, concerning my particular application, neither the pleasure of building, which is said to be so bewitching, nor hunting, nor hauking, nor gardens, nor such other delights of a retired life, can much embusie or greatly amuse me. It is a thing for which I hate my selfe, as of all other opinions, that are incommodious to me. I care not so much to have them vigorous and learned, as I labour to have them easie and commodious vnto life. They are indeed sufficiently true and sound, if they be profitable and pleasing. Those, who hearing mee relate mine owne insufficiencie in matters pertaining to husbandry or thrift, are still whispering in mine eares, that it is but a kinde of disdaine, and that I neglect to know the implements or tooles belonging to husbandry or tillage, their seasons and orders; how my wines are made, how they graft; and vnderstand or know the names and formes of hearbes, of simples, of fruits, and what belongs to the dressing of meats wherewith I live and whereon I feede; the names and prizes of such stufes I cloath my selfe withall, only because I doe more

seriously take to heart some higher knowledge; bring me in a manner to deaths doore. That is meere sottishnesse; and rather brutishnesse then glory: I would rather be a cunning horseman, then a good Logician.

Quin tu aliquid saltem potius quorum indiget vsus, Virg. buc. ecl. 2. 71.  
Uiminibus mollique paras detexere iunco?  
Why rather with soft wings make you not speed,  
To worke-vp something, whereof there is need?

Wee hinder our thoughts from the generall and maine point, and from the causes and vniversall conducts; which are very well directed without vs, and omit our owne businesse; and *Michael*, who concernes vs neerer then man. Now I most commonly stay at home, but I would please my selfe better there, then any where else.

Sit meaesedes vtinam senectae,  
Sit modus lasso maris, & viarum, Hor. car. 1. 2. od. 6. 6.  
—*Militiaeque*.  
Some repaire and rest to mine old age I crave,  
Iournying, sailing, with a weary warring,  
O let an end have.

I wot not whether I shall come to an end of it. I would that in lieu of some other part of his succession, my father had resigned me that passionate love and deare affection, which in his aged yeeres he bare vnto his household husbandrie. He was very fortunate, in conforming his desires vnto his fortune, and knew how to be pleased with what he had. Politike Philosophie may how it list accuse the basenesse and blame the sterilitie of my occupation, if as hee did, I may but once finde the taste of it. I am of this opinion, that *the honorablest vacation, is to serve the Common-wealth, and be profitable to many. Fructus enim ingeni [...] & virtutis, omnis (que) praestantiae*, Cicer. Amic. tum maximus accipitur, quum in proximum quem (que) confertur. For then is most fruit reaped, both of our wit and vertue, and all other excellencie, when it is bestowed vpon our neighbours. As for me, I depart from it: partly for conscience sake; (for whence I discern the wait, concerning such vacations, I also discover the slender meanes I have to supply them withall: And *Plato* a master workman in all politike government, omitted not to abstaine from them) partly for lithernesse. I am well pleased to enioy the world, without troubling or pressing my selfe with it; to live a life, onely excusable: and which may neither bee burthensome to mee, nor to any other. Never did man goe more plainly and carelesly to worke in [536]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 sonne in law, that could handsomely allure and discreetly beguile my old yeeres, and lull them asleepe; into whose hands I might depose, and in all sov [...]raintie resigne the conduct and managing of my goods; that he might dispose of them as I doe, and gaine vpon them what I gaine: alwaies provided he would but carry a truly-thankfull and friendly minde. But what? wee live in a world, where the loyaltie of our owne children is not knowen. Whosoever hath the charge of my purse when I travell, hath it freely and without controll: as well might hee deceive me in keeping of reckonings. And if he be not a Divell, I bind him to deale well and honestly, by my carelesse confidence. *Multi fallere docuerunt, dum timent falli, & alies ius peccands suspicando fecerunt. Many have taught others to deceive, while themselves feare to be deceived, and have given them iust cause to offend, by suspecting them vniustly*. The most ordinary assurance I take of my people, is a kinde of disacknowledge or neglect: I never presume vices, but after I have seene them: and trust more yoong men, such as I imagine to be least debaused and corrupted by ill examples. I had rather heare at two moneths end, that I have spent foure hundred crownes, then every night when I should goe to my quiet bed, have mine eares tired and my minde vexed with three, five, or seven. Yet in this kinde of stealing, have I had as little stolne from mee as any other: True it is, I lend a helping hand to

ignorance. I wittingly entertaine a kinde of troubled and vncertaine knowledge of my money: vntill it come to a certaine measure I am content to doubt of it. It is not amisse if you allow your boy or servant some small scope for his disloyalty and indiscretion. If in grosse we have sufficiently left to bring our matters to passe, this excesse of fortunes-liberalitie, let vs somewhat more suffer it to stand to her mercie: It is the gleaners fee. After all, I esteeme not so much my peoples fidelitie, as I disesteeme their iniurie. Oh base and absurd study, for a man to study his money, and please himselfe with handling and counting the same: for that's the way whereby covetousnesse maketh her approches. Since eighteene yeeres, that I have had the full disposing of my goods in mine owne hands, I could never yet be brought to over-looke, neither titles nor bookes, no not so much as the principall affaires, that should necessarily passe thorow my knowledge and care.

It is no Philosophicall contempt, to neglect worldly and transitorie things: my taste is not so exquisitly nice; for I value them according to their worth at least: but truly it is an inexcusable slothfulnesse and childish negligence. What would I not rather doe, then reade a contract? And more willingly, as a slave to my businesse, with carke to over-looke, and care to survay a company of old-dustie bookes, and plod vpon mustie writings? and which is worse, other mens, as so many doe daily for money? I have nothing so deare as care and paine: and I only endeavour 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 wot not (the matter being thorowly sifted) whether according to my humour and fortune, what I must endure with my affaires, and pocket vp at my servants and familiars hands, hath not more abiectiion, importunitie and sharpnesse, then the following of another man should have, better borne then my selfe, and who should guide me somewhat at mine ease. *Servitus obedientia est fra [...]ti animi & abi [...]cti, arbitrio carentis suo: Service is an obedience of an abiect broken C [...]c. Parad. 5. heart, that cannot dispose of it selfe. Crates did worse, who voluntarily cast himselfe into the liberties of povertie, only to ridde himselfe of the inconveniences, indignities and cares of his house. Which I would not doe: I hate povertie as much as grieffe; yet could I finde in my heart to change this manner of life, with another lesse glorious and not so troublesome. Being absent, I discharge my selfe of all such carefull thoughts, and should lesse feele the ruinous downe-fall of a Towne, then being present, the fall of a Tile. Alone my minde is easily freed, but in companie, it endureth as much as a Plough-mans. My horse vncurb'd, his reines misplaced, or a stirrup or a strap hitting against my legge, will keepe me in a checke a whole day long. I rouze my courage sufficiently against inconvenience; mine eies I cannot.*

Sensus ô superi sensus!

At home I am ever answerable for whatsoever is amisse. Few masters (I speake of meane condition, as mine is; whereof if any be, they are the more happie) can so fully relie vpon a second, but still a good part of the burden shall lie vpon them. That doth peradventure take something from my fashion, in entertaining of guests or new commers; and happily I have [537]beene able to stay some, more by my kitchin, then by my behaviour or grace: as doe the peevish and fantastick; 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 beseeming a gentleman in his owne house, as to see him vexed or troubled about his houshold or domes [...]icke affaires; to see him whisper one of his servants in the eare, and threaten another with his lookes. It should insensibly glide-on, and represent an ordinary course. And I vtterly dislike, that a man should entertaine h [...] guests with either excusing, or boasting of the entertainment he affordeth them. I love order and cleanlinesse,



— & *cantharus & lanx*, H [...]. 1. 1. epist. 5. 23.

Ostendun [...] mihime.

My dish, my drinking kanne,

Shew me what kinde of man.

well nigh as much as plentie: In mine owne house I exactly looke vnto necessitie, little vnto state, and lesse vnto ornament. If your neighbours servant be fighting with his companion, if a dish be overthrowen, you but laugh at it: you sleepe quietly whilst Sir such a one is busie casting vp of accounts, and over-seeing his stocke 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 amusement it is to certaine natures, to see a quiet and prosperous houshold, directed by a formall and guided by a regular order. But not intending to fasten mine owne errors and inconveniences to the matter: Nor to gaine-say *Plato*, who deemeth that the happiest occupation any man can follow, is, to apply himselfe to his owne private businesse, without injustice. When I iourney, I have nothing to care for but my selfe, and how my money is laid out: which is disposed with one onely precept. Over-many parts are required in hoarding and gathering of goods: I have no skill in it. In spending, I have some knowledge, and how to give my expences day; which indeed is it's principall vse. But I attend it over-ambitiously, which makes it both vnequall and deformed: and besides that immoderate in one and other visage. If it appeare and make a good shew, if it serve the turne, I indiscreetly goe after it; and as indiscreetly restraine my selfe, if it shine or smile not vpon mee. Whatsoever it bee, either Art or nature, that imprints this condition of life into vs, by relation to others, it doth vs much more hurt then good. In going about to frame apparances according to the common opinion, wee defraud our selves of our owneprofits. Wee care not so much, what our state, or how our being is, in vs and in effect, as wee doe how and what it is, in the publike knowledge of others. Even the goods of the minde, and wisdom it selfe, seeme fruitlesse vnto vs, if onely enioied by vs: except it bee set forth to the open view and approbation of strangers. There are some, whose gold runnes by streames in places vnder ground, and that imperceptible: others extend the same in plates and leaves: So that to some, pence are worth crownes, to others the contrary: the world iudging the employment and value, according to the outward shew. All over-nice care and curious heed about riches, hath a touch or a taste of avarice. Even their dispending and over regular and artificiall liberalities are not worth a warie heede-taking, and countervaille not a painefull diligence. Who so will make his expence even and just, makes it strict and forced. Either close-keeping or employing of money, are in themselves things indifferent; and admit no colour of good or evill, but according to the application of our will. The other cause that drawes mee to these iourneies or vagaries, is the dissent or disparitie in the present manners of our state: I could easily comfort my selfe with this corruption, in regard of the publike interest;

— *peioraque s [...]cula f [...]rri*, Iuven. sat. 13. 28.

Temporibus, quorum sceleri non invenit ipsa

Nomen, & à nullo posuit natura met allo.

Times worse then times of Iron, for whose bad frame

And wickednesse ev'n nature findes no name,

Nor hath from any metall set the same.

[538]

But not for mine owne: I am in particular over-pressed by it. Forround about where I dwell, we are, by the over-long licentiousnesse of our intestine civill warres, almost grown old, in so licentious and riotous a forme of state,

Quippe vbi fas versum atque nefas; Virg. Georg. 1. 1. 505.

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.

Armati terram exercent, semperque recentes Virg. Aen. 1. 9. 612.  
Convectare invat praedas, & vivere rapto.  
They armed plow the land, and ioy to drive,  
And draw new booties, and on rapine live.

To conclude, I see by our example, that the societie of men doth hold and is sewed together, at what rate soever it be: where ever they be placed, in mooving and closing, they are ranged and stowed together; as vneven and rugged bodies, that orderlesse are hudled in some close place, of themselves finde the way to be vnited and ioined together one with another: and many times better, then Art could have disposed them. King *Philip* assembled a rabble of the most leaud, reprobate and incorrigible men he could finde out, all which he placed in a Citie, which of purpose he had caused to be built for them, of whom it bare the name. I imagine, that even of their vices, they erected a politike contexture amongst themselves, and a commodious and iust societie. I see not one action, or three, or a hundred, but even divers manners, admitted and commonly vsed: so extravagant (namely in disloyaltie) and so barbarous in inhumanitie, which in my conceit, are the worst and most execrable kinde of vices, that I have not the heart so much as to conceive them without horroure: All which I in a manner admire as much as I detest. The exercise of these egregious villanies, beareth a brand of vigour and hardinesse of minde, as much as of error and irregular confusion. *Necessitie composeth, and assembleth men together.* This casuall combining is afterward framed into lawes. For, there have beene some as barbarously-savage, as humane opinion could possible produce, which notwithstanding have kept their bodies in as good health and state, in long life, as those of *Plato* or *Aristotle* could doe. And to say true, all these descriptions of policie, fained by Art and supposition, are found ridiculous and foolish, to bee put in practise. These great and long-continuing altercations, about the best forme of societie, and most commodious rules to vnite vs together, are altercations onely proper for the exercise of our wit: As in arts, divers subjects are found, that have no essence but in agitation and disputing, without which they have no life at all. Such an Idea of policie, or picture of government, were to be established in a new world; but we take a world already made and formed to certaine customes: wee engender not the same as *Pyrrha*, nor beget it as *Cadmus*. By what meanes soever we have the privilege to re-erect and range the same anew, wee can very hardly wrest it from the accustomed habit and fold it hath taken, except we breake all. *Solon* being demanded, whether hee had established the best lawes he could for the Athenians: answered, yea of those they would have received: with such a shift doth *Varre* excuse himselfe; saying, that if hee were newly to beginne to write of religion, he would plainly tell what his beleefe were of it: But being alreadie received, he will speake more of it according to custome, then to nature. Not to speake by opinion, but consonant to truth, the most excellent and best policie, for any nation to observe, is that vnder which it hath maintained it selfe. It's forme and essentiall commoditie doth much depend of custome. We are easily displeased with the present condition: yet doe I hold that to wish the government of few, in a popular estate: or in a Monarchie, another kinde of policie, it is a manifest vice and meere follie.

Ayme l' est at tel que tu le uois estre, P [...]rac.  
S'il est royall, ayme laroyautè,  
S'il est de peu, ou bien communantè,  
Ayme l' aussi, car Dieu t'y a faict naistre.

[539]

Love thou the state, as thou seest 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 Lord of *Pibrac* wont to speake of it, whom we have lately lost: a man of so quaint and rare wit, of so sound iudgement, and of so milde and affable behaviour. The vntimely losse of whom, with that of the Lord of *Foix*, both fatall hapning to vs at one time, are surely losses of great consequence vnto our crowne. I wot not well, whether *France*, amongst all the men it hath left, is able to affoord vs two such other Gentlemen, as may either in sinceritie and worth, or in sufficiencie and iudgement, for the counsell of our Kings, match these two Gascoynes. They were two mindes diversly faire; and verily, if we respect the corrupted age wherein we live, both rare and gloriously-shining, every one in her forme. But alas, what destinie had placed them on the Theater of this age, so dissonant and different in proportion from our deplorable corruption, and so farre from agreeing with our tumultuous stormes? Nothing doth so neerely touch and so much overlay an estate, as innovation: *Only change doth give forme to iniustice, and scope to tyrannie*. If some one peece be out of square, it may be vnderpropt: one may oppose himselfe against that, which the alteration, incident, and corruption, naturall to all things, doth not too much elongate and draw vs from our beginnings and grounded principles: But to vndertake to re-erect and found againe so huge a masse, and change or remoove the foundations of so vast a frame, belongeth only to them, who in stead of purging, deface; and in lieu of cleansing, scrape out: that will amend particular faults by an vniversall confusion, and cure diseases by death: *Non tam commutandarum quàm overtendarum rerum cupidi. Not so desirous to have things altered, as overthrowen*. The world is fondly vnapt to cure it selfe: So impatient with that which vexeth or grieveth it, that it only aimeth to ridde it selfe of it, never regarding at what rate. Wee see by a thousand examples, that it doth ordinarily cure it selfe at it's owne charges: *To be freed from a present evill, is no perfect cure, except there be a generall amendment of condition*. The end of a skilfull Chirurgion, is not to mortifie the bad flesh, it is but the beginning and addressing of his cure: he aimeth further, that is, to make the naturall to grow againe, and reduce the partie to his due being and qualitie. Whoever proposeth onely to remoove what gnaweth him, shall be to seeke: for *good doth not necessarily succeed evill*: another, yea a worse evill may succeed it. As it hapned vnto *Cesars* murderers, who brought the commonwealth to so distresfull a plunge, that they repented themselves they ever medled with the same. The like hath since fortun'd to divers, yea in our daies. The French that live in my times, know very well what to speake of such matters. *All violent changes and great alterations, disorder, distemper and shake a state very much*. He that should rightly respect a sound recovery or absolute cure, and before al other things thorowly consult about it, might happily grow slaoke in the businesse, and beware how he set his hand vnto it. *Pacuvius Calavius* corrected the vice of this manner of proceeding by a notable example. His fellow Citizens had mutined against their magistrates; He being a man of eminent authoritie in the City of *Capua*, found one day the means to shut vp the Senate in the Guildhall or Palace, then calling the people together in the market place, told them; That the day was now come, wherein with full and vnresisted libertie, they might take vengeance of the tyrants, that had so long and so many waies oppressed them, all which he had now at his mercy, alone and vnarmed. His opinion was, that orderly by lots, they should be drawen out one after another: which done, they might particularly dispose of every one: and whatsoever should be decreed of them, should immediately be executed vpon the place; provided they should therewithall presently advise and resolve to nominate and establish some honest and vndetected man, to supply the roome of the condemned, lest their Citie should remaine void of due officers. To which they granted, and heard no sooner the name of a Senatour read, but a loud exclamation of a generall discontent was raised against him: which *Pacuvius* perceiving, hee requested silence, and thus bespake them. My countrey-men, I see very well, that man must be cut off,

hee is a pernicious and wicked member; but let vs have another sound-good man in his place; and whom would you name for that purpose? This vnexpected speech bred a distracted silence; each one finding himselfe to seeke and much confounded in the choise. Yet one, [540]who was the boldest-impudent amongst them, nominated one whom he thought fittest; who was no sooner heard, but a generall consent of voices, louder then the first, followed, all refusing him: as one taxed with a hundred imperfections, lawfull causes and iust obiections, vtterly to reject him. These contradicting humours growing more violent and hot, every one following his private grudge or affection, there ensued a farre greater confusion and hurly-burly in drawing of the second and third Senatour, and in naming and choosing their successours; about which they could never agree. As much disorder and more consusion about the election, as mutuall consent and agreement about the demission and displacing. About which tumultuous trouble, when they had long and to no end laboured and wearied themselves, they began, some heere, some there, to scatter and steale away from the assemblee: every one with this resolution in his minde, that *the oldest and best knowen evill, is ever more tolerable, then a fresh and vnexperienced mischiefe*. By seeing our selves piteously tossed in continuall agitation: for what have we not done?

Eheu cicatricum & sceleris pudet, Hor. car. 1. 1. od. 95. 33.  
 Fratrum (que): quid nos dur a refugimus  
 Aetas? quid intactum nefasti  
 Liquimus? vnde manus iuventus  
 Metu Deorum continuit? quibus  
 Pepercit aris?  
 Alas for shame of wickednesse, and scarres  
 Of brother-country-men in civill warres.  
 We of this hardned world, what doe we shunne?  
 What have we execrable left vndone?  
 To set their hand whereto hath youth not dared  
 For feare of Gods? what altars hath it spared?

I am not very sudden in resolving or concluding.

—*ipsa si velit salus*, Ter. Adel. act. 4. sc. 7.  
 Servare prorsus non potest hanc familiam:  
 This familie if safetie would  
 Keepe safe, I doe not thinke it could.

Yet are wee not peradventure come vnto our last period. The preservation of states, is a thing in all likelihood exceeding our vnderstanding. A civill policie (as *Plato* saith) is a mighty and puissant matter, and of very hard and difficult dissolution; it often endureth against mortall and intestine diseases: yea against the iniury of vniust lawes, against tyrannie, against the ignorance and debordement of Magistrates, and against the licentiousnesse and sedition of the people. In all our fortunes, we compare our selves to that which is above vs, and looke toward those that are better. Let vs measure our selves by that which is beneath vs, there is no creature so miserably wretched, but findes a thousand examples to comfort himselfe withall. It is our fault, that we more vnwillingly behold what is above vs, then willingly what is beneath vs, And *Solon* said, that should a man heape vp in one masse all evils together, there is none, that would not rather chuse to carry backe with him such evils as he already hath, then come to a lawfull division with other men of that chaos of evils, and take his allotted share of them. Our Common-wealth is much crazed, and out of tune. Yet have divers others beene more dangerously sicke, and have not died. The Gods play at hand-ball with vs, and tosse vs vp and downe on all hands. *Enimverò Dij nos homines quasi pilas habent*. Plaut. capt. Prel. *The Gods perdie doe reckon and racket vs men as their tennis-balles*. The destinies have fatallly ordained the state of *Rome*, for an exemplar patterne of what they can doe in this kinde. It containeth in it selfe all formes and fortunes that concerne

a state: whatsoever order, trouble, good or bad fortune may in any sort effect in it. What man may iustly despaire of his condition, seeing the agitations, troubles, alterations, turmoiles and motions, wherewith it was tossed to and fro, and which it endured? If the extension of rule, and far-spreading domination, be the perfect health of a state, of which opinion I am not in any wise (and *Isocrates* doth [541]greatly please me, who instructeth *Nicocles*, not to enuie those Princes, who haue large dominations, but such as can well maintaine and orderly preserue those that haue beene hereditarily escheated vnto them) that of *Rome* was neuer so sound, as when it was most sicke and distempered. The worste of it's forme, was to it the most fortunate. A man can hardly distinguish or know the image of any policy vnder the first Emperors: it was the most horrible and turbulent confusion that could be conceaued, which notwithstanding it endured and therein continued; preseruing, not a Monarchie bounded in hir limites, but so many nations, so different, so distant, so euill affected, so confusedly commanded, and so vniustly conquered.

—*nec gentibus vllis* Lucret. l. 1. 82.  
 Commodat in populum terrae pelagi (que) potentem,  
 Inuidiam fortuna suam.  
 Fortune doth to no other nation lend  
 Enuie, against that people force to bend,  
 Which both by land and sea their force extend.

*All that shaketh doth not fall*: The contexture of so vast a frame houlds by more then one naile. It houlds by it's antiquity: as olde buildings, which age hath robbed of foundation, without loame or morter, and neuerthesse live and subsist by their owne waight,

—*nec iam validis radicibus haerens* Ibid 138.  
 Pondere tuta suo est.  
 Though now to no strong roote it sticke so fast,  
 Yet is it safe by selfe-waight, and will last.

Moreouer he goes not cunningly to worke, that onely suruayes the flankes and dykes: to iudge well of the strength of a place; he must heedily marke how, and view which way it may be approached, and in what state the assailant stand. *Few vessels sinke with their owne waight, and without some extraordinary violence*. Cast wee our eyes about vs, and in a generall suruay consider all the world; all is tottring; all is out of frame. Take a perfect view of all great states both in Christendome and where ever els we haue knowledge-of, and in all places you shall finde a most euident threatning of change and ruine:

Et sua sunt illis incommoda, parque per omnes  
 Tempestas.  
 Their discommodities they knowe:  
 One storme alike ore-all doth grow.

Astrologers may sport themselves, with warning vs, as they doe of imminent alterations and succeeding revolutions: their divinations are present and palpable, wee need not prie into the heavens to finde them out. Wee are not only to draw comfort from this vniversall aggregation of evils and threats; but also some hope for the continuance of our state: forsomuch as naturally *nothing falleth, where all things fall*: a generall disease is a particular health: *Conformitie is a qualitie enemie to dissolution*. As for me, I nothing despaire of it, and me thinks I already perceive some starting holes to save vs by:

Deus haec fortasse benigna Hor epod. 13. 10.  
 Reducet in sedem vice.  
 It may be, God with gracious entercourse  
 Will re-establish these things in their course.

Who knowes, whether God hath determined it shall happen of them, as of bodies that are purged, and by long grieuous sicknesses brought to a better and sounder state; which thorowly purged diseases do afterward yeeld them a more entire and purely-perfect health, then that they tooke from them? That which grieveth me most, is, that coumpting the symptomes or affects of our evill, I see as many meerely proceeding of nature, and such as the heavens send vs, and which may properly be termed theirs, as of those that our owne surfet, or excesse, or misse-diet, or humane indiscretion confer vpon vs. The very Planets seeme orderly to declare vnto vs, that we haue continued long enough, yea and beyond our ordinary limits. This also grieues me, that the neerest evill threatning vs, is not a distemper or alteration in the whole and solide masse, but a dissipation and divulsion of it: the extreamest of our feares. And even in these fantastick humors or dotings of mine, I feare the treason of my memory, least vnwarily it haue made me to register somethings twice. I hate to correct [542]and agnize my selfe, and can never endure but grudgingly to review and repolish what once hath escaped my pen. I heere set downe nothing that is new or lately found out. They are vulgar imaginations; and which peradventure having beene conceived a hundred times, I feare to have already enrolled them. Repetition is ever tedious, were it in *Homer*: But irkesome in things, that have but one superficiall and transitorie shew. I am nothing pleased with inculcation or wresting-in of matters, be it in profitable things, as in *Seneca*. And the maner of his Stoike schoole displeaseth me, which is, about every matter, to repeat at large, and from the beginning to the end, such principles and presuppositions, as serve in generall: and every hand-while to re-allege anew the common arguments, and vniversall reasons. My memorie doth daily grow worse and worse, and is of late much empaired:

Pocula lethaeos vt si duc [...]ntia somnos, Hor. Epod. 14: 3  
 —*Arente fauce traxerim.*  
 As though with drie lips I had drunke that vp,  
 Which drawes oblivions sleepe in drowsie cup.

I shall henceforward be faine (for hitherto thankes be to God, no capitall fault hath hapned) whereas others seeke time and occasion, to premeditate what they have to say, that I avoid to prepare my selfe, for feare I should tie my selfe to some strict bond, on which I must depend. To be bound and tied doth somewhat distract me: namely when I am wholly to relie and depend on so weake an instrument, as is my memorie. I never read this story, but I feele a certaine proper and naturall offence. *Lyncestez* being accused of a conspiracie against *Alexander*, the very same 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 premeditated oration, which he had studiously learn't by rote, whereof, stammering and faltring, hauing vttered some words: And wrestling with his memory, and striving to run-it ouer againe, he was sodainly charged by the soldiers that were about him and slaine with pikes; as they who held him to be conuicted. His amazement and silence, serued them as a confession. For they supposed that hauing had so long leasure in prison to prepare himselfe, it was not (as they thought his memory failed him, but his guilty conscience bridled so his tongue and deprived him of his wonted faculties. It was truly wel spoken. The very place, the company and expectation astonieth a man, when he most aimeth at an ambition of well-speaking. What can a man doe, when a meere oration shall bring his life into consequence? As for mee, if I bee tide vnto a prescript kinde of spenking, what bindes mee to it, doth also loose me from it, when I haue committed and wholly assigned my selfe vnto my memory; I so strongly depend on the same, that I ouerwhelme it: she faints vnder her owne burthen. So much as I refer my selfe vnto her, so much am I diuided from my selfe: vntill I make tryall of my countenance. And I have sometimes beene in paine, in concealing the bondage wherevnto I was engaged: whereas my dessigne, in speaking, to represent a maine carelesnesse of accent and countenance, suddaine and vnpremeditated, or ca [...]ull motions as rising of present occasions; rather loving to say nothing of any worth, then make shew I came provided to speake well: a thing above all

vnseemely, to men of my profession, and of over strict an obligation, to one that cannot hold much: *Preparation gives more to hope, then it brings with it.* A man doth often strip himselfe into his doblet, to leape shorter, then he did in his gowne. *Nihil est his, qui placere volunt, tam adversarium, quam expectati [...]. There is none so great an enemy, to them that would please, as expectation.* It is written of *Curio* the Orator, that when he proposed the distribution of the parts 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 adde one or two more vnto it. I have ever shunned to fall into such an inconvenience: as one hating these selfepromises and prescriptions: Not onely for the distrust of my memory; but also because this forme drawes over neare vnto an artiste. *Simplicior a militares decent. Plaine wordes and manners become Martialists.* Sufficeth, I have now made a vow vnto my selfe, no more to vndertake the charge, to speake in any place of respect: For, to speake in reading what one hath written: besides that it is most foolish and absurde, it is a matter of great disadvantage to such as by nature were interressed or might do any thing in the action. And wholly to rely or cast my selfe to the mercy of my present inuention, much lesse: I have it by nature so dull and troubled, that it cannot in any wise supply me in sudaine, and stead me in important necessities. May it please the gentle reader, to suffer this one part of Essay to runne on, and this third [543]straine or addition of the rest of my pictures peeeces. I adde, but I correct not: First, because he who hath hypothekised or engaged his labour to the world, I finde apparence, that he hath no longer right in the same: let him, if hee be able, speake better els where, and not corrupt the worke he hath already makesale-off; Of such people, a man should buy nothing, but after they are dead: let them throughly thinke on it, before they produce the same. Who hastens them? My booke is alwaies one: except that according as the Printer goes about to renew it, that the buyers depart not altogether empty-handed, I give my selfe law to adde thereto (as it is but vncoherent chocky, or ill joined in-laid-worke) some supernumeral embleme. They are but over-wights, which disgrace not the first forme, but give some particular price vnto every one of the succeeding, by an ambitious pety subtility. Whence notwithstanding, it may easily happen, that some transposition of chronology is thereto commixt: my reportes taking place according to their opportunity, and not ever according to their age. Secondly, forsomuch as in regard of my selfe, I feare to loose by the exchange: My vnderstanding doth not alwayes goe forward, it sometimes goes also backward: I in a manner distrust 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 taxe others vnadvisedly.* I am growne aged by a number of yeares since my first publications, which were in a thousand five hundred and foure score. But I doubt whether I be encreased one inch in wisdom. My selfe now, and my selfe anon, are indeede two; but when better; in good sooth I cannot tell. *It were a goodly thing to be old, if wee did onely march towards amendment.* It is the motion of a drunkard, stumbling, reeling, giddiebrain'd, formeles; or of reedes, which the ayre dooth causually waue to and fro, what way it bloweth. *Antiochus* in his youth, had stoutly and vehemently written in fauor of the Academy; but being olde hee changed copy, and writ as violently against it: which of the two I should follow, should I not ever follow *Antiochus*? Hauing once established a doubt, to attempt to confirme the certainty of humane opinions, were it not an establishing of a doubt, and not of the certainty? and promise, that had he had another age given him with assurance to liue, hee should euer haue bene in termes of new agitations; not so much better, as other and different? Publike fauor hath given me some more bouldnes, then I hoped for: but the thing I feare most, is to breed a glutting sacyety. I would rather spur, then bee weary. As a wiseman of my time hath done. Commendation is ever pleasing, from whom, from whence, or wherefore so ever it come: yet ought a man to be informed of the cause, if he will iustly please and applaud himselfe therewith. Imperfections themselues haue their meanes to be recommended. Vulgar and common estimation, is little happy if it come to encounter: And I am deceiued, if in my dayes, the worst compositions and absurdest bookes have not gained the credit of popular

breath. Verily I am much beholding to diuers honest men, and I thanke them, that vouchsafe to take my endeouours in good parte. There is no place where the deffects 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 those that passe here, either by the fantazie or vnwarinesse of others: for every hand, each workman, brings his owne vnto them. I neither medle with orthography (and would onely have them follow the ancient) nor with curious pointing: I have small experience in either. Where they altogether breake the sence, I little trouble my selfe therewith; for at least they discharge me. But where they will wrest-in and substitute a false sence (as often they doe) and wyre-draw me to their conceits, then they spoile me. Neverthesse, when the sentence is not strong or sinnowie according to my meaning, an honest man may reject it to be mine. Hee that shall know how little laborious I am and how framed after mine owne fashion, will easily beleeeve, I would rather endite anew, as many more other Essayes, then subject my selfe to trace these over againe, for this childish correction. I was saying erewhile, that being plunged in the deepest mine of this new kinde of mettall, I am not onely deprived of great familiarity with men of different custome 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: most of which cannot now adayes empaire their market towarde our justice: whence the extreame degree of licenciousnesse proceedeth. Casting ouer all the particular circumstances that concerne mee, I finde no one man of ours, to whome the inhibition of our lawes costeth any thing, eyther in gaine ceasing, or [544]in losse appearing (as Lawyers say) more then vnto my selfe. And some there bee, that in chollericke heate and humourous fury will cracke and vaunt much, that will performe a great deale lesse then my selfe, if once wee come to an equall ballance. As a house at all times freely open, much frequented, of great haunt and officious in entertaining all sortes of people (for I could never bee induced, to make an implement of warre thereof: which I perceive much more willingly to bee sought-out and flocked vnto, where it is furthest from my neighbours) my house hath merited much popular affection: And it were a hard matter to gourmandize my selfe vpon mine owne dung-hill: And I repute it a wonderfull and exemplar strangenesse, that having vndergone so many stormie-wrackes, so diuers 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 sacking. For, to say true, it was possible for a man of my disposition to escape from a constant and continuall forme, whatsoever it was. But the contrary invasions, hostile incursions, alternations and vicissitudes of fortune, round about me, have hetherto more exasperated, then mollified the humor of the country: and recharge mee with dangers and invincible difficulties. I have escaped. But it greeveth me that it is rather by fortune: yea and by my discretion then by justice: And it vexeth me, to bee without the protection of the lawes and vnder any other safegard, then theirs. As things now stand, I live more then halfe by the favour of others; which is a severe obligation. I would not bee endebted for my safety, neither to the goodnesse, nor to the goodwill of other great men, which applaude themselves with my liberty and legalitie; nor to the facilitie of my predecessours or mine owne manners: for, what if I were other then I am? If my demeanour, the libertie of my conversation, or happily alliance, binde my neighbours: It is a cruelty, that they should acquit themselves of it, in suffering mee to live, and that they may say; wee give him a free and vndisturbed continuation of divine seruice, in the chaple of his house, whilst all other Churches round about him are by vs prophaned and deserted; and wee freely allow and pardon him the fruition of his goods and vse of his life, as hee maintaineth our wiues, and in time of neede keepeth our cattle. It is long since, that in my house, wee have a share in *Lycurgus* the Athenians praise, who was the generall storier, depositary and guardian of his fellow-cittizens 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 loose their life, then be endebted for the same? I shunne to submit my selfe to any manner of



obligation. But about all, to which binds me by duty of bonds of honour. *I finde nothing so deare, as what is given mee: and that because my will remains engaged by a title of ingratitude:* And I more willingly receive such offices, as are to be sold. A thing easy to be believed; for these I give nothing but money; but for those, I give my selfe. The bond that holds me by the lawe of honestie, seemeth to me much more urgent and forcible, then that of civill compulsion. I am more gently tied by a Notarie, then by my selfe. Is it not reason, that my conscience be much more engaged to that, wherein shee hath simple and onely bene trusted? Els, my faith oweth nothing; for shee had nothing lent hir. Let one helpe himselfe with the confidence or assurance hee hath taken from mee. I would much rather breake the prison of a wall or of the lawes, then the bond of my worde. I am nicely scrupulous in keeping of my promises, nay almost superstitious; and in all subjects I commonly passe them vncertaine and conditionall. To such as are of no waighty consequence, I adde force with the jealousie of my rule: shee rackes and chargeth mee with hir owne interest. Yea, in such enterprises as are altogether mine owne and free, if I speake the word, or name the point, mee thinkes I prescribe the same vnto mee: and that to give it to anothers knowledge, it is to preordaine it vnto himselfe. Me seemes I absolutely promise, when I speake. Thus I make but small bragge of my propositions. The condemnation I make of my selfe, is more moving, forcible and severe, then that of the judges, who onely take me by the countenance of common obligation: the constraint of my conscience is more rigorous and more strictly severe: I faintly follow those duties, to which I should be haled, if I did not goe to them. *Hoc ipsum it a iustum est quod rectè fit, si voluntarium. This is so iust, as it is well done, if it be voluntarie.* If the action have no glimps of libertie, Cic. off. 1. 1. it hath neither grace nor honour.

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Quod me ius cogit, vix voluntate impetrent. Ter. Ad. act. 3. sc. 4.  
 What law enforceth me to doe,  
 By will they can scarce winne me to.

Where necessitie drawes mee, I loue to relent my will. *Quia quicquid imperio cogitur, exigenti magis, quam praestanti acceptum refertur. For whatsoever is enforced by command, is more imputed to him that exacteth then in him that performeth.* I know some, that follow this aire, even vnto injustice: They will rather giue, then restore; sooner lend, then pay; and more sparingly doe good to him, to 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 sometimes esteemed as profit, the ingratitude, the offences, and indignities I had received of those, to whom either by nature or accidents, 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 apparent offices with common reason; I notwithstanding finde some sparing in doing that by justice, which I did by affection, and somewhat to ease my selfe with the attention and diligence of my inward will. *Est prudentis sustinere vt cursum, sic impetum* Cic. de. A [...]. *benevolentiae. It is a wisemans part to keepe a hand as on the course, so on the career of his goodwill:* Which where ever I apply my selfe, is in me too urgent and over-pressing: at least for a man that by no meanes would be enthroned. Which husbandrie stands mee in stead of some comfort, about the imperfections of those that touch me. Indeed I am much displeas'd, they should thereby be of lesse worth: but so it is, that I also save something of my engagement and application towards them. I allow of him, that loves his childe so much the lesse, by how much more he is either deformedly crooked, or scald-headed: And not onely when he is knavish or shrewd, but also being vnluckie or ill borne (for God himselfe hath in that abated of his worth and naturall estimation) alwaies provided, that in such a cold and sleight affection, hee beare himselfe with moderation and exact iustice. In mee, proximitie of blood doth nothing diminish, but rather aggravate defects.

After all, according to the skill I have in the knowledge of benefits and thankfulness, which is a knowledge very subtil and of great vse, I see no man more free and lesse indebted, then hitherto I am my selfe. What ever I owe, the same I owe simply to common and naturall obligations. There is no man more absolutely quit and cleare else whence.

—*nec sunt mihi nota potentum*

Munera.

With gifts I am not much acquainted,  
Of mighty men, and much lesse tainted.

*Princes give mee 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 beholding to God, forso much as it hath pleased him, that whatsoever I enjoy, I have immediately received the same from his grace: that he hath particularly reserved all my debt vnto himselfe. I most instantly beseech his sacred mercy, that I may never owe any man so much as one essentiall God-mercies. Oh thrise fortunate libertie, that hath brought me so farre. May it end successefully. I endeavour to have no manner of need of any man. *In me omnis spes est mihi. All my hope for all my helpe is my selfe.* It is a thing that every man may effect in himselfe: but they more easily, whom God hath protected and sheltred from naturall and vrgent necessities. Indeed it is both lamentable and dangerous, to depend of others. Our selves, which is the safest and most lawfull refuge, are not very sure vnder our selves. I have nothing that is mine owne, but my selfe: yet is the possession thereof partly defective and borrowed. I manure my selfe, both in courage (which is the stronger) and also in fortune, that if all things else should forsake me, I might finde something, wherewith to please and satisfie my selfe. *Eleus Hippias* did not onely store himselfe with learning, that in time of need hee might ioifully withdraw himselfe amongst the Muses, and be sequestred from all other company: nor onely with the knowledge of Philosophie, to teach his minde to be contented with her, and when his chance should so dispose of him, manfully to passe over such incommodities, as exteriorlie might come vnto him. But moreover he was so curious in learning to dresse his meat, to notte his haire, to make his clothes, breeches and shoes, that as much as could possibly be, he might wholly relie & trust to himselfe, & be freed from all sorraine helpe. A man doth more freely and more blithely enjoy borrowed goods: when it is not a bounden iouissance and [546]constrained through neede: and that a man hath in his will the power, and in his fortune the meanes to live without them. I know my selfe well. But it is very hard for mee to imagine any liberalitie of another body so pure towards me, or suppose any hospitalitie so free. so hartie and genuine, as would not seeme affected, tyrannicall, disgraced and attended on by reproach, if so were that necessitie had forced and tied me vnto it. *As to give is an ambitious qualitie, and of prerogative, so is taking a qualitie of submission.* Witnes the injurious and pickthanke refusall, that *Baiazeth* made of the presents which *Themir* had sent him. And those which in the behalfe of *Soliman* the Emperour were sent to the Emperour of *Calicut*, did so vex him at the hart, that hee did not onely vtterly 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 caused the Ambassadors, to that end sent vnto him, to be cast into a deepe dungeon. When *Thetis* (saith *Aristotle*) flattereth *Iupiter*: when the Lacedemonians flatter the Athenians, they doe not thereby intend to put them in minde of the good they have done them, which is ever hatefull, but of the benefits they have received of them. Those I see familiarly to employ and make vse of all men, to begge and borrow of all men, and engage themselves to all men, would doubtlesse never doe it, knew they as I doe, or tasted they as I have done, the sweete content of a pure and vndepending libertie: and if therewithall (as a wiseman ought) they did duly ponder what it is for a man to engage himselfe into such an obligation, or libertie depriving bond. It may happily be paide sometimes, But it can never be vtterly dissolved. It is a cruell bondage, to him that loveth, throughly and by all meanes to have the free scope of his libertie. Such as are best and most

acquainted with mee, know, whether ever they saw any man living, lesse soliciting, lesse craving, lesse inportuning or lesse begging, then I am, or that lesse employeth or chargeth others, which if I be, and that beyond all moderne example, it is no great wonder, sithence so many parts of my humours or manners contribute thereunto. As a naturall kinde of stubbornesse; an impatience to be denied; a contraction of my desires and desseignes; and an insufficiencie or vntowardlinesse in all manner of affaires; but aboue all, my most faoured qualities, lethall sloathfulnesse, and a genuine liberty. 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 selfe. True it is, that before I employ the beneficence or liberalitie of an other, in any light or waighty occasion, small or vrgent neede soever: I doe to the vtmost power employ all that ever I am able, to auoide and forbear it. My friends doe strangelie importune and molest me, when they sollicite and vrge mee to entreate a third man. And I deeme it a matter of no lesse charge and imputation, to disingage him that is endedted vnto mee, by making vse of him, then to engage my selfe vnto him that oweth mee nothing. Both which conditions being removed, let them not looke for any combersome, negotious and carefull matter at my hands (for I have denounced open warre vnto all manner of carke and care) I am commodiously easie and ready in times of any bodies necessitie. And I have also more avoyded to receave, then sought to giue: which (as *Aristotle* saith) is also more facile. My fortune hath afforded me small meanes to benefit others and that little she hath bestowed on me, the same hath shee also meanelly and indifferently placed. Had shee made mee to bee so borne that I might have kept some ranke amongst men, I would then have beene ambitious in procuring to bee beloved, but never to bee feared or admired. Shall I expresse it more insolentlie? I would have had as much regarde vnto pleasing, as vnto profiting. *Cyrus* doth most wiselye, and by the mouth of an excellent Captaine and also a better Philosopher, esteeme his bountie and prise his good deedes, farre beyonde his valour and aboue his warlike conquests. And *Scipio* the elder, wheresoever hee seeketh to prevaile and set forth himselfe, rateth his debonairitie and valueth his humanitie above his courage and beyond his victories: and hath ever this glorious saying in his mouth: *That hee 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 law of this miserable warre dooth engage me; and not of so great a debt, as that of my totall preservation and whole estate: which dooth vnreparable over-whelme mee. I have a thousand times gone to bedde in mine house, imagining I should the very same night, either have beene betrayed or slaine in my bedde: [547]compounding and conditioning with fortune, that it might be without apprehension of fearefull astonishment and languishment; And after my praiers, have cried out,

Impius haec tam culta novalia miles habebit?  
 Shall these our grounds so deckt and drest, Virg. eclo. 1. 11.  
 By godlesse souldiers be possesst?

What remedie? It is the place where my selfe and most of my ancestors were borne: therein have they placed their affection and their name. *Wee harden our selves vnto whatsoever we accustome our selves.* And to a wretched condition, as ours is, custome hath beene a most favourable present, given vs by nature, which enureth and lulleth our sense asleepe, to the suffring of divers evils. Civill warres have this one thing worse then other warres, to cause every one of vs to make a watch-tower of his owne house.

Quàm miserum, porta vitam muro (que) tueri, O [...]id. Trist. l. 4. el. 1. 69.  
 Vixque suae tutum viribus esse domus!  
 How hard with gate and wall our life to gard,  
 And scarce be safe in our owne houses bard

It is an irkesome extremitie, for one to be troubled and pressed even in his owne houshold and domesticall rest. The place wherein I dwell, is ever both the first and last to the batterie of our troubles: and where peace is never absolutely discerned,

Tum quoque cùm pax est, trepidant formidine belli. Lucan. l. 1. 256  
Ev'n when in peace they are,  
They quake for feare of warre.  
—*quoties pacem fortuna lacessit*, Ibid. 252.  
Hac iter est bellis, melius fortuna dedisses  
Orbe sub Eoo sedem, gelida (que) sub Arcto,  
Errantes (que) domos.  
As oft as fortune troubleth peace, their race  
Warres makes this way: fortune with better grace,  
In th'Easterne world thou shouldst have giv'n them place,  
Or wandring tents for warre, vnder the cold North-starre.

I sometimes draw the meanes to strengthen my selfe against these considerations, from carelesnesse and idlenesse: which also in some sort bring vs vnto resolution. It often befulleth me, with some pleasure, to imagine what mortall dangers are, and to expect them. I do even hood-winkt, with my head in my bosome and with stupiditie, plunge my selfe into death, without considering or knowing it, as into a deepe, hollow and bottomlesse abysses, which at one leape doth swallow me vp, and at an instant doth cast me into an eternall slumber, full of insipiditie and indolencie. And in these short, sudden or violent deaths, the consequence I fore-see of them, affords me more comfort, then the effect of feare. They say, that *even an 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 shrowd my selfe in that storme, which shall blinde and furioosly wrap me, with a ready and insensible charge. Vea if it hapned (as some gardners say) that those Roses and Violets are ever the sweeter and more odoriferous, that grow neere vnto Garlike and Onions, forsomuch as they sucke and draw all the ill savours of the ground vnto them: so that these depraved natures would draw and sucke all the venome of mine aire, and infection of my climate; and by their neerenesse vnto me, make me so much the better and purer; that I might not lose all. That is not; but of this, something may be, forsomuch as goodnesse is the fairer and more attracting when it is rare, and that contrarietie stifneth, and diversitie encloseth well-doing in it selfe, and by the jealousie of opposition and glory, it doth inflame it. Theeves and stealers (godamercie their kindnesse) have in particular nothing to say to mee: no more have I to them. I should then have to do with over-many sorts of men. *Alike consciences lurke vnder diver [...] kinds of garments: Alike crueltie, disloialtie and stealing*. And so much the worse, by how much it is more base, more safe and more secret vnder the colour of lawes. I hate lesse an open-professed iniurie, then a deceiving traitrous wrong; an hostile and war-like, then a peacefull and lawfull. Our feaver hath seased vpon a body, which it hath not much empaired. The fire was in it, but now the flame hath taken hold of it. The report is greater; the hurt but little. I ordinarily answer such as demand reasons for my voiages: That *I know what I shunne, [548] but w [...]t not what I seeke*. If one tell mee, there may bee as little sound health amongst strangers, and that their manners are neither better nor purer, then ours: I answer first that it is very hard:

Tam multa scelerum facies. Virg. Georg. l. 1. 506.  
The formes so manifold  
Of wickednesse we hold.

Secondly, that *it is ever a gaine, to change a bad estate for an vncertaine*. And that others evils, should not touch vs so neere as ours. I will not forget this, that I can never mutinie so much against *France*, but I must needs looke on *Paris* with a favourable eye: It hath my hart from my infancy: whereof it hath befallne me as of excellent things: the more other faire and

stately citties I have seene since, the more hir beauty hath power and doth still vsurpingly gaine vpon my affection. I love that Cittie for hir owne sake, and more in hir onely subsisting and owne being, then when it is full-fraught and embellished with forraine pompe and borrowed garish ornaments: I love hir so tenderly, that even hir spots, hir blemishes and hir warts are deare vnto me. I am no perfect French-men, but by this great-matchlesse Cittie, great in people, great in regard of the felicitie of hir situation; but above all, great and incomparable in varietie and diversitie of commodities: The glory of *France*, and one of the noblest and chiefe ornaments of the world. God of his mercy free hir, and chase away all our divisions from hir: Being entirely vnited to hir selfe, I finde hir defended from all other violence. I forewarne hir, that of all factions, that shall bee the worst, which shall breed discord and sedition in hir. And for hir sake, I onely feare hir selfe. And surely, I am in as great feare for hir, as for any other part of our state. So long as she shall continue, so long shall I never want a home or retreat, to retire and shrowd my selfe at all times: a thing able to make me for get the regret of all other retreates. Not because *Socrates* hath said it, but because such is in truth my humour, and peradventure not without some excuse, to esteeme all men as my country-men; and as I kindly embrace a Polonian as a Frenchman; postposing this naturall bond, to vniversall and common. I am not greatly stricken with the pleasantnesse of naturall aire. Acquaintances altogether new and wholly mine, doe in my conceit countervaille the woorth of all other vulgar and casuall acquaintances of our neighbours. Friendships meereely acquired by our selves, doe ordinarily exceed those, to which wee are joyned, either by communication of Climate, or affinity of blood. Nature hath plac't vs in the world free and vnbound, wee emprison our selves into certaine streights: As the kings of *Perfia* ■ who bound themselves never to drinke other water, then of the river *Choaspez*; foolishly renouncing all lawfull righ of vse in all other waters: and for their regard dried vp all the rest of the world. What *Socrates* did in his latter dayes, to deeme a sentence of banishment worse, then a doome of death against himselfe, being of the minde I am now, I shall never be neither so base minded, nor so strictly habituated in my country, that I would follow him. The celestiall lives, have divers images, which I embrace more by estimation, then by affection. And some to extraordinary, and so highly elevated, which because I am not able to conceive, I cannot embrace by estimation. This humor was very tenderly appehended by him, who deemed all the world to be his City. True it is, he disdained peregrinations, and had not much set his foote beyond the territory of *Athens*. What, if he bewailed the mony his friend offred to lay out, to disingage his life, and refused to come out of prison, by the intercession of others, because he would not disobey the lawes, in a time wherin they were otherwise so corrupted? These examples are of the first kind for me Of the second there are others, which I could find in the very same man. Many of these rare examples exceed the power of my action; but some exceed also the force of my judgement. Besides these reasons, *I deem travell to be a profitable exercise. The minde hath therein a continuall exercitation, to marke things vnknowne, and note new obiects.* And as I have often said, *I know no better schoole, to fashion a mans life, then vncessantly to propose vnto him the diversity of so many other mens lives, customes, humors and fantazies; and make him taste or apprehend one so perpetuall variety of our natures shapes or formes. Therein the body is neither absolutely idle nor wholly troubled: and, that moderate agitation doth put him into breath.* My selfe, as crazed with the chollicke as I am, can sit eight, yea sometimes ten houres on horse-backe, without wearinesse or tiring.

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Uires ultra sortemque senectae. Virg. Aen. l. 6. 114.  
 Beyond strength ordinary,  
 Which old yeeres vse to cary.

No weather is to me so contrary, as the scorching heat of the parching Sunne. For, these *Umbrels* or riding canopies, which since the ancient Romans, the Italians vse, doe more weary the armes, then ease the head. I would faine-faine know what industry it was in the Persians, so anciently, and even in the infancie of luxuriousnesse (as *Xenoph [...]n* reporteth) to fanne themselves, and at their pleasures to make cold shades. I love rainy and durty weather, as duckes doe. The change either of aire or climate doth nothing distemper mee. All heavens are alike to me, I am never vexed or beaten, but with internall alterations, such as I produce my selfe, which surprise and possesse me least in times of way-fairing. It is a hard matter to make mee resolve of any iourney: but if I be once on the way, I hold out as long and as farre, as another. I strive as much in small, as I labour in great enterprises: and to prepare my selfe for a short journey or to visit a friend, as to vndertake a farre-set voiage. I have learn't to frame my journies after the Spanish fashion, all at once and out-right; great and reasonable. And in extreme heats, I travell by night, from Sunne-set to Sunne-rising. The other fashion, confusedly and in haste to bait by the way and dine, especially in Winter, when the daies are so short, is both troublesome for man, and incommodious for horse. My Iades are the better, and hold out longer. No horse did ever faile me, that held out the first daies iourney with me. I water them in all waters; and onely take care of their last watering, that before I come to mine Inne they have way enough to beat their water. My slothfulnesse to rise in the morning, alloweth such as follow mee sufficient leasure to dine, before wee take horse. As for me, I never feed over-late: I commonly get an appetite in eating, and no otherwise: I am never hungry but at the table. Some complaine, that being married, and well stricken in yeeres, I have enured my selfe, and beene pleased to continue this exercise. They doe me wrong: The best time for a man to leave his house, is when hee hath so ordered and settled the same, that it may continue without him: and when he hath so disposed his affaires, that they may answer the ancient course and wonted forme. It is much more indiscretion, and an argument of want of judgement, to goe from home, and leave no trustie guard in his house, and which for lacke of care may be slow or forgetfull in providing for such necessities, as in your absence it may stand in need of. *The most profitable knowledge, and honourablest occupation for a matron or mother of a familie, is the occupation and knowledge of huswiferie. I see divers covetous, but few huswives.* It is the mistresse-qualitie that all men should seeke after, and above all other endeavour to finde: as the only dowry, that serveth, either to ruine and overthrow, or to save and enrich our houses. Let no man speake to me of it; according as experience hath taught me, I require in a married woman the Oeconomicall vertue above all others. Wherein I would have her absolutely skilfull, since by my absence I commit the whole charge, and bequeath the full government of my houshold to her.

I see (and that to my grieffe) in divers houses the master or goodman come home at noone all weary, durty and dusty, with drudging and toiling about his businesse, when the mistresse or good-wife is either scarce vp, or if shee bee, shee is yet in her closet, dressing, decking, smuggling or trimming of her selfe. It is a thing onely fitting Queenes or Princes; whereof some doubt might be made. *It is ridiculous that the idlenesse, and vniust that the lithernesse of our wives should be fostered with our sweat, and maintained by our travell:* No man (as neere as I can) shall fortune to have a more free and more absolute vse, or a more quiet and more liquid fruition of his goods, then I have. *If the husband bring matter; nature her selfe would have women to bring forme.* Concerning duties of wedlocke-friendship, which some happily imagine to be interested or preiudiced by the husbands absence, I beleeeve it not. Contrariwise, it is a kinde of intelligence, that easily growes cold by an over-continuall assistance, and decaieth by assiduitie; for, *to stand still at racke and manger breedeth a satietie.* Every strange woman seemeth to vs an honest woman: And all feele by experience, that a continuall seeing one another, cannot possibly represent the pleasure, men take by parting and meeting againe. These interruptions fill mee with a new kinde of affection, toward mine owne people, and yeeld me the vse [550] of my house more pleasing: vicissitude

doth now and then en-earnest my minde toward one, and then toward another. I am not ignorant how *true amitie hath armes long enough, to embrace, to claspe and hold from one corner of the world Unto another*: namely in this, where is a continuall communication of offices, that cause the obligation, and revive the remembrance thereof. The Stoickes say, that there is so great an affinitie and mutuall relation, betweene wise men, that he who dineth in *France*, feedeth his companion in *Aegypt*; and if one of them doe but hold vp his finger, where ever it bee, all the wise men dispersed vpon the habitable land, feele a kinde of aid thereby. *Io Dissance and possession, appertaine chiefly Unto imagination*. It embraceth more earnestly and vncessantly what she goeth to fetch, then what wee touch. Summon and count all your daily ammusements; and you shall finde, you are then furthest and most absent from your friend, when hee is present with you. His assistance releaseth your attention, and giveth your thoughts libertie, at all times and vpon every occasion, to absent themselves. If I be at *Rome*, or any where else, I hold, I surway and governe my house and the commodities, which I have left about and in it. I even see my walles, my trees, my grasse and my rents, to stand, to grow, to decay and to diminish, within an inch or two of that I should doe when I am at home.

Ante oculos errat domus, errat forma locorum.  
 My house is still before mine eies,  
 There still the forme of places lies.

If we but onely enjoy what we touch, farewell our crownes when they are in our coafers, and adiew to our children, when they are abroad or a hunting; we would have them neerer. In the garden is it farre off? within halfe a daies iourney? What, within ten leagues, is it farre or neere? If it be neere: what is eleven, twelve, or thirteene? and so step by step. Verily that woman who can prescribe vnto her husband, how many steps end that which is neere, and which step in number begins the distance she counts farre, I am of opinion, that she stay him betweene both.

—*excludat iurgia finis*. Hor. 1. 2. epist. 1. 38.  
 Let the conclusion, Exclude confusion.  
 Utor permissio, caudaeque pilos vt equinae  
 Paulatim vello: & demo vnum, demo etiam vnum  
 Dum cadat elusus ratione ruentis acervi.  
 Ivse the grant, and plucke by one and one Ibid. 45.  
 The horse-taile haire, till when the bush is gone,  
 I leave the Iade a curtall taile or none.

And let them boldly call for Philophie to helpe them. To whom some might reproach, since she neither discerneth the one nor other end of the joynt, betweene the ouermuch and the little; the long and the short; the light and the heauie, the neare and the farre; since she neither knowes the beginning nor ending thereof, that she doth very vncertainly judge of the middle. *Rerum natur a nullam nobis dedit cognitionem finium: Nature hath affoorded vs no knowledge of hir endes*. Are they not yet wives and friendes of the deceased, that are not at the end of this, but in the other world? wee embrace both those that haue beene, and those which are not yet, not onely the absent. We did not condition, when wee were married, continually to keepe our selues close hugging one another, as some, I wot not what little creatures doe, we see daily; or as those bewitched people of *Karenti*, in a kinde of dogged manner. And *a woman should not haue hir eyes so greedily or so dotingly fixed on hir husbands fore-part, that if neede shall require, she may not view his hinder-partes*. But might not the saying of that cunning Painter, who could so excellently set foorth their humours and pourtray their conditions, fitly bee placed heere, liuely to represent the cause of their complaints?

Uxor, si cesses, aut te amare cogitat, Ter. Adelph. act. 1. s [...]. 1.  
 Aut tete amari, aut potare, aut animo obsequi,  
 Et tibi bene esse soli, cum sibi sit malè.  
 If you be slow, your wife thinks that in loue you are,  
 Or are below'd, or drinke, or all for pleasure care,  
 And that you onely fare-well, when she ill doth fare.

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Or might it be, that opposition and contradiction doe naturally entertaine, and of themselves nourish them: and that they are sufficiently accomodated, provided they disturbe and incommode 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 draw him vnto me. I doe not onely 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, then his presence: and *that may not properly be termed absence, where meanes and waies may be found to enter-advertise one another.* I have heeretofore made good vse, and reaped commoditie by our absence and distance. Wee better replenished the benefit, and extended further the possession of life, by being divided and farre-asunder: He lived, he reioiced, and he saw for mee, 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 insatiate and greedie desire of corporall presence, doth somewhat accuse the weakenesse in the iovissance of soules.* Concerning age, which some allege against me, it is cleane contrary. It is for youth, to subject and bondage it selfe to common opinions, and by force to constraine it selfe for others. It may fit the turne of both; the people and it selfe: *Wee have but overmuch to doe with our selves alone.* According as naturall commodities faile vs, let vs sustaine our selves by artificiall meanes. It is injustice, to excuse youth in following her pleasures, and forbid age to devise and seeke them. When I was yong, I concealed my wanton and covered my youthfull passions, with wit; and now being aged, I endeavour to passe the sadde and incident to yeeres, with sport and debauches. Yet doe *Platoes* lawes forbid men to travell abroad, before they are forty or fifty yeeres of age, that so their travell may sort more profitable, and proove more instructive. I should more willingly consent to this other second article of the said lawes, which forbiddeth men to wander abroad, after they are once threescore. Of which age, few that travell farre-journies returne home againe. What care I for that? I vndertake it not, either to returne or to perfect the same. I onely vndertake it to be in motion: So long as the motion pleaseth me, and *I walke that I may walke. Those runne not, that runne after a Benefice or after a Hare: But they runne, that runne at barriers and to exercise their running.* My de [...]scigne is every where divisible, it is not grounded on great hopes: each day makes an end of it. Even so is my lifes voiage directed. Yet have I seene divers farre-countries, where I would have beene glad to have beene staid. Why not? If *Chrysippus, Diogenes, Cleanthes, Antipater* and *Zeno*, with so many other wise men of that roughly-severe, and severely-strict Sect, forsooke their Countries (without iust cause to bee offended with them) onely to enjoy another aire? Truly the greatest grieffe 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 lesse at my ease, farre from mine owne people: I would hardly goe out of *France*, nay I should scarcely goe out of mine owne parish, without feeling some dismay. I feele death ever pinching me by the throat, or pulling me by the backe: But I am of another mould; to me it is ever one, and at all times the same. Neverthesse if I were to chuse, I thinke it should rather be on horsebacke, than in a bed; from my home, and farre from my friends. There is more hartssorrow, than comfort, in taking ones last farewell of his friends. I doe easily forget or neglect these duties or



complements of our common or civill courtesie. For, of Offices appertaining to vnaffected  
 amitie, the same is the most displeasing and offensive: And I should as willingly forget to  
 give a body that great adiew, or eternall farewell. If a body reape any commoditie by this  
 assistance, hee also findes infinite inconveniences in it. I have seene divers die most  
 piteously, compassed and beset round with their friends and servants: Such multitudes, and  
 thronging of people doth stifle them. It is against reason, and a testimony of smal affection,  
 and little care they have of you should die at rest. One offendeth your eies, another molesteth  
 your eares, the third vexeth your mouth: You have neither sense nor limme, or parte of your  
 body, but is tormented and grieved. Your hart is ready to burst for pittie to heare your friends  
 moanes and complaints; and to rive asunder with spite to heare peradventure some of their  
 wailings and moans, that are but fained and counterfet. If a man [552] have ever had a milde  
 or tender nature, being weake and ready to die, he must then necessarily have it more tender  
 and relenting. It is most requisite, that in so vrgent a necessitie, one have a gentle hand and  
 fitly applied to his sences, to scratch him where he itcheth; or else he ought not be clawed at  
 all. *If wee must needs have the helpe of a Midwife, to bring vs into this world, there is reason  
 we should also have the aiding-hand of a wise man, to deliver vs out of the same.* Such a one,  
 and there with all a true friend, should a man before-hand purchase very deare, only for the  
 service of such an occasion. I am not yet come to that disdainfull vigor, which so fortifieth it  
 selfe, that at such times nothing aideth, nor nothing troubleth: I flie a lower pitch. I seeke to  
 squat my selfe, and steale from that passage: not by feare, but by Art. My intent is not in such  
 an action, to make either triall or shew of my constancie. Wherefore? Because, then shall the  
 right and interest I have in reputation cease. I am content with a death vnited in it selfe, quiet  
 and solitarie, wholly mine, convenient to my retired and private life. Cleane contrary to the  
 Roman superstition, where hee was judged vnhappy, that died without speaking, and had not  
 his neerest friends to close his eies. I have much adoe to comfort my selfe, without being  
 troubled to comfort others: cares and vexations [...] now in my minde, without needing  
 circumstances 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 amongst our friends, but die and yeeld vp the ghost amongst  
 strangers, and such as wee know not. *Hee who hath money in his purse, shall ever finde some  
 ready to turne his head, make his bedde, rubbe his feet, attend him, and that will trouble and  
 importune him no longer than hee list:* and will ever shew him an indifferent and well-  
 composed countenance, and without grumbling or grudging give a man leave to doe what he  
 please, and complaine as he list. I daily endeavour by discourse to shake off this childish  
 humour and inhumane conceit, which causeth, that by our griefes and paines we ever desire  
 to moove our friends to compassion and sorrow for vs, and with a kinde of sympathie to  
 condole our miseries and passions. We endear our inconveniences beyond measure, to  
 extract teares from them: And the constancie we so much commend in all others,  
 vndauntedly to endure all evill fortunes; we accuse and vpbraide to our neerest allies, when  
 they molest vs: we are not contented they should have a sensible feeling of our calamities, if  
 they doe not also afflict themselves for them. A man should as much as he can set foorth and  
 extend his joy; but to the vtmost of his power, suppress and abridge his sorrow. He that will  
 causelesly be moaned, and sans reason, deserveth not to be pitied when he shall have cause  
 and reason for it. *To be ever complaining and alwaies moaning, is the way never to be  
 moaned and seldome to be pitied: and so often to seeme over-passionately-pitifull, is the  
 meane to make no man feelingly-ruthfull towards others. He that makes himselfe dead being  
 alive, is subiect to be accounted alive when he is dying.* I have seene some take pepper in the  
 nose, forsomuch as they were told that they had a cheerefull countenance; that they looked  
 well; that they had a temperate pulse: to force laughter, because some betrayed their  
 recoverie: and hate their health, because it was not regrettable. And which is more, they were  
 no women. I for the most, represent my infirmitie such as they are: And shunne such words  
 as are of evill presage, and avoid composed exclamations. If not glee and mirth, at least an

orderly settled countenance of the by-standers and assistants, is sufficiently convenient to a wise and discreet sick-man, who though he see himselfe in a contrary state, he will not picke a quarrell with health. He is pleased to behold the same, sound and strong in others; and at least for company-sake to enjoy his part of it. Though he feele and finde himselfe to faint and sinke downe, he doth not altogether reject the conceits and imaginations of life, nor doth he avoid common entertainments. I will studie sicknesse when I am in health: when it comes, it will really enough make her impression, without the helpe of my imagination. We deliberately prepare our selves before hand for any voiage we vndertake, and therein are resolved: the houre is set when we will take horse, and we give it to our company, in whose favour we extend it. I finde this vnexpected profit by the publication of my maners, that in some sort it serveth 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 selfe within my course, and not to contradict the image of my conditions: commonly lesse disfigured and gaine-said, then the malignitie and infirmitie of moderne judgements doth beare. The vniformitie and singlenesse of my maners, produceth a visage of easie interpretation; but because the fashion [553] of them is somewhat new and strange, and out of vse, it giveth detraction to faire play. Yet is it true, that to him, who will goe about loyally to iniure me, he thinks I doe sufficiently affoord him matter, whereby he may detract and snarle at my avowed and knowen imperfections, and wherewith hee may be satisfied, without vaine contending and idle skirmishing. If my selfe by preoccupating his discovery and accusation, hee thinks I barre him of his snarling, it is good reason hee take his right, towards amplification and extension: Offence hath her rights beyond justice: And that the vices, whereof I shew him the rootes in mee, he should amplifie them to trees. Let him not onely employ there unto those that possesse mee, but those which but threaten mee. Injurious vices, both in qualitie and in number. Let him beate mee that way. I should willingly embrace the example of *Dion* the Philosopher. *Antigonus* going about to scoffe and quip at him touching his birth and off-spring, he interrupted him and tooke the word out of his mouth: I am (said hee) the sonne of a bondslave, a butcher, branded for a rogue, and of a whoore, whom my father by reason of his base fortune, tooke to wife: Both were punished for some misdeede. Being a childe, an Orator bought me as a slave, liking me for my beautie and comelinesse; and dying, left mee all his goods; which having transported into this citie of *Athens*, I have applied my selfe vnto Philosophie. Let not Historians busie themselves in seeking newes of mee. I will at large blaz on my selfe, and plainely tell them the whole discourse. *A generous and free-minded confession doth disable a reproch and disarm an iniurie*. So it is, that when all Cards be told, me seemes, that I am as oft commended as dispraised beyond reason. As also me thinks, that even from my infancie, both in ranke and degree of honour, I have had place given mee, rather above and more, than lesse and beneath that which appertained to mee. I should better like to be in a countrie, where these orders might either be reformed or contemned. Amongst men, after that striving or altercation for the prerogative or vpper hand in going or sitting, exceedeth three replies, it becommeth incivill. I neither feare to yeeld and give place, nor to follow and proceed vnjustly, so I may avoid such irkesome and importunate contestations. And never did man desire precedencie 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 honest man, he would before my death seeke to be acquainted with me, or to overtake mee. I have given him much ground: For, whatsoever a long acquaintance or continuall familiarity might have gained him in many wearisome yeares, the same hath hee in three dayes fully seene in this Register; and that more safely and more exactly. A pleasant fantazie is this of mine; many things I would bee loath to tell a particular man, I vtter to the whole world. And concerning my most secret thoughts and inward knowledge, I send my dearest friends to a Stationers shop.

Excutienda damus praecordia. Pers. sat. 5. 22.  
Our very entrailles wee  
Lay foorth for you to see.

If by so good markes and tokens, I had ever knowen or heard of any one man, that in this humour had beene answerable to mee, I would assuredly have wandred very farre to finde him out: For, the exceeding joy of a sortable and in one consent agreeing company, cannot (in mine opinion) be sufficiently endeared or purchased at too high a rate. *Oh God! who can expresse the value or conceive the true worth of a friend?* How true is that ancient golden saying, that *the vse of a friend is more necessary and pleasing, then 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. Wee esteeme it a part of duty and decencie to withdraw our selves for naturall actions, lesse hideous and lesse disgracefull then this. But also those that come vnto that, in languishing manner to draw a long space of life, should not happily wish 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 though it meete to forsake him, and as well as hee could leave him alone to seeke to save himselfe. To whom at last, proove they not themselves tedious and intolerable? Common offices proceed not so farre. Perforce you teach crueltie vnto your best friends; obdurating by long vse, both wife and children, not to feele, nor to conceive, nor to moane your evils any longer. The groanes and out-cries of my chollike, cause no [554]more ruth and wailing in any body. And should we conceive pleasure by their conversation (which seldome hapneth, by reason of the disparitie of conditions, which easily produceth either contempt or envy towards what man soever) is it not too-too much, therewith to abuse a whole age? The more I should see them with a good heart to straine themselves for me, the more should I bewaile their paine. *The law of curtesie alloweth vs to leane vpon others, but not so vnmanerly to lie vpon them and vnderpropt our selves in their ruine*. As hee 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 yoong teudrels or lasses, to keepe his old-frozen limbs warme a nights, and entermix the sweetnesse of their breath with his old-stinking and offensive vapours. Decrepitude is a solitary qualitie. I am sociable even vnto excesse, yet doe I thinke it reasonable, at last to substract my opportunity from the sight of the world, and hatch it in my selfe. Let me shrowd and shrugge my selfe into my shell, as a tortoise: and learne to see men, without taking hold of them. I should outrage them in so steepe a passage. It is now high time to turne from the company. But heere will somesay, that in thesefarre journies you may peradventure fall into some miserable dog-hole or poore cottage, where you shall want all needfull things. To whom I answer, that for things most necessary insuch cases, I ever carry most of them with me: And that, *where-ever wee are, wee cannot possibly avoid fortune, if she once take vpon her to persecute vs*. When I am sicke, I want nothing that is extraordinarie: what nature cannot worke in me, I will not have a Bolus, or a glistre to effect. At the very beginning of my agues or sicknesses that cast me downe, whilst I am yet whole in my senses and neere vnto health, I reconcile my selfe to God by the last duties of a Christian; whereby I finde my selfe free and discharged; and thinke I have so much more reason and authoritie over my sicknesse, I finde lesse want of Notaries and counsell, then of Physitions. What I have not disposed of my affaires or settled of my state when I was in perfect health, let none expect I should doe it beeing sicke. Whatever I will 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 say, that either some doubt hath delaide the choise: For, *sometimes it is a good choise, not to chuse at all*: Or that absolutely I never intended to doe any thing. I write my booke to few men, and to few yeares. Had it beene a matter of lasting continuance, it should have beene compiled in a better and more polished language: According to the continuall variation, that hitherto hath followed our French tongue. Who may hope, that it's present forme shall be in vse fifty yeares hence? It dayly changeth and slips our hands: and

since I could speake the same, it is much altdred and well nigh halfe varied. We say it is now come to a full perfection. There is no age but saith as much of hirs. It lies not in my power, so long as it glideth and differeth and altereth as it doth, to keepe it at a stay. It is for excellent and profitable compositions to fasten it vnto them, whose credit shall either diminish or encrease, according to the fortune of our state. For all that, I feare not to insert therein divers private articles, whose vse is consumed amongst men living now adayes: and which concerne the particular knowledge of some, that shall further see into it, then with a common vnderstanding. When all is done, I would not (as I often see the memory of the deceased tossed too and fro) that men should descant and argue: *Thus and thus be iudged; thus he lived; thus he ment: had he spoken when his life left him, he would have given I wot what: There is no man knew him better then my selfe.* Now, as much as modestie and decorum doth permit me; I heere give a taste of my inclinations and an essay of my affection: which I doe more freely and more willingly by word of mouth, to any that shall desire to be thoroughly informed of them. But so it is, that if any man shall looke into these memorialls, he shall finde, that either I have said all, or desseigned all. What I cannot expresse, the same I point at with my finger.

Verum animo satis haec vestigia parva sagaci Lutt. lib. 1. 4. 19.

Sunt, per quae possis cognoscere cateratnte.

But this small footing to a quicke-sent minde

May serve, whereby safely the rest to finde.

I leave nothing to bee desired or divined of mee. If one must entertaine himselfe with them, I would have it to be truely and justly. 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 honour mee. I see that *of the living, men never speake according to truth; and they are ever made to [555] he, what they are not.* And if with might and maine, I had not vpheld a friend of mine whom I have lately lost, he had surely been mangled and torne in a thousand contrrary shapes. But to make an end of my weake humours: I confesse, that in travelling I seldome alight in any place or come to any Inne, but first of all I cast in my minde whether I may conveniently lie there, if I should chance to fall sicke; or dying, die at my ease and take my death quietly. I will, as neere as I can be lodged in some convenient part of the house, and in particular from all noise or stinking favours; in no close, filthy or smoaky chamber. I seeke to flatter death by these frivolous circumstances: Or as I may rather say, to discharge my selfe from all other trouble or encombrance; that so I may wholly apply and attend her, who without that shall happily lie very heavy vpon me. I will have her take a full share of my lives eases and commodities; it is a great part of it and of much consequence, and I hope it shall not belie what is past. Death hath some formes more easie then others, and assumeth divers qualities; according to all mens fantazies. Among the naturall ones, that proceeding of weaknesse and heavy dulnesse, to me seemeth gentle and pleasant. Among the violent I imagine a precipice more hardly, then a ruine that overwhelmes me: and a cutting blow with a sword, then a shot of an harquebuse: and I would rather have chosen to drinke the potion of *Socrates*, then wound my selfe as *Cato* did. And though it bee all one yet doth my imagination perceive a difference, as much as is betweene death and life, to cast my selfe into a burning furnace, or in the channell of a shallow river. *So foolishly doth our feare respect more the meane, then the effect.* It is but one instant; but of such moment, that to passe the same according to my desire, I would willingly renounce many of my lives-dayes. Since all mens fantazies, finde either excesse or diminution in her sharpensse; since every man hath some choise betweene the formes of dying, let vs trie a little further, whether we can finde out some one, free from all sorrow and griefe. Might not one also make it seeme voluptuous, as did those who died with *Anthonic* and *Cleopatra*? I omit to speake of the sharpe and exemplar efforts, that philosophy and religion produce. But amongst men of no great fame, some have beene found (as one *Petronius*, and one *Tigillinus* at *Rome*) engaged to make

themselves away, who by the tendernesse of their preparations have in a manner lulled the same asleepe. They have made it passe and glide away, even in the midst of the security of their accustomed pastimes and wanton recreations: Amongst harlots and good felowes; no speech of comfort, no mention of will or testament, no ambitious affectation of constancie, no discourse of their future condition, no compunction of sinnes committed, no apprehension of their soules-health, ever troubling them; amid sports, playes, banketting, surfetting, chambring, jesting, musicke and singing of amorous verses: and all such popular and common entertainments. Might not wee imitate this manner of resolution in more honest affaires and more commendable attempts? *And since there are deaths good vnto wise men and good vnto fooles, let vs find some one that may be good vnto such as are betweene both.* My imagination presents me some easie and milde countenance thereof, and (since we must all die) to bee desired. The tyrants of *Rome* have thought, they gave that criminall offender his life, to whom they gave the free choise of death. But *Theophrastus* a Philosopher so delicate, so modest and so wise, was he not forced by reason, to dare to vtter this verse, latinized by *Cicero*:

Uitam regit fortuna non sapientia. Cic. Tusc. qu. 1. 5. Theoph. Calisth.  
 Fortune our life doth rule,  
 Not wisdom of the schoole.

Fortune giveth the facilitie of my lives-condition some aide; having placed it in such a time, wherein it is neither needefull nor combersome vnto my people. It is a condition I would have accepted in all the seasons of my age: but in this occasion to trusse vp bag and baggage, and take vp my bed and walke: I am particularly pleased, that when I shall die, I shall neither breede pleasure nor cause sorrow in them. Shee hath caused (which is the recompence of an artist) that such as by my death may pretend any materiall benefit, receive thereby elsewhere, jointly a materiall losse and hinderance. Death lies sometimes heaui vpon vs, in that it is burthensome to others: and interesseth vs with their interest, almost as much as with ours: and somtimes more; yea altogether. In this inconueniency of lodging that I seeke, I neither entermix pompe nor amplitude; For, I rather hate it. But a certaine simple and homely proprietie, which is commonly found in places where lesse Arte is, and that [556]nature honoureth with some grace peculiar vnto her selfe. *Non ampliter sed munditer convivium. Plus salis quàm sumptus. Not a great, but a neate feast. More conceite then cost.* Plantin.

And then, it is for those, who by their vrgent affaires are compelled to travell in the midst of deepe Winter, and amongst the Grisons, to be surprized by such extremities in their journies. But I, who for the most part never travell, but for pleasure, will neither bee so ill advised, nor so simply guided. If the way be fowle on my right hand, I take the left: If I find my selfe ill at ease or vnfit to ride, I stay at home. Which doing, and observing this course, in very truth I see no place, and come no where, that is not as pleasant, as convenient and as commodious as mine owne house. True it is, that I ever finde superfluitie superfluous: and observe a kinde of troublesomenesse in delicatenesse and plenty. Have I omitted 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 bee there, is not. I have my bodies complexion as free, and my taste as common, as any man in the world. The diversity of fashions betweene one and other nations, concerneth mee nothing, but by the varieties-pleasure. *Each custome hath his reason.* Bee the trenchers or dishes of wood, of pewter or of earth: bee my meate boyled, rosted or baked; butter or oyle, and that of Olives or of Wall-nuts; hot or colde; I make no difference; all is one to me: And as one, that is growing old, I accuse the generous facultie; and had neede that

delicatenesse and choise, should stay the indiscretion of my appetite, and sometime ease and solace my stomacke. When I have beene out of *France*, and that to do me curtesie, some have asked me, whether I would be served after the French maner, I have jested at them, and have ever thrust-in amongst the thickest tables and fullest of strangers. I am ashamed to see our men besotted with this foolish humor, to fret and 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 keepe their owne country fashions, and hate, yea and abhorre all strange maners: Meete they a countriman of theirs in *Hungary*, they feast that good fortune: And what doe they? Marry close and joyne together, to blame, to condemne and to scorne so many barbarous fashions as they see. And why not Barbarous, since not French? Nay happily they are the better sort of men, that have noted and so much exclaimed against them. Most take going out but for comming home. They travell close and covered, with a silent and incommunicable wit, defending themselves from the contagion of some vnknowne ayre. What I speake of such, puts mee in minde in the like matter, of that I have heretofore perceived in some of your yoong Courtiers. They onely converse with men of their coate; and with disdain or pittie looke vpon vs, as if we were men of another World. Take away their new fangled, mysterious and affected courtly complements, and they are out of their byase. As farre to seeke and short of vs, as we of them. That saying is true; That *An honest man is a man compounded*. Cleane contrary, I travell fully gluttred with out fashions: Not to seeke Gaskoines in *Sicilie*; I have left over many at home. I rather seeke for Graecians and Persians: Those I accost, them I consider, and with such I endeavor to be acquainted: to that I prepare and therein I employ my selfe. And which is more, me seemeth, I have not met with many maners, that are not worth ours. Indeede I have not wandred farre, scarsly have I lost the sight of our Chimnies. Moreover, most of the casuall companies you meete withall by the way, have more incommodity than pleasure: a matter I doe not greatly take hold of, and lesse now that age dooth particularize and in some sort sequester me from common formes. You suffer for other, or others endure for you. The one inconvenience is yrkesome, the other troublesome: but yet the last is (in my conceipt) more rude. *It is a rare, chaunce and seld-seene fortune, but of exceeding solace and inestimable woorth, to have an honest man, of singular experience, of a sound iudgement, of a resolute vnderstanding and constant resolution, and of manners conformable to yours, to accompany or follow you with a goodwill.* I have found great want of such a one in all my voyages. Which company a man must seeke with discretion and with great heed obtaine, before he wander from home. With me no pleasure is fully delightsome without communication; and no delight absolute, except imparted. I do not so much as apprehend one rare conceipt, or conceive one excellent good thought in my minde, but me thinks I am much grieved and grievously perplexed, to [557]have produced the same alone, and that I have no simpathizing companion to impart it vnto. *Si cum hac exceptione detur sapientia, vt illam inclusam tencam, nec enunciem, reijciam. If wisdom should be offered with this exception, that I should keepe it concealed, and not vtter it, I would refuse it.* The other strain'd it one note higher. *Si contigerit ea vita sapienti, vt omnium rerum Cic. Offic. lib 1. affluentibus copijs, quamvis omnia, quae cognitione digna sunt, summo otio secum ipse consideret & contempletur, tamen si solitudo tanta sit, vt hominem videre nonpossit, excedat è vita. If a wiseman might leade such a life, as in abundance of all things hee may in full quiet contemplate and consider all things worthy of knowledge, yet if he must be so solitary as he may see no man, he should rather leave such a life.* *Architas* his opinion is sutable to mine, which was, that it would bee a thing vnpleasing to the very heavens and distastefull to man, to survay and walke within those immense and divine and coelestiall bodies, without the assistance of a friend or companion: *Yet is it better to be alone, than in tedious and foolish company.* *Aristippus* loved to live as an alien or stranger every where.

Me si faeta meis paterentur ducere vitam Virg. A [...]. lib. 4. 339.  
Auspicijs,  
If fates would me permit  
To live as I thinke fit,

I should chuse to weare out my life with my bum in the saddle, ever riding.

—*visere gestiens*, Her car. lib. 3. [...].d. 3. 54.  
Quaparte debacchentur ignes,  
Qua nebulae pluvijque rores.  
Delighting much to goe and see  
Where firy heats rage furiously,  
Where clouds and rainy dews most be.

Have you not more easie pastimes? 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 Majesty 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 eminency? Is there any locall thought or care, that as extraordinary doth vlcerate, or as indigestible doth molest you?

Quae te nunc coquat & vexet sub pectore fixa. E [...].i. Cic. Senect. p.  
Which now boyles in thy brest.  
And let's thee take no rest.

Where doe you imagine you may bee without empeachment or disturbance? *Nunquam simpliciter fortuna indulget. Fortune never favours fully without exception.* You see then, there is none but you that trouble and busie your selfe: and every where you shall follow your self, and in all places you shall complaine. For, *Heere below there is no satisfaction or content, except for brutall or divine mindes.* Hee 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 limites of their wishes? *Reforme but your selfe; by that you may doe all:* Whereas towards fortune you have no right or interest, but patience. *Nulla placida quies est*, Sen. ep. 56. [...]. *nisi quam ratio composuit. There is no pleasing settled rest, but such as reason hath made-vp.* I see the reason of this advertisement, yea I perceive it wel. But one should sooner have done and more pertinently, in one bare word to say vnto me: *Be wise.* This resolution is beyond wisdom. It is her Worke and hir production. So doth the Physition, that is ever crying to a languishing, heart-broken sicke-man, that he be merry and pull vp a good hart; he should lesse foolishly perswade him if he did but bid him, *To be healthy;* as for me, I am but a man of the common stamp. It is a certaine, sound and of easie-vnderstanding precept: Be content with your own; that is to say with reason: the execution wherof 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 comprehends it not? *All things fall within the compasse of discretion and modification.* Well 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 mistrisse and predominant qualities. Yea, I confesse it: I see nothing, bee it but a dreame or by wishing, whereon I may take hold. Onely varietie and the possession of diversitie doth satisfie mee: if at least any thing satisfie mee. In travell this doth nourish mee, that without interest I may stay my selfe; and [558]that I have meanes commodiously to divert my selfe from it. I love a private life, because it is by mine owne choice, that I love it, not by a diffidence or disagreeing from a publike life; which peradventure is as much according to my complexion. I thereby serve my Prince more joifully 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 cast or forced thereunto, because I am vnfit to be received of

any other, or am not beloved: so of the rest. *I hate those morsels that necessitie doth carve mee*. Every commoditie, of which alone I were to depend▪ should ever hold me by the throat:

Alter remus aq [...]as, alter mihi radat are [...]as.  
Let me cut waters with one oare, Propert. li 3. [...]l. 2. 23.  
With th'other shave the sandie shoare.

One string alone can never sufficiently hold me. You will say, there is vanitie in this amusement. But where not? And these goodly precepts are vanitie, and *Meere vanitie is all worldly wisdom*. *Dominus novit cogitationes sapientum ▪ quoniam vanae sunt*. The Lords knowes Psal. 93. 11. *the thoughts of the wise, that they are vaine*. Such exquisite subtilities, are only fit for sermons. They are discourses, that will send vs into the other World on horsebacke. *Life is a materiall and corporall motion; an action imperfect and disordered, by it's owne essence*: I employ or apply my selfe to serve it according to it selfe.

Quisqu [...] suos pat [...]mur manes: [...]r. [...]n. l. 6. [...]43.  
All of vs for our merit,  
Have some attending spirit.

*Sic est faciendum, vt contra naturam vniversam nihil contendamus, ea tamen conservata, propriam* Cic. Offic. lib. 1. *sequamur*. *W [...] must so worke, as we endeavour nothing against nature in generall, yet so observe it, as we follow o [...]r owne in speciall*. To what purpose are these heaven-looking and nice points of Philosophie, on which no humane being can establish and ground it selfe? And to what end serve these rules, that exceed our vse and excell our strength? I often see, that there are certaine Ideaes or formes of life proposed vnto vs, which neither the proposer nor the Auditors have any hope at all to follow; and which is worse, no desire to attaine. *Of the same paper, whereon a Iudge writ but even now the cond [...]mnation against an adulterer, hee will teare a scantlin, thereon to write some love-lines to his fellow-iudges wife. The same w [...]ma [...] from whom you came lately, and with whom you have committed that vnlawfull-pleasing sport, will soone after, even in your presence, ratle and scold more bitterly against the same fauli in h [...]r neighbour, than ever Portia or Lucrece could. And some condemne men to di [...] for crimes, that themselves esteeme no faults*. I have in my youth seene a notable man with one hand to present the people most excellent and well-written verses, both for invention and extreme licentiousnesse; and with the other hand, at the same instant, the most sharpe-railing reformation, according to Divinitie, that happily the World hath seene these many-many yeeres. *Thus goes the world, and so goe men*. We let the lawes and precepts follow their way, but we keepe another course: Not onely by disorder of manners, but often by opinion and contrary iudgement. Heare but a discourse of Philosophie read; the invention, the eloquence and the pertinencie, doth presently tickle your spirit and moove you. There is nothing tickleth or pricketh your conscience: it is not to her that men speak [...] ▪ Is it not true? *Ariston* said, that *Neither Bath nor Lecture are of any worth, except the one wash cleane, and the other cleanse all filth away*. One may busie himselfe about the barke, when once the pith is gotten out: As when wee have drunke off the Wine, wee consider the graving and workmanship of the cuppe. In all the parts of ancient Philosophie, this one thing may be noted, that one same worke-man publisheth some rules of temperance, and therewithall some compositions of love and licentiousnesse. And *Xenophon* in *Cliniaes* bosome, writ against the *Aristipp* [...]an vertue. It is not a miraculous conversion, that so doth wave and hull them to and fro. But it is, that *Solon* doth sometimes represent himselfe in his owne colours, and somtimes in forme of a Law-giver: now he speaketh for the multitude, and now for himselfe. And takes the free and naturall rules to himselfe; warranting himselfe with a constant and perfect soundnesse.



Curentur dubij medicis maioribus [...]gri.  
Let patients in great doubt, [...]ur. sat. 13. 124.  
Seeke great Physitians out.

*Antisthenes* alloweth a wise man to love and doe what hee list, without respect of lawes, [559]especially in things he deemeth needefull and sit: Forasmuch as he hath a better vnderstanding than they, and more knowledge of vertue. His Disciple *Diogenes* said; *To perturbations we should oppose, reason; to fortune, confidence: and to lawes, nature: To dainty and tender stomacks, constrained and artificiall or dinances.* Good stomackes are simplie served with the prescriptions of their naturall appeti [...]. So doe our Phisitions, who whilst they tie their pacients to a strik't diet of a panada or a sirope, feede themselves vpon a melone, dainty fruits, much good meat, and drinke all maner of good Wine. I wot not what Bookes are, nor what they meane by wisdome and philosophy (quoth the Curtizan *Lais*) but sure I am, those kinds of people knocke as often at my gates, as any other men. Because our licenciousnesse transports vs commonly beyond what is lawfull and allowed, our lives-precepts and lawes have often been wrested or restrained beyond vniversall reason.

Nemo satis credit tantum delinquere, quantum Inv. sat. 14. 233  
Permittas.  
No man thinks it enough so farre t'offend  
As you give lawfull leave (and thereto end)

It were to bee wished, there were a greater proportion betwene commandement and obedience: And *vniust seemeth that ayme or goale whereto one cannot possibly attaine. No man is so exquisitely honest or vpright in living, but brings all his actions and thoughts within compasse and danger of the lawes; and that ten times in his life might not lawfully be hanged.* Yea happily such a man, as it were pittie and dangerously-hurtfull to loose, and most vnjust to punish him.

—*Olle quid ad te,*  
De cute quid faciat ille vel illa sua;  
Foole, what hast thou to doe, what he or shee Mart. li. 7. epig. 9. 1.  
With their owne skinnes or themselves doing bee?

And some might never offend the lawes, that notwithstanding should not deserve the commendations of vertuovs men: and whom philosophie might meritoriously and justly cause to be whipped. So troubled, dimme-sighted and partiall is this relation. *Wee are farre enough from being honest according to God: For, wee [...]annot bee such according to our selves. Humane wisdome could never reach the duties, or attaine the devoirs it had prescribed vnto it selfe.* And had it at any time attained them, then would it doubtlesse prescribe some others beyond them, to which it might ever aspire and pretend. So great an enemy is our condition vnto consistence. Man dooth necessarily ordaine vnto himselfe to bee in fault. Hee is not very craftie, to measure his dutie by the reason of another beeing, than his owne. To whom prescribes he that, which he expects no man will performe? Is he vnjust in not dooing that, which hee cannot possibly atchieve? The lawes which conde [...]e vs, not to hee able; condemne vs for 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 discourses after an other; is lawfull in them, which report things: But it cannot bee 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 wayes. *Catoes* vertue was vigorous, beyond the reason of the age he lived in: and for a man that entermedled with governing other men, destinated for the common service; it might bee said 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 notwithstanding in some sort, strange, vncouth and

vnsociable to my age. I wot not, whether it be without reason, I am so distasted and out of liking with the world, wherein I live and frequent: but well I know, I should have small reason to complaine, the world were distasted and out of liking with mee, since I am so with it. The vertue assigned to the worlds affaires, it is a vertue with sundry byases, turnings, bendings and elbowes, to apply and joyne it selfe to humane imbecilitie: mixed and artificiall: neither right, pure or costant, nor meerey innocent. Our Annales even to this day, blamesome one of our Kings, to have over-simply suffred himselfe to be led or mis-led by the conscientious perswasions of his Confessor. *Matters of state have more bold precepts.*

—*exeat aula*, L [...]ca [...]. bell. cir. lib. 8. 493.

Qui vult esse pius.

He that will godly bee,

From Court let him be free.

[560]

I have heretofore assayd to employ my opinions and rules of life, as new, as rude, as imp [...]lished or as vnpolluted, as they were naturally borne with me, or as I have attained them by my institution; and wherewith, if not so commodiously, at least safely in particular, I serve mine owne turne, vnto the service of publike affaires and benefit of my Commonwealth: A scholasticall and novice vertue; but I have found them very vnapt and dangerous for that purpose. He that goeth in a [...]resse or throng of people, must sometimes step aside, hold in his elbowes, crosse the way, advance himselfe, start backe, and forsake 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 proposeth to himselfe, but to that which is proposed to him: according to times, to men and to affaires; and as the skilfull Mariner, *saile with the winde*. *Plato* saith, that *who escapes vntainted and cleane-handed from the managing of the world; escapeth by some wonder*. He sayes also, that when he instituteth his Philosopher as chiefe over a Common-wealth; he means not a corrupted or law-broken commonwealth, as that of *Athens*; and much lesse, as ours, with which wisdom herselfe would be brought to a *non-plus*, or put to her shifts. And a good hearb, transplanted into a soile very diverse from her nature, doth much sooner conforme it selfe to the soile, then it reformeth the same to it selfe. I feelingly perceive that if I were wholly to envre my selfe to such occupations, I should require much change and great repairing. Which could I effect in me (and why not with time and diligence?) I would not. Of that litle which in this vacation I have made triall-of, I have much distasted my selfe: I sometimes finde certaine temptations arise in my minde, towards ambition; but I start aside, bandie and opinionate my selfe to the contrarie:

At tu Catulle obstinatus obdura. Catul. ly [...] p [...] ■ 8. 19.

Be thou at any rate,

O [...]durate, obstinate.

I am not greatly called, and I invite my selfe as litle vnto it. Libertie and idlenesse, my chiefe qualities, are qualities diameterly contrary to that mysterie. We know not how to di [...]inguish mens faculties. They have certaine divisions and limites vneasie and over nice to be chosen. *To conclude by the sufficiency of a private life, any sufficiency for publike vse, it is ill concluded*: Some one directs himselfe well, that cannot so well direct others; and composeth Essayes, that could not worke effects. Some man can dispose and order a siege, that could but ill commaund and marshall a battell: and discourseth well in private, that to a multitude or a Prince would make but a bad Oration. Yea peradventure, t'is rather a testimonie to him that can do one, that he cannot doe the other, but otherwise. I finde that high spirits are not much lesse apt for base things, then base spirits are for high matters. Could it be imagined, that *Socrates* would have given the Athenians cause to laugh at his owne charges, because hee could never justly compt the suffrages of his tribe, and make

report thereof vnto the counsell? Truly the reuerence I beare and respect I owe vnto that mans perfections, deserveth that his fortune bring to the excuse of my principal imperfections, one so notable example. Our sufficiencie is retailed into small parcells. Mine hath no latitude, and is in number very miserable. *Saturninus* answered those, who had conferred all authoritie vpon him, saying. *Oh you my fellow-souldiers, you have lost a good Captaine, by creating him a bad Generall 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 maners; in good sooth, heare but them paint it forth, marke how most of them magnifie themselves for their demeanours, and how they forme their rules: in lieu of pourtraying vertue, they onely set forth meere injustice and vice: and thus false and adulterate they present the same to the institution of Princes) or if he know it, hee wrongfully boasteth himselfe; and whatever he saith, he doth many things whereof his owne conscience accuseth him. I should easily believe *Seneca*, of the experience he made of it in such an occasion, vpon condition he would freely speake his minde of it vnto mee. *The honourablest badge of goodnesse in such a necessitie, is ingenuously for a man to acknowledge both his owne and others faults; to stay and with his might, hinder the inclination towards evill: and avie to follow this course, to hope and wish better.* In these dismembrings or havocks of *France*, and divisions wherinto we are miserably falne, I perceive every man travell and busie himselfe to defend his owne cause, and the better sort, with much dissembling and falsehood. Hee that should plainely and roundly write of it, should write rashly and viciously. Take the best and justest part; what is it else but the [561]member of a crased, worme-eaten and corrupted body? But of such a body the member least sicke, is called sound: and good reason why, because our qualities have no title but in comparison. Civill innocency is measured according to places and seasons. I would be glad to see such a commendation of *Agesilaus* in *Xenophon*, who beeing entreated of a neighbour Prince, with whom he had sometimes made warre, to suffer him to passe through his countrie, was therewith well pleased; granting him free passage through *Peloponnese*, and having him at hi [...] mercy, did not only not emprison nor empoison him, but according to the tenour of his promise, without shew or offence or vnkindnesse, 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 magnanimitie of such an action shall be highly esteemed. Our gullish Gaberdines would have mockt at it. So little affinity is there betweene the Spartan and the French innocencie. We have notwithstanding some honest men amongst vs; but it is after our fashion. He whose maners are in regularity established above the age he liveth-in; let him either wrest or muffle his rules: or (which I would rather perswade him) let him withdraw himselfe apart, and not medle with vs. What shall he gaine thereby?

Egregium sanctúmque virum sicerno, bimembri I [...].e. sat. 13. 64. ■  
 Hoc monstrum puero, & miranti iam sub aratro  
 Piscibus inventis & foetae compare mulae.  
 See I a man of holinesse and vertues rare.  
 To births bimembred, vnder wonderfull plow-share,  
 Fish found, or moiles with fole, this moster I compare.

*One may bewaile the better times, but not a void the present: one may desire other magistrates but notwithstanding he must obey those he hath:* And happily it is more commendable to obey the wicked, than the good. So long as the image of the received, allowed and ancient 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 disaster they shall chaunce to have contradiction or empeachment amongst themselves, and produce two factions, of doubtfull or hard choise: my election shall bee to avoide, And if I can escape this storme. In the meane while, either nature or the hazard of warre, shal [...] lend mee that helping hand. I should freely have declared my selfe betweene *Caesar* and *Pompey*. But betweene 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? Virg. A [...].n. lib. 5 166.  
Whither have you recourse,  
So farre out of your course?

This mingle-mangle is somewhat beside my text. I stragle out of the path; yet is it rather by licence, then by vnadvisednesse: My fantasies follow one another: but sometimes a farre-off, and looke one at another; but with an oblique looke. I have heretofore cast mine eyes vpon some of *Platoes* Dialogues; bemolted with a fantastick variety: the first part treated of love, all the latter of Rhetoricke. They feare not those variances; and have a wonderfull grace in suffering themselves to bee 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, *Andria*, *Eunuchus*; or these, *Sylla*, *Cicero*, *Torquatus*. I love a Poe [...]icall kinde of march, by friskes, skips and jumps. It is an arte (saith *Plato*) light, nimble, fleeting and light-brain'd. There are some treatises in *Plutarke*, where he forgets his theame, where the drift of his argument is not found but by incidencie and chaunce, all stuffed with strange matter. Marke but the vagaries in his Daemon of *Socrates*. Oh God ■ what grace hath the variation, and what beautie these startings and nimble escapes; and then most, when they seeme to emply carelesnesse and casualtie: It is the vnheedie and negligent reader, that looseth my subject, and not my life. 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 stile and wit are still gadding alike. A little folly is tolerable in him, that will not be more sottish; say our maisters precepts, and more their examples. A thousand Poets labour and languish after the prose-manner, but the best ancient prose, which I indifferently scatter heere and there forver [...]e, shineth every where, with a poetick vigour and boldnesse, and representeth some aire or touch of it's fury: Verily shee ought to have the maistry and [562]preheminece given her in matters of speech. A Poet (saith *Plato*) seated on the Muses footestoolle, doth in a furie powre-out whatsoever commeth in his mouth, as the pipe or cocke of a fountaine, without considering or ruminating the same: and many things escape him, diuerse in colour, contrary in substance, and broken in course. Ancient Divinitie is altogether Poesie (say the learned) and the first Philosophie. It is the originall language of the Gods. I vnderstand that the matter distinguisheth it selfe It sufficiently declareth where it changeth, where it concludeth, where it beginneth, and where it rejoyneeth; without enterlacings of words, joyning ligaments & binding seames wrested-in for the service of weake and vnattentive eares: and without glossing or expounding my selfe. What is he, that would not rather not be read at all, then read in drowsie and cursorie manner: *Nihil est tam vtile, quod in transit [...] 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 see, were to view them ■ and [...]f to runne them over, were to seize vpon them, I should be to blame, to make my selfe altogether so ignorant as I say ■ Since I cannot stay the readers attention by the weight: *Manco male*, if I happen to stay him by my intricate confusion: yea but he will afterward repent, that ever he ammused himselfe about it. You say true, but hee shall have ammused himselfe vpon it. And there be humors, to whom vnderstanding causeth disdain, who because they shall not know what I meane will esteeme mee the better, and will conclude the mysterie and depth of my sense by the obscuritie: Which, to speake in good earnest, I hate as death, and would shunne it ■ if I could avoid my selfe. *Aristotle* vaunteth in some place to affect the same. A vicious affectation. Forsomuch as the often breaking of my Chapters, I so much vsed in the beginning of my booke, seemed to interrupt attention, before it be conceived: Disdaining for so little a while to collect and there seat it selfe: I have betaken my selfe to frame them longer; as requiring proposition and assigned leasure. In such an occupation, he to whom you will not grant 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 precisely vowed, to speake by halves, to speake confusedly, to speake discrepantly. I therefore hate this trouble-feast reason: And these extravagant projects, which so much molest mans life, and these so subtle opinions, if they have any truth; I deeme it over-deare, and find it too incommodious. On the other side, I labour to set forth vanitie and make sottishnesse to prevaile, if it bring me any pleasure. And without so nicely controlling them, I follow mine owne naturall inclinations. I have elsewhere seene some houses ruined, statues overthrowen, both of heauen and of earth: But men be alwaies one. All that is true: and yet I can not so often surway the vast [...]loombe of that Citie so great, so populous and so puissant, but I as often admire and reverence the same. *The care and remembrance of evils is recommended vnto vs.* Now have I from my infancie beene bred and brought vp with these: I have had knowledge of the affaires of *Rome*, long time before I had notice of those of my house. I knew the Capitoll, and it's platforme, before I knew *Louvre*, the pallace of our Kings in *Paris*; and the River *Tiber*, before *Seyne*. I have more remembred and thought vpon the fortunes and conditions of *L [...]**icullus*, *Metellus* and *Scipio*, then of any of our countrymen. They are deceased, and so is my father, as fully as they: and is as distant from me and life in eighteene yeeres as they were in sixteene hundred: Whose memorie, amitie and societie, I notwithstanding omit not to continue, to embrace and converse withall, with a perfect and most lively vnion. Yea of mine owne inclination, 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 Gratitude, and there appeareth she in her perfect lustre. A benefit is lesse richly assigned, where r [...]trogradation and reflexion is. *Arcesilaus* going to visit *C [...]**Jesibius* that was sicke, and finding him in very poore plight, faire and softly thrust some mony vnder his boulster, 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 deserved friendship, or love or thanks at my hands, never lost in the same, by being no longer with me. I have better paid and more carefully rewarded them, beeing absent and when they least thought of it. I speake more kindly and affectionately of my friends, when there is least meanes, that ever it shall come to their eares, I have heretofore vndergone a hundred quarrels for the defence of *P [...]**impey* and *Brutus* his cause. This acquaintance continueth to this day betweene vs. *Even of present things wee have no other holde, but by our fantazie.* Perceiving my selfe [563]vnfit and vnprofitable for this age, I cast my selfe to that other; And am so besotted 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 interest, concerne and passionate me. And therefore can I not so often looke into the situation of their streets and houses, and those wondrous strange ruines, that may be said to reach down to the Antipodes, but so often must I amuse my selfe on them. Is it Nature or by the error of fantasie, that the seeing of places, wee know to have beene frequented or inhabited by men, whose memory is esteemed or mencioned in stories, doth in some sort moove and stirre vs vp as much or more, than the hearingCi [...]. s. de fin. of their noble deeds, or reading of their compositions? *Tanta vis admonitionis inest in locis: Et id quidem in hac vrbe infinitum; quacunq[ue] enim ingredimur, in aliquam historiam vestigium ponimus. So great a power of admonition is in the very place, And that in this City is most infinite; for which way soever we walke, we set our foote vpon some History.* I am much delighted with the consideration of their countenance, port and abilliments. I ruminat those glorious names betweene my teeth, and make mine eares to ring with the sound of them. *Ego illos veneror, & tantis nominibus semper assurgo. I do reverence them, and at their names I do rise and make curtefie:* Of things but in some sort great, strange and admirable, I admire their common parts. I could wish to see them walke and suppe together, and heare their discourses. It were Ingratitude to despise, and impiety to neglect the reliques or images of so many excellent, honest good men, and therewithall so valiant, which I have seene live and die: And who by their examples, had we the wit or grace to follow them, afford vs so many notable instructions. And *Rome* as it stands now, deserveth to be

loved: Confederated so long since, and sharing titles with our Crowne of *France*: Being the only common and vniversall Citie: The Sovereigne Magistrate therein commanding, is likewise knowen abroad in divers other places. It is the chiefe Metropolitan Citie of all Christian Nations: Both French and Spaniards, and all men else are there at home. To be a Prince of that state, a man needs but be of Christendome, where ever it be seated. There's no place here on earth, that the Heavens have embraced with such influence of favors and grace, and with such constancie: Even hir ruine is glorious with renowne, and swolne with glorie.

Laudandis preciosior ruinis.  
Ev'n made more honourable.  
By ruines memorable.

Low-levelled as she lieth, and even in the tombe of hir glory, she yet reserveth the lively image and regardfull markes of Empire. *Ut palam sit vno in loco gaudentis opus esse natur* [...]. *So as it is cleere, in one place is set-forth the worke of Nature in her iollity.* Some one would blame himselfe, yea and mutinie, to feele himselfe tickled with so vaine a pleasure. Our humors are not over vaine, that be pleasant. Whatsoever they be, that constantly content a man capable of common vnderstanding, I could not finde in my heart to moane or pittie him. I am much beholding to fortune, in asmuch as vntill this day, she hath committed nothing outragiously against me, or imposed any thing vpon mee, that is beyond my strength, or that I could not well beare. It is not haply her custome, to suffer such as are not importunate or over busie with hir, to live in peace.

Quanto quisque sibi plura negaverit,  
A Dijs plura feret, nil cupientium,  
Nudus castra peto, multa potentibus, Hor c [...] ■ lib. 3. [...]d■ 16■ 2 [...]. 42.  
Desunt multa.  
The more that men shall to themselves denie,  
The more the Gods will give them: threed-bare I  
Follow the campe of them that nought desire,  
They still want much, that still doe much require.

If she continue so, I shall depart very well content and satisfied.

— *nihil supra*  
Deos laccio. — Hor. c [...] . 1. 2. [...]d. 18. 11.  
More than will serve, to have  
Of Gods I doe not crave.

But beware the shocke: *Thousandes miscarry in the haven, and are cast away being neerest [564] home.* I am easily comforted with what shall happen heere when I am gone. Things present trouble me sufficiently, and set me thorowly a worke.

Fortunae caetera mando. Ovid. Metam [...] . 2. 140.  
The rest I doe commit  
To Fortune (as is fit.)

Besides, I am not tied with that strong bond, which some say, bindes 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 wish for them so much the lesse. I am by my selfe but overmuch [...]ed vnto the world, and fastned vnto life: I am pleased to be in Fortunes hold by the circumstances properly necessary to my state, without enlarging her jurisdiction vpon me by other waies: And I never thought, that to be without children, were a defect, able to make mans life lesse compleat and lesse contented. A barren state or sterill vacation, have also their peculiar commodities. *Children are in the number of things, that need not greatly bee*

*desired; especially in these corrupted daies, wherein it would bee so hard a matter to make them good. Bona iam nec na [...]ci licet, ita corrupta sunt semina. We cannot now have good things so much as grow, the seeds are so corrupt. Yet have they just cause to moane them, that having once gotten, lose [...]hem vntimely. He who left me my house in charge, considering my humor, which was to stay at home so little, fore-saw I should be the overthrow of it. He was deceived: I am now as I came vnto it, if not somewhat better. And that, without any Office or Church-living; which are no small helpes. As for other matters, if Fortune have offred mee 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 be termed her gifts, was there before I came vnto it; yea and a hundred yeeres before. I particularly enjoy no essentiall good, or possesse no sol [...]d benefit, that I owe vnto her liberalitie: Indeed shee hath bestowed some wind-pufft favours vpon me, which may rather be termed titular and honorable in shew, then in substance, or materiall: And which, in good truth, she hath not granted, but offered me. God he knowes, to me, who am altogether materiall; not satisfied but with realitie, which must also be massie and substantiall: And who, if I durst confesse it, would not thinke avarice much lesse exc [...]sable then ambition: nor grieffe lesse evitable, then shame: not health lesse desirable, then learning: or riches, lesse to be wished, then nobilitie. Amongst her vaine favours, I have none doth so much please my fond selfe-pleasing conceit, as an authenticke Bull, charter or patent of denizonship or borgeouship 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 forsomuch as they are commonly conferred in divers stiles, more or lesse favourable: and that before I had ever seene any, I would have beene glad to have had but a paterne or formular of one; I will for the satisfaction of any, if he fortune to be possessed with such a curiositie as mine, here set down the true copy or transcript of it: and thus it is.*

***Quod Horatius Maximus, Martius Cecius, Alexander Mutus, almae vrbs conservatores de Illustrissimo viro Michaeli Montano, Equite sancti Michaelis, & à Cubiculo Regis Christianissimi, Romana civitate donando, ad Senatum retulerunt, S. P. Q. R. de care ita feri censuit.***

*CUm veteri more & instituto cupidè illi semper studios [...] (que) suscepti sint, qui virtute ac nobilitate praestantes, magno Reipublicae nostrae vsui atque ornamento fuissent, vel esse aliquando possent: Nos maiorum nostrorum exempl [...] atque auctoritate permoti, praeclara [...] hanc Consuetudinem nobis imitandam ac servandam fore censemus. Quam [...]brem cùm Illustrissimus Mich [...]el Montanus [...]ques sancti Michaelis, & à cubiculo Regis Christianissimi; Romani nominis studiosissimus, & familiae laude at (que) splendore & proprijs virtutum merit is dignissimus [...]it, qui summ [...] Senatus Populi (que) Romani iudicio ac studio in Romanam Civitatem adsciscatur, placere Senatui P. Q. R. Illustrissimum Michaeli Montano rebus omnibus ornatissim [...]m, at (que) [...]juic inc [...]to Pop [...]l [...] charissimum, ipsum posteros (que) in Rom. civitatem adscribi, ornari (que) omnibus & praemijs & hon [...]ribus, quibus illi fruuntur, qui Cives Patritij (que) Romani nati aut iure optimo facti sunt. In quo censere Senatum P. Q. R. [565] se non tam illi Ius Civitatis largiri quàm debitum tribuere, neque magis beneficium dare quàm ab ips [...] accipere, qui hoc Civitatis munere accipiendo, singulari Civitatem ipsam ornamento atque hon [...]r [...] affecerit. Quam quidem S. C. auctoritatem ijdem Conservatores per Senatum P. Q. R. scribas in acta referri atque in Capitolij curia servari ■ privilegium (que) huiusmodi fieri, solito (que) vrbs sigillo communiri curarunt. Anno ab vrbe condita CX [...] CCC XXXI. post Christum natum M. D. LXXXI. III. Idus Martij.*

Horatius Fuscus sacri S. P. Q. R. scriba.

Vincent. Martholus sacri S. P. Q. R. scriba.

AT the motion of *Horatius Maximus, Martius Cecius, Alexander Mutus*, who are Conservators of this beautifull Cittie▪ concerning the endenizing and making Cittizen of *Rome* the noble Gentleman *Michaell de Montaigne*, Knight of the Order of Saint *Michaell*, and one of the Chamber of the most Christian King, the Senate & people of *Rome* thought good thereof thus to enact. Whereas by the antient custome and good order, they have ever and with good will benee entertained, who excelling in vertue and nobilitie have been, or at any time might be of any great vse or ornament vnto our common-weale: Wee, mooved by example and authoritie of our Auncesters, decree, That this notable custome, by vs should be ensued and observed. Wherefore, sithence the right Noble *Michael de Montaigne*, Knight of Saint *Michaels* Order, and one of the chamber of the most Christian King, both is most affectionate vnto the Roman name, and by the commendations and splend [...] of his pedegree, as also by the merites of his proper vertues, most worthy to be adopted and inserted into the Romane Cittie with a speciall judgement and good will of the Senate and people of *Rome*: It pleaseth the Senate and people of *Rome* that the right noble *Michael de Montaigne*, adorned in all complements, and well-beloved of this famous Communalitie, both himselfe and his successours should be ascribed and [...]nfranchized into this Romane Cittie, and be graced with all rewards and honours, which they enjoy, who either have been borne, or elected, either Citizens or Noble men of *Rome*. Wherein the Senate and people doe decree, That they doe 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 it of him, who by accepting this gift of the Cittie, doth countenance the City with a singular ornament and honour. Which Act and authoritie of the Senates Decree, the saide Conservators caused by the Clearks of the Senate and people to be registred and la [...]de-vp in the Capitoll Court, and this Priveledge to be made and signed with the Citties vsuall Seale. In the yeare since the building of the Cittie CX [...] CCC XXXI▪ after the birth of Christ a thousand five hundred eighty and one: the Ides of March.

*Horatius Fuscus*, and *Vincent Martholus* Clarks of the  
sacred Senate and people of *Rome*.

Being neither Burgeois nor Denizon of any Cittie, I am well pleased to bee so, of the noblest and greatest that ever was heretofore, or ever shall be hereafter. If others did so attentively consider and survay themselves as I doe, they should as I doe, finde themselves full of inanitie, fondnesse or vanity. I can not be rid of it, except I rid and quit my selfe. Wee are all possessed and overwhelmed therewith, as well one as the other. But such as have a feeling of it, have somewhat the better bargaine: And yet I am not sure of it. This common opinion and vulgar custome, to looke and marke elsewhere then on our selves, hath wel provided for our affaires. It is an object full-fraught with discontent, wherein we see nothing but miserie and vanitie. To th'end we should not wholly be discomforted. Nature hath very fitly cast the action of our sight outward: *Wee goe forward according to the streame, but to turne our course backe to our selves, is a painefull motion*: the sea likewise is troubled, raging and disquieted, when t'is turned and driven into it selfe. Observe (saith every one) the motions and brans [...]es of the heavens: take a survay of all: the quarrell of this man, the pulse of that man, and anothers last testament: to conclude, behold and marke ever, high or low, right or oblique, before or behinde you. It was a paradoxall commandement, which the God of *Delphos* laid heeretofore 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 [566]it vnto itselfe againe: you scatter, you stragle, you stray, and you distract your selves: call your selves home againe; rowze and vphold your selves: you are betrayed, you are spoiled and dissipated; your selves are stolne and taken from your selves. Seest thou not how all this vniverse holdeth all his sights compelled inward, and his eyes open to contemplate it selfe? Both inward and outward it is ever vanitie for thee; but so much lesse vanitie, by how much lesse it is extended. Except thy selfe, Oh man, (said that God) every thing doth first seeke and study it selfe, and according to it's neede hath limites to her travells, and bounds to



her desires. There's not one so shallow, so empty, and so meedy as thou art who embracest the whole world: Thou art the Scrutator without knowledge, the magistrate without jurisdiction: and when all is done, the vice of the play.

### **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) sway me: For it is reason they touch, so they possesse-vs not. I have great neede, both by study and discourse, to encrease this priviledge of insensibilitie, which is naturally crept farre into me. I am not wedded vnto many things, and by consequence, not passionate of them. I have my sight cleare, but tied to few objects: My senses 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 bridle and vphold mine affection, lest it be too farre plunged therein; Seeing it is a Subject I possesse at the mercy 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 vpon intolerable diseases. *We must moderate our selves, betwixt the hate of paine, and the love of pleasure.* Plato sets downe a meane course of life betweene both. But to affections that distract me from my selfe, and divert 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 easie to engage or apply it selfe, I could not continue: I am over tender both by nature and custome,

[...]ugax rerum, secur áque in otia natus.  
Avoiding active businesse, Ovid. trist. li. 3. [...]. [...]. 9.  
And borne to secure idlenesse.

Contested and obstinate debates, which in the end would give mine adversarie advantage, the issue which would make my earnest pursuite ashamed, would perchance torment mee cruelly. If I vexed as other men, my soule should never have strength to beare th'alaroms and emotions, that follow such as embrace much. She would presently be displaced by this intestine agitation. If at any time I have beene vrged to the managing of strange affaires, I have promised to vndertake them with my hand, but not with my lunges, and liver; to charge, and not to incorporate them into mee; to have a care, but nothing at all to bee over passionate of them: I looke to them, but I hatch them not. I worke enough to dispose and direct the domesticall troubles within mine owne entrailes and veines, without harbouring, or importune my selfe with any forraine employments: And am sufficiently interested with my proper, naturall and essentiall affaires, without seeking others businesses. 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 commission 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 own, 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 mindes liberty, and never engage it but vpon just occasions; which if wee judge impartially, are very few in number. Looke on such as suffer themselves to be transported and swayed, they doe it every where. In little as well as in great [567]matters; to that which concerneth, as easie as to that which toucheth them not. They thrust themselves indifferently into all actions, and are without life, if without tumultuary agitation. *In negotijs sunt, negotij causa. They are busie that they may not be idle, or else in action for actions sake.* They seeke worke but to be working. It is not so much because they will goe, as for that they cannot [...]and still. Much like to a rowling stone, which never staves vntill it come to a lying place. To some men, employment is a marke of

sufficiency and a badge of dignity. Their spirits seeke rest in action, as infants repose in the cradle, They my be said, to be as serviceable to their friends, as importunate to themselves. *No man distributes his mony to others, but every one his life and time.* We are not so prodigall of any thing, as of those whereof to be covetous would be 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 wish for, I commonly desire the same but mildly; and desire but little: so likewise I seldome employ and quietly embusie my selfe, What ever they intend and act, they doe it with all their will and vehemency. There are so many dangerous steps, that for the more security, wee must somewhat slightly and superficially slide through the world, and not force it. *Pleasure it selfe is painefull in it's beight.*

—*incedis per ignes*, Hor. car. 1. 2. od. 1. 7.  
 Subpositos cineri doloso.  
 You passe through fire (though vnfraid)  
 Vnder deceitfull ashes laid.

The towne counsell of *Bourdeaux* chose me Maior of their Citty, being farre from *France*; but further from any such thought. I excused my selfe and would have avoided it. But they told mee I was to blame; the more, because the kings commandement was also employed therein. It is a charge, should seeme so much the more goodly, because it hath neither fee nor reward, other then the honour in the execution. It lasteth two yeares, but may continue longer by a second election, which seldome hapneth. To me it was, and never had beene but twice before: Some yeares p [...]st the Lord of *Lansac*; and lately to the Lord of *Biron*, Marshall of *France*. In whose place I succeeded; and left mine to the Lord of *Matigon*, likewise Marshall of *France*. Glorious by so noble an assistance.

Vterque bonus pacis bellique minister.  
 Both, both in peace and warre,  
 Right serviceable are.

Fortune would have a share in my promotion by this particular circumstance, which shee of her owne added thereunto; not altogether vaine. For *Alexander* disdaind the Corinthian Ambassadors, who offred him the freedome and Burgeoise of their Citty, but when they told him that *Bacchus* and *Hercules* were likewise in their registers, hee kindly thanked them and accepted their offer. At my first arrivall, I faithfully disciphered and conscientiously displaid my selfe, such as I am indeede: without memorie, without diligence, without experience and without sufficiencie; so likewise without hatred, without ambition, without covetousnesse and without violence: that so they might bee duely 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 vnto his memory, had mooved them to chuse me to that dignitie, I told them plainely, I should be very sorie, that any man should worke such an opinion in my will, as their affaires and Citty had done in my fathers, while he held the said government, wherevnto they had called mee. I remembred to have seene him being an infant, and he an old man, his minde cruelly turmoiled with this publike toile; forgetting the sweete aire of his owne house, wherevnto the weakenesse of his age had long before tied him; neglecting the care of his health and family, in a maner despising his life, which as one engaged for them, he much endangered, riding long and painefull journeies 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 forget himselfe for his neighbour: that in respect of the generall, the particular was not to bee regarded.* Most of the worldes-rules and precepts hold this traine, to drive vs out of our selves into the wide world, to the vse of publike society. They presumed to worke a goodly effect, in distracting

and withdrawing vs from our selves: supposing wee were by a naturall instinct, [568]too-too much tied vnto it: and to this end have not spared to say any thing. For to the wise it is no novelty, to preach things as they serve, and not as they are. Truth hath her lets, discommodities and incompatibilities with vs. Wee must not often deceive others, lest we beguile our selves. And [...]eele our eyes, and dull our vnderstanding, thereby to repaire and amend them. *Imperiti enimiudicant, & qui frequenter in hoc ipsum fallendi sunt, ne errent. For vnskillfull menudge, who must often even therefore bee deceived, lest they erre and bee deceived.* When they prescribe vs, to love three, foure yea fifty degrees of things before our selves, they present vs with the Arte of shooters who to come neerer the marke take their aime far above the same. *To make a crooked sticke straight, we bend it the contrary way.* I suppose that in the times 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 onely to such as were professed. It is likely, that the true point of friendship, which everie man oweth to himselfe, is to be found in these. Not 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 indiscreete friendship; Wherein hapneth as to the Ivie, which corrupts and ruins the Wals it claspeth: But a sound and regular amity, equally profitable and pleasant. Who so vnderstandeth all her duties and exerciseth them, hee is rightly endenized in the Muses cabinet: Hee hath attained the tipe of humane Wisedome and the perfection of our happinesse. This man knowing exactly what hee oweth to himselfe, findeth, that he ought to employ the vse of other men and of the world vnto himselfe; which to performe, he must contribute the duties and offices that concerne him vnto publike society. *He that lives not somewhat to others, liveth little to himselfe. Qui sibi amicus est, scito hunc amicum omnibus esse; He that is friend to himselfe, know, he is friend to all.* The principallSin. epist. 6. f. charge we have, is every man his particular conduct. And for this onely wee live heere. As he that should forget to live well and religiously, and by instructing and directing others, should thinke himselfe acquitted of his duty; would be deemed a foole: Even so, who forsaketh to live healthy and merrily himselfe, therewith to serve another, in mine opinion taketh a bad 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,

—*nonipse pro charis amicis,*  
Aut patria timidus perire. Hor. car. 1. 4. od. 9. 51.  
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 be dooing, cost's it so little, that even sleeping it is mooving and dooing. But it must have it's motion with discretion. For the body receiveth the charges imposed him, justly 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 effortes and different contentions of will. The one may goe without the other. For, how many men doe dayly hazard themselves in warre which they regard not, and presse into the danger of battells, the losse wherof shall no whit breake their next sleep? Whereas some man in his own house, free from this danger, which he durst not so much as have look't towards it, is for the Wars issue more passionate, and therewith hath his minde more perplexed, than the soldier, that therein employeth both his blood and life. I know how to deale in publike charges, without departing from my selfe the breadth of my naile; and give my selfe to an other, without taking mee from my selfe: This sharpenesse and violence of desires hindreth more, then steade the conduct of what we vndertake, filling vs with impacience to the events, either contrary or slow: and with bitterness and jealousy toward those with whom wee negotiate. Wee never governe that thing well, wherewith we

are possessed and directed.

—*Malè cuncta ministrat*  
Impetus.—  
Fury and haste doe lay all waste;  
Misplacing all, disgracing all,

He who therein employeth but his judgement and direction, proceeds more cheerefully: [569]he faines, he yeelds, hee deferres at his pleasure according to the occasions of necessity: hee failes of his attempt, without torment or affliction: ready and prepared for a new enterprise. He marcheth alwayes with the reines in his hand. Hee that is besotted with this violent and tyrannicall intention, doth necessarily declare much indiscretion and injustice. The violence of his desire transports him. They are rash motions, and if fortune helpe not much, of little fruit. Philosophie wills vs to banish choller in the punishment of offences; not to the end revenge should be more moderate, but contrary, more weighty and surely set on: whervnto this violence seemeth to bee a let. Choller doth not onely trouble, but wearieth the executioners armes. This passionate heat dulleth and consumes their force. As in too much speede, *festinatio tarda est; Hastinesse is slow*. Haste makes waste, and hinders and stayes it selfe: *Ipsa se velocitas implicat; Swiftnesse entangles it selfe*. As for example, according as by ordinarie custome I perceive, covetousnesse hath no greater let, then it selfe. The more violent and extended it is, the lesse effectuall and fruitfull. Commonly it gathers wealth more speedily being masked with a shew of liberality. A very honest Gentleman and my good friend, was likely to have endangered the health of his body, by an over passionate attention and earnest affection to the affaires of a Prince, who was his Maister. Which Maister hath thus described himselfe vnto me: That as another, hee discerneth and hath a feeling of the burthen of accidents: but such as have no remedie, hee presently resolveth to suffer with patience: For the rest, after hee hath appointed necessary provisions, which by the vivacitie and nimblenesse of his wit hee speedily effects, hee then attends 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 important and difficult affaires. I finde him more magnanimous and capable, in bad then in good fortune. His losses are to him more glorious, than his victories; and his mourning than his triumphs. Consider how in meere vaine and frivolous actions, as at chesse, tennis and such like sports, this earnest and violent engaging with an ambitious desire to winne, doth presently cast both minde and limmes into disorder and indiscretion. Wherein a man doth both dazle his sight and distemper his whole body. Hee who demeaneth himselfe with most moderation both in winning and loosing, is ever necrest vnto himselfe, and hath his wits best about him. The lesse hee is mooved or passionate in play, the more safely doth he governe the same, and to his greater advantage. We hindet the mindes seizure and holdfast, by giving her so many things to seize vpon. Some wee should onely present vnto her, others fasten vpon hir, and others incorporate into hir. Shee may see and feele all things, but must onely feede on hir selfe: And bee instructed in that which properly concerneth hir, and which meerey belongeth to her essence and substance. *The lawes of nature teach vs what is iust and fit for vs*. 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 distinguish subtilly, the desires proceeding from Nature, from such as grow from the disorders of our fantasie. Those whose end may be discerned are meerey hers; and such as flie before vs and whose end we cannot attaine, are properly ours. *Want of goods may easily be cured, but the poverty of the minde, is incurable*.

Nam si, quod satis est homini, id satis esse potesset,  
Hoc sat erat; nunc, quum hoc non est, qui credimus porro  
Divitias vllas animum mi explere potesse?  
If it might be enough, that is enough for man,  
This were enough, since it is not, how thinke we can

Now any riches fill  
My minde and greedy will?

*Socrates* seeing great store of riches, jewells and pretious stuffe carried in pompe through his City: *Oh how many things* (quoth he) *doe not I desire!* *Metrodorus* lived daily with the weight of twelve ounces of foode: *Epicurus* with lesse: *Metrocles* in winter lay with sheepe, and in summer in the Cloisters of Churches. *Sufficit ad id natura, quod poscit. Nature is sufficient* Sen. epist. 90. *for that which it requires.* *Cleanthes* lived by his handes, and boasted, that if *Cleanthes* would, he could nourish another *Cleanthes*. If that which Nature doth exactly and originally require at our handes, for the preservation of our being, is over little (as in truth what it is, and how good cheape our life may be maintained, cannot better bee knowne or expressed than by this consideration. That it is so little, and for the smalnesse thereof, it is out of [570] Fortunes reach, and she can take no hold of it) let vs dispense something els vnto ourselves, and call the custome and condition of every one of vs by the name of Nature. Let vs tax and stint and feede our selves according to that measure; let vs extend both our appurtenances and reckonings therevnto. For so farre, me seemes, we have some excuse: *Custome is a second Nature*, and no lesse powerfull What is wanting to custome, I hold it a defect: And I had well nigh as leefe one should deprive mee of my life, as refraine or much abridge me of the state wherein I have lived so long. I am no more vpon termes of any great alteration nor to thrust my selfe into a new and vn-vsual course, no not toward augmentation: it is no longer time to become other or bee transformed. And as I should complaine if any great adventure should now befall me, and grieve it came not in time that I might have enjoyed the same.

Quo mihi fortuna, si non concedit ur vti? H [...].rl. 1. epist. 5. 12.  
Whereto should I have much,  
If I to vse it grutch?

I should likewise bee grieved at any inward purchase: I were better in a manner, never, than so late, to become an honest 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 resigne the share of wisdom I have learn't, concerning the Worlds commerce, to any other man new-come into the world. *It is even as good as Mustard after dinner. What neede have I of that good, which I cannot enioy? Whereto serveth knowledge, if one have no head?* It is an injury and disgrace of Fortune, to offer vs those presents, which, forsomuch as they faile vs when we should most neede them, fill vs with a just spite. Guide me no more: I can go no longer. Of so many dismembrings that Sufficiency hath, patience sufficeth vs. Give the capacity of an excellent treble to a Singer, that hath his lungs rotten; & of eloquence to an Hermit confined into the Deserts of Arabia. *There needes no Arte to further a fall. The end findes it selfe in the finishing of every worke.* My world is at an end, my forme is expired. I am wholly of the time past. And am bound to authorize the same, and thereto conforme my issue. I will say this by way of example; that the eclipsing or abridging of tenne dayes, which the Pope hath lately caused, hath taken me so low, that I can hardly recover my selfe. I follow the yeares, wherein we were wont to compt otherwise. So long and antient a custome doth challenge and recall me to it againe. I am thereby enforced to be somewhat an hereticke: Incapable of innovation, though corrective. My imagination ma [...]gre my teeth runnes still tenne dayes before, or tenne behinde; and whispers in mine [...]ares: *This rule toucheth those, which are to come* If health it selfe so sweetely-pleasing, comes to me but by fittes, it is rather to give me cause of grieffe then possession of it selfe. I have no where left mee to retire it. Time forsakes mee without which nothing is enjoyed. How small accompt should I make of these great elective dignities I see in the world, and which are onely given to men, ready to leave the world! wherein they regard not so much how duely they shall discharge them, as how little they shall exercise 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 substance, and Fortune into Nature.* I say therefore, that amongst vs feeble creatures, each one is excusable to compt that his owne, which is comprehended vnder measure. And yet all beyond these limites, is nothing but confusion.

It is the largest extension we can grant our rights. The more wee amplifie our neede and possession, the more we engage our selves to the crosses of fortune and adversities. The carriere of our desires must be circumscribed, and tied to strict bounds of neerest and contiguous commodities. Moreover, their course should be managed, not in a straight line, having another end, but round, whose two points hold together, and end in our selves with a short compasse. The actions governed without this reflection, I meane a neere and essentiall reflection, as these of the covetous, of the ambitious and so many others, that runne directly point-blanke, the course of which carrieth them away before them, are erroneous and crazed actions. Most of our vacations are like playes. *Mundus vniversus exercet histrioniam. All the world doth practise stage-playing.* Wee must play our parts duly, but as the part of a borrowed personage. Of a visard and apparance, wee should not make a reall essence, nor proper of that which is another. Wee cannot distinguish the skinne from the shirt. It is sufficient to disguise the face, without deforming the breast. I see some transforme and [571]transubstantiate themselves, into as many new formes and strange beings, as they vndertake charges: and who emprelate themselves even to the heart and entrailles; and entraine their offices even sitting on their close stoole. I cannot teach them to distinguish the salutations and cappings of such as regard them, from those that respect either their office, their traine or their mule. *Tantum se fortunae permitunt, etiam vt naturam dediscant. They give themselves so much over to Fortune, as they forget Nature.* They swell in mind and puffe vp their naturall discourse, according to the dignity of their office. The Maior of *Bourdeaux*, and *Michaell Lord of Montaigne*, have ever beene two, by an evident separation. To bee an advocate or a Treasurer, one should not be ignorant of the craft incident to such callings. An honest man is not comptable for the vice and folly of his trade, and therefore ought not to refuse the exercise of it. It is the custome of his country; and there is profite in it. *Wee must live by the worlde, and such as we finde it, so make vse of it.* But the judgement of an Emperour should be above his Empire; and to see and consider the same as a strange accident. Hee should know how to enjoy himselfe apart; and communicate himselfe as *Iames* and *Peter*; at least to himselfe. I cannot so absolutely or so deeply engage my selfe. When my will gives me to any party, it is not with so violent a bond, that my vnderstanding is thereby infected. In the present intestine trouble of our State, my interest hath not made mee forget neither the commendable qualities of our adversaries, nor the reproachfull of those I have followed. They partially extoll what ever is on their side: I doe not so much as excuse the greater number of my friends-actions. A good Oratour looseth not his grace by pleading against me. The inticratenesse of our debate remooved, I have maintained my selfe in equanimity and pure indifferency. *Neque extra necessitates belli, praecipuum odium gero, Nor beare I capitall hatred, when I am out of the necessitie of warre.* Wherein I glory, for that commonly I see men erre in the contrary. Such as extend the choller and hatred, beyond their affaires (as most men doe) shew that it proceedes elsewhence, and from some private cause: Even as one being cured of an vlcere, and his fever remaineth still, declareth it had another more hidden begining. It is the reason they beare none vnto the cause, in generall: and forsomuch as it concerneth the interest 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 distempered with a particular passion, both beyond justice and publicke reason. *Non tam omnia vniversi, quàm ea, qua ad quemque pertinent, singuli carpebant. All did not so much finde fault withall, as every one with those that appertained to every one.* I will have the advantage to be for vs, which though it be not, I enrage not. I stand firmly to the [...]ouder parts. But I affect not to be noted a private enemy to others, and beyond generall reason, I greatly accuse this vicious forme of obstinate contesting: He is of the League, because he admireth the grace of the Duke of

*Guise:* or he is a *Hugonote*, forso much as the King of *Navarres* activity amazeth him: He findes fault in the Kings behaviours, therefore he is sedicious in his heart. I would not give the magistrate my voice, that he had reason to condemne a booke, because an hereticke was therein named and extolled to be one of the best Poets of this age. Dare wee not say that a theefe hath a good leg? if he have so indeede; If she be a strumpet, must she needes have a stinking breath? In wiser ages, revoked they the prouwd title of *Capitolinus*, they had formely given to *Marcus Manlius*, as the preserver of religion and publicke liberty? Suppressed they the memory of his liberality, his deeds of armes and military rewards granted to his vertues, because to the prejudice of his countries lawes, he afterward affected a Royalty? If they once conceive a hatred against an Orator or an advocate, the next day he becommeth barbarous and vneloquent. I have elsewhere discoursed of zeale, which hath driven good men into like errors. For my selfe, I can say: that he doth wickedly, and this vertuously. Likewise, in prognostickes or sinister events of affaires, they will have every man blinde or dull in his owne cause: and that our perswasion and judgement, serve not the truth but the project of our desires. I should rather erre in the other extremitie; So much I feare my desire might corrupt me. Considering, I somewhat tenderly distrust my selfe in things I most desire. I have in my dayes seene wonders, in the indiscreete and prodigious facility of people, suffering their hopes and beliefes, to bee led and governed, as it hath pleased and best fitted their leaders: above a hundred discontents, one in the neck of another: and beyond their fantasies and dreames. I wonder no more at those, whom the apish toyes of *Apollonius* and *Mahomet* have seduced and blinded. Their sence and vnderstanding is wholly smothered [572]in their passion. Their discretion hath no other choise but what pleaseth them and furthereth their cause. Which I had especially observed in the beginning of our distempered factions and factious troubles. This other which is growne since, by imitation surmounteth the same. Whereby I observe, that it is an inseparable quality of popular errors. The first beeing gone, opinions entershocke one another, following the winde, as waves doe. They are no members of the body, if they may renounce it; if they folow not the common course. But truely they wrong the just partes, when they seeke to helpe them with fraude or deceipts. I have alwayes contradicted the same. This meane is but for sicke braines: The healthy have surer and honester wayes to maintaine their resolutions and excuse all contrary accidents. The Heavens never saw so weighty a discord and so harmefull a hatred, as that betweene *Caesar* and *Pompey*; nor ever shall heereafter: Mee seemeth notwithstanding, I see in those noble and Heroicall mindes, 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, either of them desired rather to effect his purpose without overthrowing his competitour, than by working his vtter ruine. Note how contrarie the proceeding was betweene *Sylla* and *Marius*. We must not runne headlong after our affections and private interests. As in my youth, I ever opposed my selfe to the motions of love, which I felt to vsurpe vpon me; and laboured to diminish it's delights, lest in the end it might vanquish and captivate me to his mercy: So do I now in all other occasions, which my will apprehendeth with an over great appetite. I bend to the contrary of my disposition, as I see the same plunged and drunke with it's owne Wine. I shunne so farre foorth to nourish hir pleasure, as I may not revoke it without a bloody losse. Those mindes which through stupidity see things but by halves, enjoy this happinesse, that such as be hurtfull, offend them least: It is a spirituall leprosie, that hath some shew of health; and such a health, as Philosophy doth not altogether contemne. But yet it may not lawfully bee termed wisdom; as we often doe. 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 try his patience; Who meeting him in this order, said thus vnto him; *Art thou now very colde; Nothing at all*, answered *Diogenes*. *What thinkest thou to doe then, that is either hardor exemplar by standing in the colde?* replied the

other: *To measure constancy, we must necessarily know sufferance*, But such minds as must behold crosse events, and fortunes injuries in their height and sharpnesse, which must weigh and taste them according to their naturall bitternesse and charge; let them employ their skill and keep themselves from embracing the causes, and divert their approaches. What did King *Cotys*? He payed liberally for that goodly and rich Vessell, which one had presented vnto him, but forsomuch as it was exceeding brittle, hee presently brake it himselfe, that so betimes he might remoove so easie an occasion of choller against his servants. I have in like sort shunned confusion in my affaires, and sought not to have my goods contiguous to my neighbours, and to such as I am to be linked in strict friendship: Whence commonly ensue causes of alienation and vnkindnesse. I have heeretofore loved the hazardous play of Cardes and Dice; I have long since left it, onely for this that notwithstanding any faire semblance I made in my losses, I was inwardly disquieted. Let a man of honour, who is to take a lie or endure an outragious wrong, and cannot admit a bad excuse for paiment or satisfaction, avoid the progresse of contentious altercations. I shunne melancholike complexions and froward men, as infected. And in matters, I cannot talke-of without interest and emotion, I meddle not with them, except duty constraine mee therevnto. *Melius non incipient, quam desinent. They shall better not beginne, than leave off.* The surest way, is then to prepare our selves before occasion. I know that some wisemen have taken another course; and have not feared to engage and vehemently to insinuate themselves into diverse objects. Those assure themselves of their owne strength, vnder which they shrowd themselves against all manner of contrary events, making mischiefs to wrestle one against another, by vigor and vertue of patience:

Velut rupes vastum quae prodit in aequor, Virg. Aen. 1. 10. 693.

Obvia ventorum furijs, expostaque ponto,

Uim cunctam atque minas perfert caelique marisque,

[573] — — *ipsa immota manens.*

Much like a rocke, which but's into the Maine,

Meeting with windes-rage, to the Sea laid plaine,

It doth the force of skies and Seas sustaine,

Endure their threats, yet do th vnmoov'd remaine.

Let vs not imitate these examples, we shall not attaine them. They opinionate themselves resolutely to behod, and without perturbation to bee spectatours of their Countries ruine, which whilome possessed and commaunded their full will. As for our vulgar minds, therein is too much effort and roughnesse. *Cato* quit thereby the noblest life that ever was. Wee seely-ones must seeke to escape the storme further off: We ought to provide for apprehension and not for patience, and avoid the blowes wee cannot withstand. *Zeno* seeing *Chremonides* a yong man whom he loved, approach to sit neere him; rose vp sodainely. *Cleanthes* asking him the reason? I vnderstand (said hee) that Physitions above all things prescribe rest, and forbid emotion in all tumors. *Socrates* saith not; yeeld not to the allurements of beauty; maintaine it, enforce your selves to the contrary: Shunne her (saith hee) runne out of her sight and companie; as from a violent poison, that infecteth and stingeth farre-off. And his good Disciple, faining or reciting, but in mine opinion, rather reciting then faining, the matchlesse perfections of that great *Cyrus*, describeth him distrusting his forces to withstand the blandishments or allurings of the divine beautie of that famous *Panthea* his Captive, committing the visitation and garde of her to an other, that had lesse liberty then himselfe. And likewise the Holy-Ghost saith *ne nos inducas in tentationem*, Matth. 6. 13. *and lead vs not into temptation.* We pray not that our reason be not encountred and vanquished by concupiscence: but that it be not so much as assayed therewith: That we bee not reduced to an estate, where we should but suffer the approaches, sollicitations and temptations of sinne: and we entreat our Lord, to keepe our conscience quiet, fully and perfectly free from all commerce of evill. Such as say they have reason for their revenging 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 fostred and advanced. But



retire further backward, recall their causes to their beginning: there you surprise and put them to a *non plus*. Would they have their fault be lesse, because it is more ancient; and that of an vnjust beginning, the progresse be just? He that (as I doe) shall wish his countries wellfare, without fretting or pining himselfe, shall be grieved, but not swoune, to see it threatning, either his owne downfall, or a continuance no lesse ruinous. Oh seely-weake barke, whom both waves, windes and Pilote, hull and tosse to so contrary desseignes!

—*in tam diversa, magister,*  
 Ventus & vnda trahunt.—  
 Maister the wave and winde  
 So diverse wayes doe binde.

Who gapes not after the favour of Princes, as after a thing without which hee 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 huggeth not honours, with a slavish 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 censure of his actions against his merite. A quarter of an ounce of patience provideth for such inconveniences. I finde ease in this receipt: redeeming my selfe in the beginning, as good cheape as I can: By which meanes I perceive my selfe to have escaped much trouble and manifold difficulties. With very little force, I stay these first motions of my perturbations: And I abandon the subject which beginnes to molest me, and before it transport mee. *Hee that stops not the loose, shall hardly stay the course. He that cannot shut the dore against them, shall never expell them being entred. He that cannot attaine an end in the beginning, shall not come to an end of the conclusion. Nor shall hee endure the fall, that could not endure the starts of it. Etenim Cic. Tasc. q [...]. 1. 4. ipsae se impellunt, vbi semel à ratione discussum est; ipsá (que) sibi imbecillit as indulget, in altumque provehitur imprudens: nec reperit locum consistendi. For they drive themselves headlong, when once they are parted and past reason; and weakenesse soothes it selfe, and vnawares is carried into the deepe, nor can it finde a place to tarry in.* I feele betimes, the low windes, which are forerunners [574] of the storme, buzze in mine eares and sound and trie mee within:

—*c [...] flamina prima*  
 Cùm depressa fr [...]munt sylvis, & c [...]ca volutant Virg. Aen. l. 10. 97.  
 Murmura, venturos nautis prodentia ventos.  
 As first blasts in the woods perceiv'd to goe  
 Whistle, and darkely speake in murmurs low,  
 Foretelling Marriners what windes will grow.

How often have I done my selfe an apparant injustice, to avoide the danger I should fall into, by receiving the same, happily worse, from the judges, after a world of troubles, and of foule, and vile practises, more enemies to my naturall disposition, then fire or torment? *Convenit a litibus quantum licet, & nescio an paulo plus etiam quam licet, abhorrentem esse; Est C [...]. off. lib. enim non mo [...] liberale, paululum non nunquam de suo iure decedere, sed interdum etiam fructuosum. As much as wee may, and it may be more then we may, we should abhorre brabbling and lawing; for it is not onely an ingenious part, but sometimes profitable also at sometimes to yeeld a little of our right.* If we were wise indeede, wee should rejoyce and glory, as I heard once a yonggentleman, borne of a very great house, very wittily and vnfainedly, rejoyce with all men that his mother had lost her sute; as if it had beene a cough, an ague, or any other yrksome burthen. The fauours, which fortune might have given mee, as aliances and acquaintances with such as have Sovereigne authority in those things; I have, in my conscience done much instantly to evoide 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 sutes in law, which have notwithstanding not omitted gently to offer mee their service, and vnder pretence of lawfull titles insinuate themselves into my allowance, would I but have given eare vnto them. And as a pure maiden from quarrels; I have without important offence, either passive or active, lingred out a long life, and never heard worse than mine owne name▪ A rare grace of heaven. Our greatest agitations, have strange springs and ridiculous causes. What ruine did our last Duke of *Burgundie* runne into, for the quarrell of a cart-load of sheepes-skinnes? And was not the graving of a seale, the chiefe cause of the most horrible breach and topsie-turvy, that ever this worlds-frame endured? For, *Pompey* and *Casar* are but the new buddings and continuation of two others. And I have seene in my time, the wisest heads of this realme assembled with great ceremonie and publike charge, about treaties and agreements, the true deciding wherof depended in the meane while absolutely and soveraignely of the will and consultations held in some Ladies pate or cabinet; and of the inclination of some sillie 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 hazzard both his honor and life on the fortune of his rapier and dagger; let him tell you whence the cause of that contention ariseth; he can not without blushing; so vaine and so frivolous is the occasion. To embarke him, there needes but little advisement, but being once-in, all parts doe worke; Then are greater provisions required, more difficult and important. How farre more easie is it not to enter, than to get forth? We must proceed contrary to the brier, which produceth a long and straight stalke at the first springing; but after, as tired and out of breath, it makes many and thicke knots, as if they were pawses, shewing to have no more that vigor and constancie. Wee should rather begin gently and leasurely; and keepe our strength and breath for the perfection of the worke. We direct affaires in the beginning, and holde them at our mercie, but being once vndertaken, they guide and transport vs, and we must follow them. Yet may it not be sayd, that this counsell hath freed me from all difficulties, and that I have not beene often troubled to controle and bridle my passions: which are not alwayes 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 compted 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 or the matter was in sight: yet not in this onely, but in all other duties of life, their course which aime at honour, is diverse from that, which they propound vnto themselves, that follow order and reason. I finde some, that inconsiderately and furiously thrust themselves into the listes and growe [575]slacke in the course. As *Plutarke* saith, that *Such as by the vice of bashfulnessse are soft and tractable to graunt whatsoever is demaunded, are afterward as prone and facile to recant and breake their word:* In like manner, he that enters lightly into a quarrel, is subject to leave it as lightly. The same difficultie which keeps me from embracing the same, should encite me, being once mooved and therein engaged, to continue resolute. It is an ill custome. Being once embarked, one must either goe-on or sinke. *Attempt coldly* (sayed *Byas*) *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 false: Wee onely seeke to save apparances, and therewithist betray and disavow our true intentions. We salve the deede: We know how wee spake it, and in what sence the by-standers know it: yea and our friends to whom wee would have our advantages knowne. It is to the prejudice of our libertie and interest of our resolutions-honour, that we disavow our thoughts and seeke for starting holes in falshood, to make our agreements. Wee belie ourselves, to salve a lie we have given to another. We must not looke whether your action or word may admitte another interpretation, but it is your owne true and sincere construction, that you must now maintaine; whatsoever it cost you. It is to your vertue and to your conscience that men speake; parts that ought not to be disguised. Leave we these base courses, wrangling shifts and verball meanes, to petty-fogging Lawyers. The excuses and reparations, or satisfactions, which dayly I see made;

promised and given to purge indiscretion, seeme to mee more foule than indiscretion it selfe. Better were it for one to offend his adversarie againe, than in giving him such satisfaction, to wrong himselfe so much. You have braved him mooved by choller, and now you seeke to pacifie and flatter him in your cold and better sence: Thus you abase your selfe more, than you were before exalted. I find no speech so vicious in a Gentleman, as I deeme any recantation he shall make, dishonorable; especially if it be wrested from him by authoritie: Forsomuch as obstinacie is in him more excusable, than cowardize. Passions are to mee as easie to be avoyded, as they are difficult to be moderated. *Excinduntur facilius animo, quàm temperantur. They are more easilie rooted out of the minde, than brought to good temper.* Hee that can not attaine to this noble Stoicall impassibilitie, let him shrowde himselfe in the bosome of this my popular stupiditie. What they did by vertue, I inure my selfe to doe by Nature. The middle region harboureth stormes; the two extreames containe Philosophers and rurall men, they concurre in tranquillity and good hap.

Foelix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas, Virg. Georg. l. 2 490.  
 Atque metus omnes & inexorabile fatum  
 Subiecit pedibus, strepitúmque Acherontis avari.  
 Fortunatus & ille, Deos qui novit agrestes,  
 Panáque, Silvanúmque senem, Nymphásque sorores.  
 Happy is he that could of things the causes finde,  
 And subject to his feete all fearefulnessse of minde,  
 Inexorable fate, and noise of greedy Hell.  
 And happy he, with Countrie Gods acquainted well,  
*Pan* and old *Silvan* knowes,  
 And al the sister shrowes.

The beginnings of all things are weake and tender. We must therefore be cleare-sighted in beginnings: For, as in their budding wee discern not the danger, so in their full growth wee perceive not the remedy. I should have encountred a thousand crosses, daily more hard to be digested in the course of ambition, than it hath bin vneasie for me to stay the naturall inclination, that led me vnto them.

—*iure perhorruí*, Hor. car. l. 3. 16. 18.  
 Latè conspicuum tollere verticem.—  
 I have beene much afraid for causes right.  
 To raise my foretop far abroad to sight.

*All publike actions are subiect to vncertaine and divers interpretations:* For, too many heads judge of them. Some say of this my City employment (whereof I am content to speake a word; not that it deserves it, but to make a shew of my manners in such things) I have demeaned my selfe like one that is to slowly mooved and with a languishing affection: And they are not altogether void of reason. I strive to keepe my minde and thoughts quiet. *Cum [576] semper Natura, tum etiam aetate iam quietus. Both ever quiet by Nature, and now because of yeeres.* And if at any time they are debauched to some rude and piercing impression, it is in truth without my consent. From which naturall slacknesse, one must not therefore inferre any prooffe of disability: For, *Want of care and lacke of iudgement are two thinges:* And lesse vnkindnesse and ingratitude toward those Citizens, who to gratifie me, employed the vtmost of all the meanes they could possibly; 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 wish them all the good that may be. And truly if occasion had beene offered, I would havespared nothing to have done them service. I have stirred and laboured for them, as I doe for my selfe. 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 say likewise, that I passed over this charge of mine without any deede of note or great shew. It is true. Moreover, they accuse my cessation, when as all the

world was convicted of too much dooing: I have a most nimble motion, where my will doth carrie me. But this point is an enimie vnto perseverance. Whosoever will make vse of mee, according to my selfe, let him employ me in affaires, that require vigor and liberty: that have a short, a straight, and therewithall a hazardous course: I may peradventure somewhat prevaile therein. Whereas if it be tedious, craftie, laborious, artificiall and intricate, they shall doe better to addresse themselves to some other man. All charges of importance are not difficult. I was prepared to labour somewhat more earnestly, if there had beene great neede. For it lyes in my power, to doe something more than I make shew-of, and than I love to doe. To my knowledge, I have not omitted any motion that duty required earnestly at my hands. I have easily forgotten those, which ambition blendeth with dutie and cloketh with her title. It is they, which most commonly fill the eyes and eares, and satisfie men. Not the thing it selfe, but the apparance payeth them. If they heare no noise, they imagine we sleepe. My humours are contrary to turbulent humours. I could pacifie an inconvenience or trouble without troubling my selfe, and chastise a disorder without alteration.

Have I neede of choller and inflammation; I borrow it, and therewith maske my selfe: My maners are mustie, rather wallowish then sharpe. I accuse not a Magistrate that sleepe, so they that are vnder it sleepe also. So sleepe the lawes. For my part, I commend a gliding, an obscure and reposed life: *Neque submissam & abiectam, neque se efferentem. Neither too abiect and submisse, nor vaunting it selfe too much.* But my fortune will have it so; I am Cic. off. lib. 1. descended of a family that hath lived without noise and tumult: and of long continuance particularly ambitious of integritie. Our men are so framed to agitation and ostentations that goodnesse, moderation, equitie, constancie, and such quiet and meane qualities, are no more hard-of. Rough bodies are felt, smooth ones are handled imperceptibly. Sickness is felt, health little or not at all: nor things that annoint vs, in regard of such as sting vs, It is an action for ones 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 counsell-chamber: & at noone day, what might have beene effected the night before: and to be jealous to doe that himselfe, which his fellow can performe as well. So did some Surgeons of *Greece* shew the operations of their skill, vpon scaffolds, in view of all passengers, thereby to get more practise and custome. They suppose, that good orders cannot be vnderstood, but by the sound of a trumpet. Ambition is no vice for pettie companions, and for such endeavours as ours. One saide to *Alexander*: your father will leave you a great commaund, easie and peacefull: the boy was envious of his fathers victories, and of the justice of his goverment. He would not have enjoyed the worlds Empire securely and quietly. *Alcibiades* in *Plato*, loveth rather to die yong, faire, rich, noble, learned, and all that in excellence, then to stay in the state of such a condition. This infirmitie is happily excusable, in so strong and full a minde. When these pettie wretched soules, are therewith enveagled; and thinke to publish their fame, because they have judged a cause rightly, or continued the order in guarding of a Citties gates; by how much more they hoped to raise their head, so much more doe they shew their simplicitie. This pettie well-doing, hath neither body nor life. It vanisheth in the first moneth; and walkes but from one corner of a street to another. Entertaine therewith your sonne and your servant, and spare not. As that ancient fellow, who having no other auditor of his praises & appla [...]ding of his sufficiency, boasted with his chamber-maide, [577]exclaiming: Oh *Perette*, what a gallant and sufficient man thou hast to thy maister! If the worst happen, entertaine your selves in y [...]ur selves: As a Counsellour of my acquaintance, having degorged a rable of paragraphes, with an extreame contention and like foolishnesse; going out of the counsell-chamber, to a pissing place neere vnto it; was heard very conscientiously to vtter these words to himselfe: *Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, sed nomini* Psal. 115. 1. *tuo da gloriam. Not vnto vs, O Lord, not vnto vs, but vnto thy name give the glory.* He that cannot otherwise, let him pay himselfe out of his owne purse. Fame doth not so basely prostitute it selfe, nor so cheape. Rare and exemplar actions, to which it duly belongeth, could not brooke the company of this innumerable multitude of vulgar petty

actions. *Well may a piece of marble raise your titles as high as you list, because you have repaired a piece of an olde Wall, or cleansed a common ditch; but men of iudgement will never doe it.* Report followeth not all goodnesse, except difficulty and rarity be joynd therevnto. Yea simple estimation, according to the Stoikes, is not due to every action proceeding from vertue. Neither would they have him commended, who through temperance abstaineth from an old blearey'd woman. Such as have knowen the admirable qualities of *Scipio* the Affrican, renounce the glory which *Panaetius* ascribeth vnto him, to have abstained from gifts, as a glory, not his alone, but peculiar to that age. We have pleasures sortable to our fortune; let vs not vsurpe those of greatnesse. Our owne are more naturall. They are the more solide and firme, by how much the meaner. Since it is not for conscience, at least for ambition let vs refuse ambition. Let vs disdain this infaciate thirst of honour and renowne, base and beggerly, which makes vs so suppliantly to crave it of all sortes of people: *Quae est ista laus quae possit è Cic. d [...] fin. 1. 2. macello peti? What praise is this, which may bee fetcht out of the Shambles?* By object meanes, and at what vile rate soever. To be thus honoured, is meerely a dishonour. *Learn we to bee no more greedie of glorie, then we are capable of it.* To be proud of every profitable and innocent action, is it fit for men to whom it is extraordinary and rare. They will value it, for the price it cost them. According as a good effect is more resounding; I abate of it's goodnes: the jelousie I conceive, it is produced more because it is so resounding, than because it is good. *What is set-out to shew, is halfe solde.* Those actions have more grace, which carelessly and vnder silence, passe from the handes of a Workeman, and which some honest man afterward chuseth and redeemeth from darkenesse, to thrust them into the worlds-light; Onely for their worth. *Mihi quidem laudabilia videntur omnia, quae sine venditione, & sine populo Cic. Tusc. qu. 1. 2. teste fiunt: All things in sooth 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 deafe and insensible effects. Innovation is of great lustre: But interdicted in times, when we are most vrged, and have to defend our selves but from novelties; *Abstinence from doing, is often as generous, as doing: but it is not so apparant.* My small worth is in a manner all of this kinde. To be short, the occasions in this my charge have seconded my complexion; for which I conne them hartly thanks. Is there any man that desireth to be sicke, to see his Physition set a worke? And *Should not that Physition be well whipped, who to put his arte in practize, would wish the plague to infect vs?* I was never possessed with this impious and vulgar passion, to wish that the troubled and distempred state of this Citty, might raise and honour my governement. I have most willingly lent them my hand to further, and shoulders to aide their ease and tranquillity. He that will not thanke me for the good order and for the sweet and vndisturbed rest, which hath accompanied my charge; cannot at least deprive me of that part, 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 successes as much to the meere grace of God, as to the meane furtherance of my operation. I had sufficiently published to the World my insufficiency: in managing of such publicke affaires: Nay, there is something in me, worse than insufficiency: Which is, that I am not much displeas'd therewith: and that I endeavour not greatly to cure it, considering the course of life I have determined to my selfe. Nor have I satisfied my selfe in this employment. But have almost attained what I had promised vnto my selfe: Yet have I much exceeded, what I had promised those, 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 me. This know I certainly, I have not much affected it.

[578]

—*Méne huic considerare monstre,*  
*Méne salis placidi vultum, fluctúsque quietos* Virg A [...]n. lib. 5 849.  
 Ignorare?—  
 Should I this monster trust? Should I not know  
 The calme Seas counterfait dissembling shew,  
 How quietly sometimes the flouds will go?

### **The eleventh Chapter. Of the Lame or Cripple.**

TWO or three yeares are now past, since the yeere hath beene shortned tenne dayes in *France*. Oh how many changes are like to ensue this reformation ■ It was a right remooving of Heaven and Earth together, yet nothing remooveth fromit's owne place: My Neighbours finde the season of their seede and Harvest time, the opportunity of their affaires, their lucky and vnlucky dayes, to answer just those seasons to which they had from all ages assigned them. Neither was the errour heeretofore perceived, nor is the reformation now discerned in our vse. So much vncertainty is there in all things: So grosse, so obscure and so dull is our vnderstanding. Some are of opinion, this reformation might have bin redressed after a lesse incommodious maner; substracting according to the example of *Augustus*, for some yeares, the bissextile or leape day: Which in some sort, is but a day of hinderance and trouble: Vntill they might more exactly have satisfied the debt: Which by this late reformation is not done: For wee are yet some dayes in arrerages: And if by such a meane, we might provide for times to come, appoynting that after the revolution of such or such a number of yeares, that extraordinary day might for ever be eclipsed: so that our misreckoning should not henceforward exceede foure and twenty houres. Wee have no other computation of time, but yeares: The World hath vsed them so many ages: And yet is it a measure, we have not vntill this day perfectly established. And such, as wee dayly doubt, what forme other Nations have diversly given the same; and which was the true vse of it. And what if some say, that the Heavens in growing oldecompress themselves towards vs, and cast into an vncertainty of houres and dayes? And as *Plutarke* saith of moneths; that even in his dayes, Astrologie could not yet limite the motion of the Moone? Are not we then well holp-vp, to keepe a register of things past? I was even now plodding (as often I doe) vpon this, what free and gadding instrument humane reason is. I ordinarily see, that men, in matters proposed them, doe more willingly ammuze and busie themselves in seeking out the reasons, than in searching out the truth of them. They omit presuppositions, but curiously examine consequences. They leave things, and runne to causes. Oh conceited discourses! The knowledge of causes doth onely concerne him, who hath the conduct of things: Not vs, that have but the sufferance of them. And who according to our neede, without entering into their beginning and essence, have perfectly the full and absolute vse of them. Nor is wine more pleasant vnto him that knowes the first faculties of it. Contrariwise; both the body and the minde, interrupt and alter the right, which they have of the Worldes vse and of themselves, commixing therewith the opinion of learning. The effects concerne vs, but the meanes, nothing at all. To determine and distribute, belongeth to superiority and regency; as accepting, to subjection and apprenticeshippe. Let vs re-assume our custome. They commonly beginne thus: *How is such a thing done?* Whereas they should say: *Is such a thing done?* Our discourse is capable to frame an hundred other Worldes, and finde the beginnings and contexture of them. It needeth neither matter nor ground. Let it but runne on: It will as well build vpon emptinesse, as vpon fulnesse and with inanity as with matter.

*Dare pondus idonea fume,* Pers. sat. 5. 20.  
 That things which vanish straight  
 In smoke, should yet beare weight.

I finde, that wee should say most times: *There is no such thing*. And I would often employ this answer; but I dare not: for they cry; It is a defeature produced by ignorance and weaknesse of spirite. And I must commonly juggle for company sake, to treat of idle subjects and frivolous discourses. which I believe nothing at all. Since truly, it is a rude and quareulous humour, flatly to deny a proposition. And few misse (especially in things hard to be perswaded) to affirme, that they have seene it: Or to alleadge such witnesses, as their authoritie shall stay our contradiction. According to which vse, we know the foundations and meanes of a thousand things that never were. And the world is in a thousand questions descanted and bandied too & fro; the *pro* and *contra* of which is meerly false. *Ita finitima sunt falsaveris*, Cic. Acad. qu. lib. 4. *vt in praecipitem locum non debeat se sapiens committere*. Falsehood is so neere Neighbour to truth, that a wiseman should not put himselfe vpon a slipperie downefal. Truth and falsehood have both alike countenances, their port, their taste and their proceedings semblable: Wee beholde them with one same eyes. I obserue that we are not onely slowe in defending ourselves from deceit, but that wee seeke and sue to embrace it. Wee love to meddle and entangle ourselves with vanity, as conformable vnto our being. I have seene the birth of diuers miracles in my dayes. Although they be smothered in their first growth, wee omit not to foresee the course they would have taken, had they lived their full age. The matter is to finde the end of the clue; that found, one may winde-off what he list: And *there is a further distance from nothing to the least thing in the World, than betweene that and the greatest*. Now the first that are embrued with the beginning of strangenesse, comming to publish their history, finde by the oppositions made against them, where the difficulty of perswasion lodgeth; and goe about with some false patch, to botch vppe those places. Besides that, *Insita h [...]minibus libidine alendi de industria rumores: Men having a natural desire to nourish reports*. We naturally make it a matter of conscience, to restore what hath beene lent vs, without some vsury and accession of our encrease. *A particular error, doeth first breede a publike error*: And when his turne commeth, *A publike error begetteth a particular error*. So goeth all this vast frame, from hand to hand, confounding and composing it selfe; in such sort that the furthest-abiding testimonie, is better instructed of it, then the nearest: and the last informed, better perswaded then the first. It is naturall progresse: For, whosoever beleeveth any thing, thinkes it a deede of charity, to perswad it vnto another: Which, that hee may the better effect, hee feareth not to adde something of his owne invention thereunto, so farre as hee seeth necessary in his discourse, to supply the resistance and defect, hee imagine [...]h to bee in anothers conception. My selfe, who make an especiall matter of conscience to lie, and care not greatly to ad credit or authority to what I say, perceive nevertheles, by the discourses I have in hand, that being ernested, either by the resistance of another, or by the earnestnes of my narration; I swell and amplifie my subject by my voyce, motions, vigor and force of wordes: as also by extension and amplification, not without some prejudice to the naked truth. But yet I doe it vpon condition, that to the first that brings mee home againe, and enquireth for the bare and simple truth at my hands: I sodainely give over my hold, and without exaggeration emphasis or amplification, I yeeld both my selfe and it vnto him. A lively, earnest and ready speech as mine, is easie transported vnto hyperboles. There is nothing whereunto men are ordinarily more prone, then to give way to their opinions. Where ever vsuall meanes faile vs, wee adde commandement, force, fire and sword. It is not without some ill fortune to come to that passe, that the multitude of believers, in a throng where fooles doe in number so farre exceede the wise, should bee the best touch-stone of truth. *Quasi verò quidquam Cic. de divin. 1. 2 sit tam valdè, quàm nilsapere vulgare. Sanitatis patrociniū est, insanientium turba. As though any thing were so common as to have no wit. The multitude of them that are mad, is a defence for them that are in their wits*. It is a hard matter for a man to resolve his judgement against common opinions. The first perswasion taken from the very subject, seizeth on the simple: whence vnder th'authority of the number and antiquity of testimonies, it extends it selfe on the wiser sort. As for me, in a matter, which I could not believe being reported by one: I

should never credite the same, though affirmed by a hundred. And I judge not opinions, by yeares. It is not long since one of our Princes, in whom the govt had spoiled a gentle disposition and blithe composition; suffered himselfe so farre to bee perswaded or mis-led, by the report made vnto him of the wondrous deedes of a Priest, who by way of charmes, spells and gestures cured all diseases; that hee vndertooke a long-tedious jonrny to finde him [580]out: and by the vertue of his apprehension did so perswade, and for certaine houres so [...]ull his legs asleepe, that for a while hee brought them to doe him that service, which for a long time they had forgotten. Had fortune heaped five or six like accidents one in the necke of another, they had doubtlesse beene able to bring this miracle into nature. Whereas afterward there was so much simplicity and so little skill found in the architect of these workes, that he was deemed vnworthy of any punishment: As likewise should bee done with most suchlike things, were they throughly knowen in their nature. *Miramur ex intervallo fallentia: Wee wonder at those things that deceive vs by distance.* Our sight doth in such sort, often represent vs a farre-off with strange images, which vanish in approaching neerer. *Nnquam ad liquidum fama perducitur. Fame is never brought to be cleare.* It is a wonder, to see how from many vaine beginnings and frivolous causes, so famous impressions doe ordinarily arise and ensue. Even that hindereth the information of them: For, whilst a man endeoureth to finde out causes, forcible and weighty ends, and worthy so great a name, hee looseth the true and essentiall. They are so little, that they escape our sight. And verily a right wise, heedy and subtile inquisitor is required in such questings; imparciall and not preoccupied. All these miracles and strange events, are vntill this day hidden from me: I have seene no such monster, or more expresse wonder in this world, then my selfe. *With time and custome a man doth acquaint and enure him selfe to all strangenesse:* But the more I frequent and know my selfe, the more my deformity astonieth me: and the lesse I vnderstand my selfe. The chiefest priviledge to produce and advance such accidents, is reserved vnto fortune. Travelling yesterday 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 country thereabout had for many months beene ammused and abused; and diverse bordering Provinces began to listen vnto it, and severall troupes of all qualities ceased not thicke and threefold to flocke thither. A yong man of that towne, vndertooke one night in his owne house (never dreaming of any knavery) to counterfeit the voice of a spirit or ghost, but onely for sport, to make himselfe merry for that present, which succeeding better then he had imagined; to make the jest extend further, and himselfe the merrier, he made a country-maiden acquainted with his devise; who because she was both seely and harmelesse, consented to beesecret and to second him: In the end they got another, and were now three, all of one age and like sufficiency: and from private spirit-talking, they beganne with hideous voices to cry and roare aloud, and in, and about churches hiding themselves vnder the chiefe Altar, speaking but by night, forbidding any light to bee set vp: From speeches tending the worldes subversion, and threatning of the day of judgement (which are the subjects, by whose authority and abusive reverence, imposture and illusion, is more easily lurked) they proceeded to certaine visions and strange gestures, so foolish and ridiculous, that ther is scarce any thing more grosse and absurd vsed among Children, in their childish sports. Suppose I pray you, that fortune would have seconded this harmelesse devise or jugling tricke; Who knoweth how farre it would have extended, and to what it would have grown? The poore seely three Divels are now in prison, and may happily e're long pay deere for their common sottishnesse; and I wot not whether some cheverell judge or other, will bee avenged of them for his. It is manifestly seene in this, which now is discovered; as also in divers other things of like quality, exceeding our knowledge; I am of opinion that we vphold our judgement, as well to reject, as to receive. Many abuses are engendered in the World; or to speake more boldly, all the abuses 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 cannot refute. Wee speake of all things by precepts and resolution. The Stile of *Rome* did



bear, that even the same, that a witness deposed, because he had seen it with his own eyes; and that which a Judge ordained of his most assured knowledge, was conceived in this form of speech, *It seemeth so unto me*. I am drawn to hate likely things, when men goe about to set them downe as infallible. I love these wordes or phrases, which mollifie and moderate the temerity of our propositions: *It may be: Peradventure: In some sort: Some: It is saide: I thinke*, and such like: And had I beene to instruct children, I would so often have put this manner of answering in their mouth; enquiring, and not resolving: *What meanes it? I vnderstand it not: It may well bee: 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. *Whosoever [581] will be cured of ignorance, must confesse the same*. Iris is the daughter of *Thaumantis*. *Admiration is the ground of all Philosophie: Inquisition the progresse: Ignorance the end*. Yea 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, there is required no lesse learning, than to conceive true learning.

Being yong, I saw a law-case, which *Corras* a Counsellor of *Tholouse* 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 imposture, whom he condemned as guilty, so wondrous strange and so 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 vnderstands nothing of it*; more freely and ingenuously, than did the *Areopagites*; who finding themselves vrged and entangled in a case they could not well cleare or determine, appointed the parties to come againe and appeare before them a hundred yeeres after. The witches about my countrie, are in hazard of their life, vpon the opinion of every new authour, that may come to give their dreames a body. To apply such examples as the holy word of God offreth vs of such things (assured and irrefragable examples) and joine them to our moderne events; since wee neither see the causes nor meanes of them, some other better wit then ours is thereunto required. Peradventure it appertaineth to that onely most-mightie testimony, to tell vs: This here, and that there; and not this other are of them. God must be beleued; 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 plaine and homely, and take hold on the maine point, and on that which is most likely; avoiding ancient reproches. *Maior em fidem homines adhibent ijs quae non intelligunt. Cupidine humani ingenij libentius obscura creduntur*. *Men give more credite to things they vnderstand not: Things obscure are more willingly beleued through a strange desire of mans wit*. I see that men will be angry: and am forbid to doubt of it vpon paine of execrable injuries. A new manner of perswading. *Mercie for Gods sake*. My beliefe is not carried away with blowes. Let them tyrannize over such as accuse their opinion of falsehood; I onely accuse mine of difficulty and boldnesse. And equally to them I condemne the opposite affirmation: if not so imperiously. He that with bravery and by commaundement will establish his discourse, declareth his reason to be weake: For a verball and scholasticall altercation, that they have as much apparence as their contradictors. *Videantur sanè, non affirmantur modò. Indeede let them seeme, so they bee not avouched*. But in effectuall consequence they draw from it, these have great ods. *To kill men; there is required a bright shining and cleare light*. And our life is over- reall and essentiall, to warrant these supernaturall and fantastick accidents. As for drugges and poisons, they are out of my element: they are homicides, and of the worst kinde. In which neverthesse, it is said, that one must not alwayes relie vpon the meere confession of those people: For, they have sometimes beene seene to accuse themselves, to have made away men which were both sound and living. In these other extravagant accusations, I should easily say that it sufficeth what commendations soever he hath, a man be believed in such things as are humane: but of such as are beyond his conception and of a supernaturall effect, hee ought then onely be

believed, when a supernaturall approbation hath authorized him. That priviledge it hath pleased God to give some of our testimonies, ought not to bee vilified, or slightly communicated. Mine eares 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; v [...]ily in such a case I could not beleeeve 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 vnderstanding may by the volubility of our loose capring 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 tunnell of a chimney? Let vs, who are perpetually tossed too and fro with domesticall and our owne illusions, not seeke for forraine and vnknownen illusions. I deeme it a matter pardonable, not to beleeeve a wonder, so farreforth at least as one may divert and exclude the verification by no miraculous way. And I follow Saint *Augustines* opinion, that *a man were [582] better bend towards doubt, than encline towards certaintie, in matters of difficult triall and daungerous beliefe.* Some yeares are now past, that I travelled through the country of a soveraigne Prince: who in favour of mee, 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 kinde; and amongst others an olde beldam witch; a true and perfect forceresse, both by her vglines and deformity; and such a one as long before was most famous in that profession. I sawe both proofes, witnesses, voluntary confessions, and some other insensible markes about this miserable olde woman; I enquired and talked with her a long time, with the greatest heed and attention I could; yet am I not casily carried away by preoccupation. In the end, and in my conscience, I should rather have appointed them Helleborum, than Hemlocke. *Captisque res magis mentibus, quàm consceleratis similis visa. The matter seemed liker to mindes captivate then guiltie.* Law hath her owne corrections for such diseases. Touching the oppositions and arguments, that honest men have made vnto mee, both there, and often elsewhere, I have found none that tie mee; and that admit not alwayes a more likely solution, than their conclusions. True it is, that proofes and reasons grounded vpon 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 burned alive. It is reported by diverse examples (and *Praestantius* saith of his father) that being in a slumber much more deeply, then in a full-sound sleepe, he dreamed and verily thought himselfe to be a Mare, and serued certaine souldiers for a sumpter-horse, and was indeede what he imagined to bee. If sorcerers dreame thus materially: If dreames may sometimes be thus incorporated into effects: I cannot possibly believe, that our will should therefore be bound to the lawes and justice: which I say, as one who am neither a Iudge, nor a Counsellor vnto Kings, and furthest from any such worthinesse: but rather a man of the common stamp, and both by my deedes and sayings, borne and vowed to the obedience of publike reason. Hee that should register my humours, to the prejudice of the simplest lawe, or opinion, or custome of this village, should greatly wrong himselfe, and injury me as much. For in what I say, I gape for no other certainty, but that such was then my thought. A tumultuous and wavering thought. It is by way of discourse that I speake of all; and of nothing by way of advise. *Nec me pudet, vt istos, faterinescire, quod nesciam. Nor am I ashamed, as they are, to confesse I know not that which I doe not knowe.*

I would not bee so hardy to speake, if of duty I ought to bee 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 endeavour I can, I will propose the contrary vnto you; to resolve and enlighten your judgement, not to subdue or binde the same: God hath your hearts in his handes, and hee will furnish you with choise. I am so malapert, as to desire, that my opinions alone, should give sway to a matter of such importance. My fortune hath not raised them to so powerfull and deepe conclusious. Truely, I have not onely a great number of complexions, but an infinite many of opinions, from which, had I a sonne of mine

owne, I would dissuade him, and willingly make him to distaste them. What? If the truest are not ever the most commodious for man; he being of so strange a [...]d vntamed a composition: Whether it be to the purpose, or from the purpose, it is no great matter. It is a common Proverbe in *Italie*, that *He knowes not the perfect pleasure of Venus, that hath not laine with a limping Woman*. Either fortune, or some particular accident have long since brought this by-saying in the peoples mouth: and it is as well spoken of men as of women: For the Queene of the Amazons answered the Scithian, that wooed her to loves-embracements. [...], *The crooked man doeth it best*. In that feminine common-wealth of theirs, to avoyde the domination of men, they were wont in their infancy to maime them, both their armes and legges and other limmes, that might anyway advantage their strength over them, and made onely that vse of them, that we in our World make of our Women. I would have saide, that the loose or disjoynted motion of alimping or crooke-backt Woman, might addesome new kinde of pleasure vnto that businesse or sweet sinne, and some vn-assaid sensuall sweetnesse, to such as make triall of it: but I have lately learnt, that even ancient Philosophy hath decided the matter: Who saith, that the legs and thighs of the crooked-backt or halting-lame, by reason of their imperfection, not receiving the nourishment, due vnto them, it followeth that the Genitall partes, that are above [583]them, are more full, better nourished and more vigorous. Or else, that such a defect hindring other exercise, such as are therewith possessed, do lesse waste their strength and consume their vertue, and so much the stronger and fuller, they come to *Venus* sportes. Which is also the reason why the Graecians described their Women-Weavers, to bee more hotte and earnestly-luxurious, 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 likewise say of these, that the same stirring, which their labour, so sitting doth give them, doth rouze and sollicite them, as the jogging and shaking of their Coache, doth our Ladies. Doe not these examples fit that whereof I spake in the beginning? That our reasons doe often anticipate the effect, and have the extension of their jurisdiction so infinite, that they judge and exercise themselves in manity, and to a not being? Besides the flexibility of our invention, to frame reasons vnto all manner of dreames; our imaginations is likewise found easie to receive impressions from falsehood, by very frivolous apparances. For, by the onely authority of the antient and publicke vse of this word or phrase, I have heretofore perswaded my selfe, to have received more pleasure of a Woman, in that she was not straight, and have accompted hir crookednesse in the number of hir graces. *Torquato Tasso*, in the comparison he makes betweene *Italy* and *France*, reporteth to have noted, that we commonly have more slender and spiny legges, than the Italian Gentlemen; and imputeth the cause vnto our continuall riding and sitting on horse-backe. Which is the very same, from which *Suctonius* draweth another cleane contrary conclusion: For, he saith, that *Germanicus* had by the frequent vse of this exercise, brought his to be very big. *There is nothing so supple and wandering, as our vnderstanding*. It is like to *Theramenez* shooe, fit for all feet. It is double and diverse, and so are matters diverse and double. Give me a Dragma of Silver, said a Cinike Philosopher vnto *Antigonus*: It is not the present of a King, answered he; Give then a talent: It is no gift for a Cinike, quoth he:

Seu plures calor ille vias, & caeca relaxat Virg. Georg. li. 1 89.  
 Spiramenta, novas veniat qua succus in herbas:  
 Seu durat magis, & venas astringit hiantes,  
 Ne tenues pluviae, rapidive potentia solis  
 Acrior, aut Boreae penetrabile frigus adurat.  
 Whether the heate layes open holes vnseene,  
 Whereby the sappe may passe to hearbs fresh-greene:  
 Or rather hardens and bindes gaping vaines,  
 Lest sharpe power of hot sunne, or thinning raines,  
 Of piercing North-cold blaste,  
 Should scorch, consume and waste,

*Ogni medaglia ha il suo verso [...]io; Each outside hath his inside, saith the Italian. Lo why C [...]tomachus was wont to say, that Carneades had surmounted the labours of Hercules; because he had exacted consent from men; that is to say opinion and temerity to judge. This fantasie of Carneades, so vigorous (as I imagine) proceeded antiently, from the impudency of those, who make profession to know; and from their excessive self-overweening. Aesope was set to sale, together with two other slaves; a Chapman enquired of the first, what he could doe: he to endear himselfe, answered, mountaines and wonders, and what not? For he knew and could doe all things. The second answered even so for himselfe, and more too: But when he came to Aesope, and demaunded of him what he could doe: Nothing (said he) for these two have forestaled all, and know and can doe all things, and have left nothing for mee. So hath it happened in the schoole of philosophy. The rashnes of those who ascribed the capacity of all things to mans wit, through spight and emulation produced this opinion in others, that humane wit was not capable of any thing. Some holde the same 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 arrest, than that of necessity, and impuissance to proceede further.*

[584]

### **The twelfth Chapter. Of Physiognomy.**

ALmost all the opinions we have, are taken by authority, and vpon credit: There is no hurt. We cannot chuse worse, then by our selves, inso weake an age. This image of *Socrates* his discourse, which his friends have left vs, we only approve it, by the reverence of publicke approbation. It is not of our owne knowledge: they are not according to our vse. Might such a man be borne now adayes, there are but few would now esteeme him. Wee discern not graces inlie or aright; We onely perceive them by a false light set out and pufft vp with arte: Such as passe vnder their naturall purity and simplicity, doe easily escape so weake and dimme a sight as ours is. They have a secret, vnperceived and delicate beauty: he had neede of a cleere, farre-seeing and true-discerning sight, that should rightly discover this secret light. Is not in genuity (according to vs) cosin-germaine vnto sottishnesse, and a quality of reproach? *Socrates* maketh his soule to moove, with a naturall and common motion. Thus saith a plaine Country-man, and thus a seely Woman: Hee never hath other people in his mouth, than Coach-makers, Ioyners, Coblers and Masons. They are inductions and similitudes, drawn from the most vulgar and knowen actions of men: every one vnderstands him. Vnder so base a forme, wee should never have chosen the noble worthinesse and brightnesse of his admirable conceptions: Wee that esteeme all those but meane and vile, that learning doth not raise: and who have no perceiving of riches, except set out in shew and pompe. Our World is framed but vnto ostentation. Men are puffed vp with winde, and moved or handled by bounds, as Baloones. This man proposeth no vaine fantasies vnto himselfe. His end was, to store vs with things and furnish vs with precepts, which really more substantially and jointly serve our life:

— *servare modum, finémque tenere*, Lucan. b [...]. ci [...]. lib. 2. 380.  
Naturámque 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 complexion. Or to say better; he raised nothing, but rather brought downe and reduced all difficulties, or sharpenesse to their originall and naturall state, and therevnto subdued vigor. For, in *Cato*, it is manifestly seene, to be an out-right proceeding, far-above & beyond the common: By the brave exploits of his life, and in his death, hee is ever perceived to be

mounted vpon his great horses. Whereas this man keepes on the ground, and with a gentle and ordinary pace, treateth of the most profitable discourses, and addresseth himselfe both vnto death and to the most thorny and crabbed crosses, that may happen vnto the course of humane life. It hath indeede fortun'd, that the worthiest man to be known, and 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 enlightned by the most cleare-seeing men, that ever were; the testimonies wee have of him, are in faithfulness and sufficiency 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-raised; but found and pure: and ever with a blithe and vndefiled health. By these vulgar springs and naturall wards: by these ordinary and common fantasies, sans mooving or without vrging 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 wisdom from heaven againe, where for a long time it had beene lost, to restore it vnto man: where her most just 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, calumination, tyranny, death, and against his wives peevisch head: therein is nothing [585] borrowed from arte, 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 kindnesse, to shew what and how much she can doe of her selfe. Wee are every one richer then we imagine, but we are taught to borrow, and instructed to shift; and rather to make vse 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, of riches, of pleasure, of power, hee ever embraceth more, then hee can graspe or hold. His greedinesse is incapable of moderation. The very same I finde to bee in the curiosity of learning and knowledge: he cuts out more worke then hee can well make an end of: and much more then he neede. Extending Sen epist. 106. of the profit of learning, as farre as his matter. *Ut omnium rerum, sic literarum quoque intemperantia laboramus. Wee are sicke of a surfet, as of all things, so of learning also.* And Tacitus hath reason to commend *Agricolaes* mother, to have brided in her sonne an over-burning and earnest desire of learning. It is a good, being neerely looked vnto, that containeth as other humane goods, much peculiar vanitie and naturall weakenesse: and is very chargeable. The acquisition and purchase whereof is much more hazardous, then of all other viandes and beverage. For, whatsoever else wee have bought, we carry home insome vessell or other, where wee have law to examine it's worth: how much, and at what time wee are to take-it. But Sciences, wee cannot sodainely put them into any other vessell, then our minde: we swallow them in buying them and goe from the marketh either already infected or amended. There are some, which insteade of nourishing, doe but hinder and surcharge vs; and other some, which vnder colour of curing, empoison vs. I have taken pleasure in some place, to see men, who for devotions sake have made a vow of ignorance, as of chastity, poverty and penitence. It is also a kind of guelding of our inordinate appetites, to muzzle this greedinesse, which provoketh vs to the study of bookes, and deprive the minde of that voluptuous delight, which by the opinion of learning doth so tickle vs. And it is richly to accomplish the vow of poverty, to joine that of the minde vnto it. *Wee neede not much learning for to live at ease.* And *Socrates* teacheth vs, that wee have both it, and the way to finde and make vse of it, within vs. All our sufficiency, that beyond the naturall, is wellnigh vaine and superfluous. It is much, if it charge and trouble vs no more, then it steads vs. *Paucis* Sen *ibid. opus est literis ad mentem bonam. Wee have neede of little learning to have a good minde* They are febricitant excesses of our spirit: a turbulent and vnquiet instrument. Rowze vp your selfe, and you shall finde forcible arguments against death to bee in your selfe; most true and very proper to serve and steade you in time of necessity. T'is they which induce a peasant swaine, yea and whole nations to die as constantly as any Philosopher. Should I have died lesse

merrily before I read the *Thusculanes*? I thinke not. And when I finde my selfe in my best wits, I perceiue, 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, it shields itselfe, but with a natural and common march. Bookes have not so much served me for instruction, as exercitation. What if learning, assaying to arme vs with new wardes and fences, against naturall inconveniences, hath more imprinted their greatnesse and weight in our fantasie, then her reasons, quidities and subtilities, therewith to cover vs? They are subtilities indeed; by which she often awaketh vs very vainely. Obserue how many sleight and idle arguments the wisest and closest authours frame and scatter about one good sound: which if you consider neerely, are but vaine and incorporall. They are but verball wyles, which beguile vs. But forsomuch as it may bee profitable: I will not otherwise blanch them. Many of that condition are scattered here and there, in diuerse places of this volume; either borrowed or imitated. Yet should a man somewhat heed, he call not that force, which is but quaintnes; or terme that which is but quipping sharpe, solide; or name that good, which is but faire: *quae magis gustata quam potata delectant, which more delight vs being but tasted, then swild and Cic. Tusc. qu [...]. 5 swallowed downe.* All that which pleaseth, feedeth not; *vbi non ingenij sed animi negotium agitur. Where it is no matter of wit, but of courage.* To see the strugling endeoures which *Seneca* giveth himselfe, to prepare himselfe against death; to see him sweate with panting; to see him bathe so long vpon this pearch, thereby to strengthen and assure himselfe: I should have made question of his reputation, had he not most vndantedly maintained the same in his death. His so violent and frequent agitation, sheweth that himselfe was fervent and impetuous. *Magnus animus remissius loquitur, & securius: Non est alius ingenio, alius animo color.* Sen. epist. 115. [...]. 1. [586] *A great courage speakes softly but securely. Wit hath not one colour, and courage another.* He must be convicted at his owne charges. And sheweth in some sort, that hee was pressed by his adversary. *Plutarkes* maner by how much more disdainfull and farre-extending it is (in my opinion) so much more manlike and perswasive is it: I should easily beleeeve, that his soule had her motions more assured and more regular. The one more sharpe, pricketh and sodainely starts vs: toucheth the spirit more. The other more solide, doth constantly enforme, establish and comfort vs: toucheth more the vnderstanding. That ravisheth our judgement; this doth gaine it. I have likewise seene other compositions and more revered, which in purtraying the combate, they endure against the provocations of the flesh, represent 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 vnknown strangenesse and vnfelt vigor of their temptation, as their constant resistance. To what purpose doe we so arme and steele ourselves with these labouring-efforts of learning? Let vs diligently survey the surface of the earth, and there consider so many seely-poare people as wee see toying, sweltring and drooping about their businesse, which never heard of *Aristotle*, not of *Plato*, nor ever knew what examples or precepts are. From those doth nature dayly draw and affoord vs effects of constancy and patterns of patience, more pure and forcible, then are those, we so curiously study-for in schooles. How many do I ordinarily see, that misacknowledge poverty; how many that wish for death, or that passe it without any alaram or affliction? A fellow that dungeth my gardine, hath happily this morning buried his father or his childe. The very names whereby they call diseases, doe somewhat mylden and diminish the sharpenes of them. With them a *Phthisique* or consumption of the lungs, is but an ordinary cough: A *dysenterie* or bloody flix, but a distemper of the stomacke: A pleurisie but a cold or murre: and as they gently name them, so they easily endure them. Grievous are they indeed, when they hinder their ordinary labour or breake their vsuall rest: They will not take their beds but when they thinke they shall dy. *Simplex illa & aperta virtus in obscuram & solert [...].m scientiam versa est. That plaine and cleare vertue is turned into obscure and cunning knowledge.* I was writing this about a time that a boistrous storme of our tumultuous broiles and bloody troubles, did for many months space, with all it's might and horroure, 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 vitijs certatur. We contend not with armour, but with vices.* And at one time felt and endured all manner of harme-bringing military injuries:

Hostis adest dextra laev [...]que à parte timendus, Ovid. P [...]nt. l. 1. [...]l. 4. 55.  
Vicinóque malo terret vtrúmque latus.  
A fearefull foe on left hand and on right,  
Doth with his neighbour harmes both sides afright.

Oh monstrous Warre: Others worke without; this inwardly and against himselfe: And with her owne venome gnaweth and consumes 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, doth rent, deface and massacre it selfe. Wee doe more often see it, by and through hir selfe, to waste, to desolate and dissolve hir selfe, then by or through want of any necessary thing, or by enemies force. All manner of discipline doth shunne and flie it. She commeth to cure sedition, and hir selfe is throughly therewith infected: She goeth about to chastize disobedience, and sheweth the example of it: and being employed for the defence of Lawes, entreth into actuall rebellion against her owne ordinances. Aye me, where are we? Our Physicke bringeth infection.

Nostre mal s'empoyson [...]e  
Du secours qu'on luy donne.  
Our evill is empoysond more  
By plaister they would lay to th'sore.  
—*exuperat magis aegrescit (que) medendo.* Virg. Aen. l. 12. 46.  
It rises higher, quicker,  
And growes by curing sicker,  
Omnia fanda nefanda mal [...] permista furore, Catul. Arg [...] v. 405.  
Iustificam nobis mentem avertere Deorum.  
[587] Lawfull vnlawfull deedes with fury blended,  
Have turn'nd from vs the Gods just minde offended.

In these popular diseases, one may in the beginning distinguish thescund from the sicke: but if they chance to continue any time, as ours hath done and doth still, all the body, yea head and heeles feeles themselves the worse: no part is exempted from corruption. For, *there is no aire a man drawes so greedily, or sucks so gluttonnously; and that more spreads it selfe, or penetrates more deepely, then doth licentiousnesse.* Our Armies have no other bond to tie them, or other ciment to fasten them, then what commeth from strangers: It is now a hard matter to frame a body of a compleate, constant, well-ordred and coherent Army of Frenchmen: Oh what shame is it? We have no other discipline, then what borrowed or auxiliar Souldiers shew vs. As for vs, wee are led [...]on by our owne discretion and not by the commaunders each man followeth his owne humour: and hath more to doe within, then without. It is the commaundement should follow, court and yeeld vnto: hee onely ought to obey: all the rest is free and loose. I am pleased to see, what remisnesse and pusilanimitie is in ambition, and by what steps of abjection and servitude, it must arrive vnto it's end. But I am displeas'd to see some debonaire and well-meaning mindes, yea such as are capable of iustice, dayly corrupted, about the managing and commanding of this many-headed confusion. *Long suffrance begets custome; cust [...]me, consent and imitation.* We had too-too many infected and ill-borne mindes, without corrupting the good, the sound 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 sufficiencie, the health or recovery of this state may bee committed in trust, if fortune shall happily be pleased to restore it vs againe.

Hunc saltem everso inven [...]m succurrere scelo,  
Ne prohibete.  
Forbid not yet this youth at least,  
To aide this age more then opprest.

What is become of that antient precept; *That Souldiers ought more to feare their Generall than their enemie?* And of that wonderfull examplelesse example: That the Romane army having vpon occasion enclosed within her trenches, and round-beset an apple-orchard; so obedient was shee to her Captaines, that the next morning, it rose and marched away without entring 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 bee glad, that our Youths, in steade of the time they employ about lesse profitable peregrinations, and lesse honourable apprentishippes, would bestow one moyty, in seeing and observing the warres that happen on the sea, vnder some good Captaine or excellent Commaunder of *Malta*; the other moyty in learning and surveying the discipline of the Turkish armies. For it hath many differences and advantages over ours. This ensueth, that heere our Souldiers become more licentious in expeditions, there they proove more circumspect and fearefully wary. For, small offences and petty larcenies, which in times of peace, are in the common people punished with whipping or bastonadoes, in times of warre are capitall crimes. For an egge taken by a Turke without paying, hee is by their law to have the full number of fifty stripes with a cudgell. For every other thing, how sleight soever not necessary for mans feeding, even for very trifles, they are either thrust through with a sharpe stake, which they call Empaling, or presently beheaded. I have beene amazed, reading the story of *Selim*, the cruelllest Conqueror that ever was, to see, at what time hee subdued the Country of *Aegypt*, the beauteous-goodly gardines round about the City of *Damasco*, all open and in a conquered Country; his maine armie lying encamped round about, those gardines were left vntouched and vnspoyled by the handes of his Souldiers, onely because they were commaunded to spoyle nothing, and [...]ad not the watch-word of pillage. But is there any malady in a Common-weale, that deserveth to bee combated by so mortall drugge? No saide *Favonius*, not so much as the vsurpation of the tyrannicall possession of a Commonwealth. *Plato* likewise is not willing one should offer violence to the quiet repose of his-Countrys no not to reforme or cure the same; and alloweth not that reformation, which disturbeth or hazardeth the whole estate; and which is purchased with the blood and ruine of the Cittizens. Establishing the office of an honest man, in these causes, to leaue all there: But onely to pray God, to lend his extraordinary assisting hand vnto it. And seemeth to be offended [588]with *Dyon* his great friend, to have therein proceeded somewhat otherwise. I was a Platonist on that side before ever I knew there had beene a *Plato* in the world. And if such a man ought absolutely be banished our commerce, and refused our societie: (hee who for the sincerity of his conscience, deserved by meane of divine favour, athwart the publique darkenesse, and through the generall ignorance of the world wherein hee lived, so farre to enter and so deeply to penetrate into chaistian light) I doe not thinke, that it befitteth vs, to be instructed by a Pagan. Oh what impiety 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 vnderstanding, that hath earnestly beene perswaded, he proceeded toward reformation, by the vtmost of deformations; that hee drew toward his salvation, by the most expresse causes, that wee have of vndoubted damnation: that ouerthrowing policy, disgracing magistrates, abusing lawes, vnder whose tuition God hath placed him; filling brotherly mindes 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, cruelty and revenge have not sufficient proppes and natural impetuosity; let vs allure and stirre them vppe by the glorious title of justice and devotion. *There can no worse estate of things bee imagined, than where wickednesse commeth to bee lawfull:* And with the Magistrates leave, to take the cloake of vertue: *Nihil in speciem fallacius, quàm prava religio, vbi deorum*



*numen praetenditur sceleribus. There is nothing more deceitfull to shew, than corrupt religion, when the power of Heaven is made a pretence and cloake for wickednesse.* The extreame kinde 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 losses.

— *vndi (que) totis*  
Us (que) adeo turbatur agris.—  
Such revell and tumultuous rout  
In all the country round about.

But also succeeding dommages. The living were faine to suffer, so did such as then were scarce borne. They were robbed and pilled, and by consequence so was I, even of hope: spoiling and depriving them of al they had to provide their living for many yeares to come.

Quae nequeunt secum ferre aut abducere, perdunt,  
Et cremat insontes turba scelestas casas:  
Muris nulla fides, squallent popularibus agri.  
They wretch-lesse spoyle and spill what draw or drive they may not,  
Guilty rogues to set fire on guilt-lesse houses stay not.  
In wals no trust, the field  
By spoile growes waste and wilde.

Besides these mischiefes, I endured some others. I incurred the inconveniences that moderation bringeth in such diseases. I was shaven on all handes: To the Chibelin I was a Guelf, to Guelf a Ghibelin. Some one of my Poets expresseth as much, but I wot not where it is. The situation 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 opposed my selfe against the lawes; and who had called me in question, should have lost by the bargaine. They were mute suspicions, that ranne vnder hand, which never want apparance in so confused a hurly-burly, no more than lacke of envious or foolish wittes. I commonly affoord ayde vnto injurious presumption, that fortune scattereth against me; by a fashion I never had, to avoid justifying, excusing or interpreting my selfe; deeming it to be a putting of my conscience to compromise, to pleade for hir, *Perspicuitas enim, argumentatione elevatur: For the clearing of a cause, is lessened by the arguing.* And as if every man saw into mee as cleare as I doe my selfe, in lieu of withdrawing, I advance my selfe to the accusation and rather endear it; by an erroneous and scoffing confession: except I flatly hold my peace, as of a thing vnworthy any answer. But such as take it for an over-proud confidence, doe not much lesse disesteeme and hate me for it, than such as take it for weakenesse of an indefensible cause. Namely the great, with whom want of submission, is the extreame fault. Rude to all justice, that is knowen or felt: not demisse, humble or suppliant. I have often stumbled against that pillar. [589]So it is, that by the harmes which befell mee, an ambitious man would have hanged himselfe; and so would a covetons churle. I have no care at all to acquire or get.

Sit mihi quod nunc est, etiam minus, vt mihi vivam  
Quod superest aevi, si quid superesse volent dij. Hor lib. 1 epist. 18. 107.  
Let me have, that I have, or lesse, so I may live  
Vnto my selfe the rest, if any rest God give.

But losses that come vnto me by others injury, be in larceny or violence, pinch mee, in a manner as one sicke and tortured with avarice. *An offence causeth vndoubtedly more griefe and sharpenesse, than a losse.* A thousand severall kindes of mischiefes fell vpon mee one in the necke of another; I should more stoutly have endured them, had they come all at once. I bethought my selfe, amongst my friendes, to whom I might commit a needy, a defective and vnfortunate olde age: But after I had surveyed them all, and cast mine eyes every where, I

found my selfe bare and far to seeke. For one to sowse himselfe downe headlong, and from so great a height, hee should heedily forecast that it may be in the armes of a solide, stedfast, vigorous and fortunate affection. They are rare, if there be any. In the end I perceived the best and safest way, was to trust both my selfe and my necessity, vnto my selfe. And if it should happen to be but meanly and faintly in Fortunes grace, I might more effectually recommend my selfe vnto mine owne favour, more closely fasten and more neerely looke vnto my selfe. In all things men relie vpon strange props, to spare their owne: onely certaine and onely powerfull, know they but how to arme themselves with them. Every man runneth out and vnto what is to come, because no man is yet come into himselfe. And I resolved, that they were profitable inconveniences: forsomuch as when reason will not serve, we must first warne vntoward Scholars with the rod; as with fire and violence of wedges, we bring a crooked peece of wood to be straight. It is long since I call, to keepe my selfe vnto my selfe, and live sequestred from alience and strange things notwithstanding I daily start out and cast mine eyes aside. Inclination, a great mans favourable word, a kind looke doth tempt me. God he knowes whether there bee penury of them now-adayes, and what sense they beare. I likewise, without frowning, listen to the subornings, framed to drawe mee to some towne of merchandise or city of trafficke; and so coldly defend my selfe, that it seemes I should rather endure to be overcome, than not. Now to a spirit so indocile, blowes are required: and this vessell, that of it selfe is so ready to warpe, to vnhoope, to escape and fall in peeces, must be closed, hooped and strongly knockt with an adze. Secondly, that this accident served me as an exercitation to prepare my selfe for worse, if worse 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 surprised. Instructing my selfe betimes, to force my life and frame it for a new state. True-perfect liberty, is, for one to be able to doe and worke all things vpon himselfe. *Potentissimus est qui se habet in potestate. Hee is of most power, that Sen. epist. 9. 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 wee have beene these thirty yeeres, every French man, be it in generall or in particular, doth hourelly see himselfe vpon the point of his fortunes over-throw and downfall. By so much more ought each one have his courage stored and his minde fraughted, with more strong and vigorous provisions: Let vs thanke Fortune, that hath not made vs live in an effeminate, idle and languishing age: Some, whom other meanes could never bring vnto it, 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 present; So doth my curiosity make me somewhat please my selfe, with mine eies to see this notable spectacle of our publike death; her symptomes and formes. And since I could not hinder the same, I am content to bee appointed as an assistant vnto it, and thereby instruct my selfe. Yet seeke we evidently to know in shadowes, and vnderstand by fabulous representations vpon Theaters, to shew of the tragicke revolutions of humane fortune. It is not without compassion of that wee heare, but wee please our selves to rowze vp our displeasure, by the rarenesse of these pitifull events. *Nothing tickles, that pincheth not.* And good Historians avoid calme narrations, as a dead water or mort-mere; to retreewe seditions & finde out warres, whereto they know we call them. I doubt whether I may lawfully avow, at how base a rate of my lifes rest and tranquillity, I have past it more than halfe in the ruine of my Country. In accidents that touch mee not in [590]my freehold, I purchase patience very cheape; and to complaine to my selfe, I respect not so much what is taken from mee, as what is left me both within and without. There is comfort, in sometimes eschewing one, and sometimes another of the evils, that one in the necke of another surprise vs, and elsewhere strike vs round about. As matters of publike interrests, according as my affection is more vniversally scattred, she is thereby more enfeebled. Since it is halfe true: *Tantum ex publicis malis sentimus, quantum ad privatas res pertinet. Wee feele so much of common harmes as appertaine to our private estate.* And that the health whence wee fell was such, that her selfe solaceth the regret we should have for her.

It was health, many but in comparison 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 dignity, seemes to me the least tolerable. Wee are lesse injuriously robbed in the midst of a wood, then a place of security [...] It was an vniversall coherency of members spoiled aue one another; and most of them, with old-rankled vlcers, which neither admitted nor demaunded recovery. 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 self. Likewise, as God never sends 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 meanes to summon and rouze vp all my provisions, and to beare my hand before my hurt, 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, ther [...] was required a stronger counterbuffe. This I speake not, to provoke her to give me a more vigorous charge. I am her servant, and yeeld my selfe vnto her: For Gods sake let her be pleased. Demaund you whether I feele her assaults? I doe indeede. As those whom sorrow possesseth and overwhelmeth, doe notwithstanding at one time or other suffer themselves by intermissions to be touched by some pleasure, and now and then smile. I have sufficient power over my selfe, to make mine ordinary state quiet and free from all tedious and irkesome imaginations; but yet I sometimes suffer my selfe by starts to be surprised with the pinchings of these vnpleasant conceits, which whilst I arme my selfe to expell or wrestle against them, assaile and beate mee. Loe here another huddle or tide of mischief; that on the necke of the former came rushing vpon mee. 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, wher in no mans momory, infection (although very neere) could ever take footing: comming now to be poisoned brought forth strange effects.

Mista senum & iuuenum densantur funera nullum H [...]r. car. l. 1. [...]d. 28. 19.  
 Saeva caput Proserpina fugit.  
 Of old and yoong thicke funerals are shared;  
 By cruell *Proserpine* no head is spared.

I was faine to endure this strange condition, that the sight of my house was irkesome vnto me. Whatever was therein, lay all at randon, no man looked thereunto; and was free for any that had a minde vnto it. I who have so long beene a good housekeeper, and vsed to hospitality, was much troubled and put to my shifts, how to finde out some retreat for my family. A dismaied and scattered family, making both her selfe and her friends afraide, and breeding horreur where it sought to retire for shelter; being now to shift and change her dwelling, so soone as any of the company beganne to feele his finger ake, all the rest were dismaied. Every sicknesse is then taken for the plague: none hath leasure to consider them. And the mischief is, that according to rules of arte, what danger soeuer approacheth, a man must continue forty dayes in anxiety or feare of that euill; in which time your owne imagination doth perplex you as shee list and infect your health. All which had much lesse toucht mee, had I not beene forced to beare other mens burthens and partake all their griuances, and for six months space, in miserable maner, to be a woefull guide to so greatconfused a *Caravane*. For I euer carry my preseruatives about me, which are resolution and sufferance. Apprehension doth not greatly presse me; which is particularly feared in this sicknesse. 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 speeding voide of lingring giddinesse, without paine, comforted by the publike condition; without [591]ceremonie without mourning, and without thronging. But for the people about vs, the hundreth part of soules cannot be saved.

—*videas desertaque regna*  
Pastorum, & longe saltus latéque vacantes.  
Kingdomes of Shepherdes desolate forlorne,  
Parkes farre and neere lie waste, a state all torne.

In that place, my best revenue is manuell: what a hundred men laboured for me, lay fallow for a long time. What examples of resolution saw we not then in all this peoples simplicitie? Each one generally renounced all care of life. The grapes (which are the countries chiefe commoditie) hung still and rotted vpon the vines vntouch't: all indifferently preparing themselves, and expecting death, either that night or the next morrow: with countenance and voice so little daunted, that they seemed to have compromitted to this necessitie, and that it was an vniuersall and inevitable condemnation. It is ever such. But what slender hold hath the resolution of dying? The difference and distance of some few houres: the onely consideration of the company yeelds the apprehension diverse vnto vs. Behold these because they die in one same month, children, yoong, old; they are no more astonied, they are no longer wept for. I saw some that feared to stay behinde, as if they had beene in some horride solitude: And commonly I knew no other care amongst them, but for graves: it much grieved them, to see the dead carcasses scattered over the fields, at the mercie of wilde beasts; which presently began to flocke thither. Oh how humane fantasies differ and are easily disio [...]ned! The Neorites, a nation whilome subdued by *Alexander* the Great, cast out their dead mens bodies into the thickest of their woods, there to be devoured: the grave onely esteemed happy among them. Some in good health digged already their graves, othersome yet living did goe into them. And a day-labourer of mine, as he was dying, with his owne hands and feete pulled earth vpon him, and so covered himselfe. Was not this a lying downe in the shade to sleepe at ease? An enterprise in some sort as highly noble, as that of some Romane Souldiers, who after the battell of *Canna*, were found with their heads in certaine holes or pits, which themselves had made, and filled vp with their hands, wherein they were smothered. To conclude, a whole nation was presently by vse brought to a march, that in vndantednesse yeelds not to any consulted and fore-meditated resolution. The greatest number of learnings instructions, to encourage vs have more shew then force, and more ornament then fruit. 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 meane 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 rustically troupe of vnpolished men; learning is compelled to goe daily a borrowing, thereby to make her disciples a patterne of constancie, of innocencie and of tranquillitie. 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 chiefe actions of vertue. And that our wisdome should learne of beasts, the most profitable documents, belonging to the chiefest and most necessari: 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 infirmitie: and that this reason we so manage at our pleasure, ever finding some diversitie and noveltie, leaveth vnto vs no maner of apparent tracke of nature. Wherwith men have done, as perfumers doe with oile, they have adulterated her, with so many argumentations, and sofisticated her with so diverse farre-fetched discourses, that she is become variable and peculiar to every man, and hath lost her proper, constant and vniuersall visage: whereof we must seeke 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 alwayes exactly in natures path, but if they chance to stray, it is so little, that you may ever perceive the tracke. Even as horses led by hand doe sometimes bound and start out of the way, but no further then their halters length, and neverthelesse follow ever his steps that leadeth them: And as a Hawke takes his flight but vnder the limites of hir cranes or twyne. *Exilia, tormenta, bella, morbos, naufragia meditare, vt nullo sis malo tyro. Banishments, torments, warres; sicknesses, shipwracks, all these fore-cast and premeditate, that thou maiest seeme no novice no freshwater Souldier to*

any misadventure. What availeth this curiositie vnto vs, to preoccupate all humane natures inconveniences, and with so much labour and toyling against them, to prepare our selves, which peradventure [592] shall nothing concerne vs? (*Parem passis tristitiam facit, patiposse. It makes men as sad that they may suffer some mischiefe, as if they had suffred it.* Not onely the blow, but the winde and cracke strikes vs) Or as the most febricitant, for surely it is a kinde of fever, 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 furr'd Gowne, because you shall neede it at Christmas? Cast your selves into the experience of all the mischiefes, that may befall you, namely of the extreamest: there try your selfe (say they) there assure your selfe. Contrarywise, the easiest and most naturall, 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, (saith one of the maisters, not of a tender, but of the hardest Sect) meane while favour thy selfe: Beleeve what thou lovest best: What availes 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 maiest bee so? They are his owne wordes. Learning doth vs willingly one good office, exactly to instruct vs in the demensions of evils.

Curis acuens mortalia corda.  
Mens cogitationes whetting,  
With sharpe cares inly fretting.

It were pittie, any part of their greatnesse should escape our feeling and vnderstanding. It is certaine, that preparation vnto death, hath caused more torment vnto most, than the very sufferance. It was whilome truely said, of and by a most judicious Authour: *Minus afficit sensus fatigati [...], quàm cogitatio. Wearinesse lesse troubleth our senses, then pensi [...]*nesse doth. The apprehension of present death, doth sometimes of it selfe a [...]nimate vs, with a ready resolution, no longer to avoide a thing altogether inevitable. Many Gladiators have in former ages beene seene, having at first fought very cowardly, most couragiously to embrace death; offering their throate to the enemies sword, yea and bidde them make haste. The sight distant from future death hath neede of a slowe constancy, and by consequence 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 nicke, she will exactly discharge that worke for you; trouble not your selfe with it.

Incert am frustra mortales funeris horam Catul. [...]g. 1. 29. 16.  
Quaeritis, & qua sit mors aditur a via:  
Pana minor certam subitò perferre [...]inam,  
Quod time as, gravius sustinuisse di [...].  
Of death th'vncertaine houre you men in vaine  
Enquire, and what way leath shall you distraine:  
A certaine sodaine ruine is lesse 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 annoyeth, the other assrights vs. It is not against death, we prepare our selves; it is a thing too momentary. A quarter of an houre of passion without consequence 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 fore-see 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 Physitians, who cast vs into diseases, that they may employ their drugges and skill about them. If we have not knowen how to live, it is injustice to teach vs how to die, and deforme the end from all the rest. Have wee knowen how to live constantly

and quietly, wee shall know how to die resolutely and rep [...]sedly. They may bragge as much as they please. *Tota Philosophorum vita commentatio mortis est. The whole life of a Philopher is the meditation of his death.* But me thinkes, it is indeede the end, yet not the scope of life. It is her last, it is her extremity; yet not her object. Hir selfe must be vnto hirselle, hir aime, hir drift and her designe. Hir direct studie is, to order, to direct and to suffer hir selfe. In the number of many other offices, which the generall and principall Chapter, to know how to live containeth, is this speciall Article, *To know how to die.* And of the easiest, did not our owne feare weigh it downe. To judge them by their profit and by the naked [593]truth, the lessons of simplicity, yeeld not much to those, which Doctrine preacheth to the contrary vnto vs. Men are different in feeling, and diverse in force: they must be directed to their good, according to themselves and by divers waies:

Quò me cumque rapit tempestas, deferor hospes. Hor l. 1. epist. 1. 15.  
 Where I am whirld by winde and wether,  
 I guest-like straight am carried thether.

I never saw meane paisant of my neighbours, enter into cogitation or care, with what assurance or countenance, hee should passe this last houre. Nature teacheth him never to muze on death, but when he dieth. And then hath hee a better grace in it, than *Aristotle*; whom death perplexed doubly, both by her selfe and by so long a premeditation. Therefore was it *Caesars* opinion, that *The least premeditated death, was the happiest and the easiest.* *Plus dolet, quàm necesse est, qui ante dolet, quàm necesse est. He grieves more than he need, That grieves before he neede.* The sharpenesse of this imagination, procedes from our curiosity. Thus we ever hinder our selves; desiring to fore-runne and sway naturall prescriptions: It is but for Doctors being in health, to fare the worse by it, and to frowne and startle at the image of death. The vulgar sort, have neither neede of remedy nor comfort, but when the shocke or stroke commeth. And justly considers no more of it, than hee seeleth. And is it not as we say, that the vulgares stupidity and want of appr [...]hension, affoorde them this patience in private evils, and this deepe carelesnes of sinister future accidents? That their mind being more grosse, dull and blockish, is lesse penetrable and agitable? In Gods name, if it be so, let vs hence forth keepe a schoole of brutality. It is the vtmost fruit that Sciences promise vnto vs, to which she so gently bringeth her disciples. We shall not want good teachers, interpreters of naturall simplicity. *Socrates* shall be one. For, as neare as I remember, he speaketh in this sence vnto the Iudges, that determine of his life: *I feare me my maisters (saith hee) that if I intreate you not to make me die, I shall confirme the evidence of my accusers; which is, That I professe to have more vnderstanding than others; as having some knowledge more secret and hidde of things both above and beneath vs. I know I have neither frequented nor knowen death, nor have I seene any body, that hath either felt or tried her qualities, to instruct me in them. Those who feare her, presuppose to know: As for me, I neither know who or what shee is, nor what they doe in the other worlde. Death may peradventure be a thing indifferent, happily a thing desirable. Yet is it to bee beleaved, that if it be a transmigration from one place to another, there is some amendement in going to live with so many worthy famous persons, that are deceased; and be exempted from having any more to doe with wicked and corrupted Iudges. If it be a consummation of ones being, it is also an amendement and entrance into a long and quiet night. Wee finde nothing so sweete in life, as a quiet rest and gentle sleepe, and without dreames. The things I know to be wicked, as to wrong or offend ones neighbour; and to disobey his superiour, be he God or man, I carefully sh [...]nne them: Such as I know not whether they bee good or bad, I cannot feare them. If I goe to my death, and leave you alive; the Gods onely see, whether you or I shall prosper best. And therefore, for my regarde, you shall dispose of it, as it shall best please 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 best to free and discharge mee: except you see further into mine owne cause than my selfe. And iudging according to my former actions,*

*both publike and private, according to my intentions, and to the profit, that so many of our Citizens, both young and olde, draw daily from my conversation, and the fruit, all you reape by me you cannot more iustly or duely discharge your selves toward my desertes, than by appointing (my poverty considered) that I may live, and at the common charge bee kept, in the Brytan [...]o: which for much lesse reasons, I have often seene you freely graunt to others. Impute it not to obstinacy or disdain in mee, nor tak [...] it in ill part, that I, according to custome proceede not by way of in [...]r [...]atie, and moove you to commiseration. I have both friends and kinsfolkes, being not (as Homer saith) begotten of a blocke or stone, no more than other men: capable to present themselves humbly suing with teares and mourning: and I have three desolate wailing children to moove you to pittie. But I should make your Cittie ashamed, of the age I am in, and in that reputation of wisdom, as now I stand in prevention to yeeld vnto so base and abiect countenances. What would the worlde say of other Athenians? I have ever admonished such as have heard me speake, never to purchase or redeeme their life, by any dishonest or vnlawfull act. And in my countries warres, both at Amphipolis, at Potidea, at Delia, and others, in which I have beene, I have shewen by effects, how farre I was from warranting my safety by my shame. Moreover, I should interest your duty, and [594] preiudice your calling, and perswade you to feule vnlan full things; for, not my prayers, but the pure and [...]olide reasons of iustice should perswade you. You have sw [...]rne to the Gods, so to maintaine your selves. Not to beleve there were any, might seeme I would suspect, recriminate or retorte the fault vpon you. And my selfe should witness against my selfe, not to beleve in them as I ought: distructing their conduct, and not meerey remitting my affaires into their handes. I wholly trust and rel [...]e on them; and certainly holde, that in this, they will dispose as it shall bee nocetest for you, and fittest for me. Honest men, that neither live, nor are dead, have no cause at all to feare the Gods. Is not this a childish pleading, of an unimaginable courage; and in what necessity employed? Verily it was reason, hee should preferre it before that, which the great Orator *Lysia* [...] had set downe in writing for him; excellency fashioned in a judiciary Stile; but vnworthie of so noble a criminall. Should a man have heard an humbly-suing voice out of *Socrates* his mouth? Would that prowde vertue have failed in the best of her shew? And would his rich and powerfull nature, have committed her defence vnto arte, and in her highest Essay, renounced vnto truth and sinceritie, the ornaments of his speech, to adorne and decke himselfe with the embellishment of the figures and fictions of a fore-lern'nt Oration; Hee did most wisely, and according to himselfe, not to corrupt the tenure of an incorruptible life, & so sacred an image of humane forme, to prolong his decrepitude for one yeere; and wrong the immortall memory of so glorious an end. He ought his life, not to himselfe, but to the worlds example. Had it not beene a publike losse, if he had finished the same in some idle, base and obscure manner? Truly, so carelesse and effeminate a consideration of his death, deserved, posteritie should so much more consider the same 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 caused his death, that of all they were I [...]athed and shunned as cursed and excommunicated men: what soever they had but touched was held to bee polluted: No man would so much as wash with them in bathes or hot-houses: no man affoord them a salutation, much lesse accost or have to doe with them: so that being in the end no longer able to endure this publike 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 disscurse, to be raised above common opinions: I have done it wittingly: for I judge otherwise. And hold it to bee a discourse, in ranke and sincerity, much shorter and lower, then vulgar opinions. It representeth in an vn-artificiall boldnesse, and infantine securitie, the pure impression and first ignorance of nature. Because it is credible, that wee 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 else engendred the hate and horror of it,*

seeing it holdes thererein and with it a ranke of most great profit, to foster the succession, and nourish the vicissitude of her works? And that in this vniversall Common-weale, it steadeth and serveth more for birth and augmentation, then for losse, decay or ruine.

Sic rerum summa novatur. Luer. l. 2 73.  
So doth the summe of all,  
By courses rise and fall.  
Mille animas vna necat a dedit.  
We thousand soules shall pay,  
For one soule made away ■

The decay of one life, is the passage to a thousand other lives. Nature hath imprinted in beasts, the care of themselves and of their preservation. They proceede even to the feare of their empairing; to shooke or hurt themselves: and that wee should not shackle or beate them, accidents subject to their sence 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 seene onely to embrace and endure the same joyfully (most Horses neigh in dying, and Swannes sing when it seisseth them.) But moreover, they seeke it when they neede it; as by divers examples may be proved in the Elephants. Besides, the manner of arguing, which *Socrates* vseth here, is it not equally admirable, both in simplicitie and in vehemency? Verily *It is much [...Jasier, to speake as Aristotle, and live as Caesar, than speake and live as Socrates*. Therein consists the extreame degree of difficultie and perfection; [595]arte cannot attaine vnto it. Our faculties are not now so addressed. We neither assay, nor know them; we invest our selves with others, and suffer our owne to be idle. As by some might be saide of me: that here I have but gathered a nos [...]gay of strange floures, and have put nothing of mine vnto it, but the thred to binde them. Certes, I have given vnto publike opinion, that these borrowed ornaments accompany me; but I meane not they should cover or hide me: it is contrary to mine intention, who would make shew of nothing that is not mine owne, yea and mine owne by nature: And had I believed my selfe, at all adventure I had spoken alone. I dayly charge my selfe the more beyond my proposition and first forme, vpon the fantasie of time, and through idlenesse. If it mis-seeme me, as I thinke it doth, it is no great matter; it may be profitable for some other. *Some aleadge Plato, and some mention Homer, that never saw them, or as they say in English, many a man speakes of Robin hood, that never shot in his how:* And I have taken diverse passages from others then in their spring. Without paine or sufficiency; having a thousand volumes of bookes about me, where now I write, if I please, I may presently borrow from a number of such botcherlypatchcotes (men that I plod not much vpon) wherewith to enamell this treaty of *Phisiognomie*. I neede but the liminary epistle of a Germane to store me with allegations: and we goe questing that way for a fading greedy glory, to cousin and delude the foolish world, These rapsodies of common places, wherewith so many stufte their study, serve not greatly but for vulgar subjects, and serve but to shew and not to direct vs: A ridiculous-fond fruite of learning, that *Socrates* doth so pleasantly enveigh and exagitate against *Euthydemus*. I have seene bookes made of things neither studied nor ever vnderstood: the authour comming to diverse of his learned and wise friends the search of this and that matter, that so he might compile them into a booke, contenting himselfe for his owne part, to have cast the plot and projected the desseigne of it, and by his industry to have bound vp the fagot of vnknowne provisions: at least is the inke and paper his owne. This may bee saide to bee 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 hee cannot make it. A president of the law, in a place where I was, vanted himselfe, to have hudled vp together two hundred and od strange places in a presidentiall law-case of his: In publishing of which, hee defaced the glory, which others gave him for it. A weake, childish and absurde boasting in my opinion, for such a subject and for such a man. I doe cleane contrary; and amongst so many borrowings, am indeed glad to filch some one; disguising and



altering the same to some new service. On hazard, to let men say, that it is for lacke of vnderstanding it's naturally vse, I give it some particular addressing of mine owne hand, to the end it may be so much lesse meerey strange. Whereas these put their larcenies to publike view and garish shew. So have they more credite in the lawes, then I. We other naturalists suppose, that there is a great and in comparable preference, betweene the honour of invention and that of allegation. Would I have spoken according to learning. I had spoken sooner: I had writen at such times as I was neerer to my studies, when I had more wit and more memory; and should more have trusted the vigor of that age, then the imperfection of this, had I beene willing to professe writing of bookes. And what if this gracious favour, which fortune hath not long since offered mee by the intermission of this worke, could have befallen me in such a season, in lieu of this, where it is equally desiraeable to possesse, and ready to loose?

Two of mine acquaintance (both notable men in this faculty) have, in my conceit, lost much because they refused to publish themselves at forty yeares of age, to stay vntill they were three score. *Maturity hath her defects, aswell as greenenesse, and worse.* And as in commodious or vnfit is old age vnto this kinde of worke, as to any other. Whosoever put's his decrepitude vnder the presse, committeth folly, if thereby he hopes to wring out humors, that shall not taste of dotage, of [...]oppery, or of drousinesse. Our spirit becommeth costive and thickens in growing old. Of ignorance I speake sumptuously and plentiously, and of learning meagerly and pitiously: This acce [...]orily and accidentally; That expressly and principally. And purposely I treat of nothing, but of nothing; nor of any one science but of vnsience. I have chosen the time, where the life I have to set forth, is all before mee, the rest holdes more of death. And of my death onely should I finde it babling, as others doe, I would willingly, in dislodging, give the World advise. *Socrates* hath been a perfect patterne in all great qualities. I am vexed, that ever he met with so vnhandsome and crabbed [596]a body, as they say he had, and so dissonant from the beauty of his minde. Himselfe so amorous and so besotted on beauty. Nature did him wrong. There is nothing more truly semblable, as the conformity or relation betweene the body and the minde. *Ipsi animi, magni refert, quali in corpore locati sint: multa enim è corpore existunt, quae acuant mentem: multa, quae obtundant.* It is of great import in what body the minde is bestowed: for many things arise of the body to sharpen the minde, and many things to dull and rebate it. This man speakes of an vnnaturall ill-favourdnesse, and membrall deformity: but we call ill-favourdnesse a kinde of vnseemelnesse at the first sight, which chiefly lodgeth in the face; and by the colour worketh a dislike in vs; A freckle, a blemmish, a rude countenance, a sower looke, proceeding often of some inexplicable cause, may be in well ordered, comely and compleate limmes. The foulennesse of face, which invested a beauteous minde in my deare friend *La Boitie*, was of this predicament. This superficial ill-favourdnesse, which is notwithstanding to the most imperious, is of lesse prejudice vnto the state of the minde: and hath small certainty in mens opinion. The other, by a more proper name called a more substantiall deformity, beareth commonly a deeper inward stroke. *Not every shooe of smooth-shining leather, but every wellshapen and handsome-made shoe, sheweth 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 same by institution. But in so saying, I suppose, that according to his wonted vse, he did but jest: and so excellent a mind, did never frame it selfe. I cannot often enough repeate, how much I esteeme beauty, so powerfull and advantagious a quality is she. He named it, *a short tyranny*: And *Plato* the *priviledge of Nature*. We have none that exceeds it in credit. She possesseth the chiefe ranke in the commerce of society of men: She presents it selfe forward: she seduceth and preoccupates our judgement, with great authority and wonderfull impression. *Phryne* had lost her plea, though in the hands of an excellent lawyer, if with opening her garments, by the sodaine flashing of hir beauty, she had not corrupted her judges. And I finde, that *Cyrus* ■ *Alexannder* and *Caesar* those three Masters of the World, have not forgotten or neglected the same in atchieving their great affaires. So hath not the first *Scipio*. One same word in Greeke importeth faire and good. And even the Holy-Ghost

calleth often those good, which he meaneth faire. I should willingly maintaine the ranke of the goods, as imployed the song, which *Plato* saith to have beene triviall, taken from some auncient Poet; *Health beuty* and *riches*. *Aristotle* saith, that the right of commaunding, doth of duty belong to such as are faire; and if haply any be found, whose beauty approached 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 oftner frequented? *This question* (quoth he) *ought not to bee mooved but by a blinde man*. Most, and the greatest Philosophers, paide for their schooling and attained vnto Wisedome, by the intermission of their beauty, and favour their comlines. Not onely in men that serue me, but in beastes also, I consider the same within two inches of goodnesse. Yet me thinkes, that the same feature and manner of the face and those lineaments, by which some argue certaine inward complexions, and our future fortunes, is a thing that doth not directly nor simply lodge vnder the Chapter of beauty and ill favourdnesse; no more than all good favours, or cleerenesse of aire, doe not alwayes promise health; nor all fogges and stinkes, infection, in times of the plague. Such as accuse Ladies to contradict the beauty, by their manners, gesse not alwayes at the truth. For, *In an ill favoured and ill composed face, may sometimes harbour some aire of probitie, and trust*. As on the contrary, I have sometimes read betweene two faire eyes, the threats of a maligne and dangerous ill-boding nature. There are some fauourable Physiognomies; For in a throng of victorious enemies, you shall presently ammiddest a multitude of vnknown faces, make choise of one man more than of others, to yeeld yourselfe vnto and trust yòur life; and not properly by the consideration of beauty. A mans loòke or aire 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 bely & betray the promises, which Nature had charactred in their front. And more severely would I punish malicious craft in a debonaire apparance and in a mild promising countenance. It seemeth there bee some lucky and well boding faces, and other some vnlucky and ill presaging: And I thinke, there is some Arte to distinguish gently-milde faces, from nyaes and simple; the severe from the rude; the malicious from the froward; the disdainfull from the melancholike and other neighbouring qualities. There are some [597]beauties, not onely fierce-looking, but also sharpe-working, some others pleasing-sweete, and yet wallowishly tastlesse. To prognosticate future successes of them, be matters I leave vndecided. I have (as elsewhere I noted) taken for my regard this ancient precept, very rawly and simply: That *We cannot erre in following Nature*: and that the soveraigne document is, for a man to conforme himselfe to her. I have not (as *Socrates*) by the power and vertue of reason, corrected my naturall complexions, nor by Arte hindered mine inclination. Look how I came into the World, so I goe-on: I strive with nothing. My two Mistris partes, live of their owne kindenesse in peace and good agreement; but my nurses milke, hath (thanks be to God) beene indifferently wholesome and temperate. Shall I say thus much by the way? That I see a certaine image of bookis [...] or scholasticall *preud'hommie*, only which is in a maner in vse amongst vs, held and reputed in greater esteeme than it deserveth, and which is but a servant vnto precepts, brought vnder by hope, and constrained by feare? I love it such as lawes and religions make not, but over-make and authorize; that they may bee perceived to have wherewith to vphold her selfe without other aide: sprung vp in vs of her owne proper roots, by and from the seed of vniversall reason, imprinted in every man that is not vnnaturall. The same reason, that reformeth *Socrates* from his vicious habite, yeelds him obedient both to Gods and men, that rule and commaund his Citty: couragious in his death; not because his soule is immortall, but because hee is mortall. A ruinous instruction to all common-weales and much more harmefull, than ingenious and subtile, is that which perswadeth men, that onely religious believe, and without manners, sufficeth to content and satisfie divine justice. Custome makes vs see an enormous distinction betweene devotion and conscience. I have a favourable apparance, both in forme and in interpretation.

Quid dixi habere me? Imò habui Chreme:  
 Heu tantùm attriti corporis ossavides. Ter H [...]a [...] ■ act. [...] sc [...]. 1.  
 I have; what did I say;  
 I had what's now away.  
 Alas, you onely now behold,  
 Bones of a body worne and old.

And which makes a contrary shew to that of *Socrates*. It hath often betided me, that by the simple credite of my presence and aspect, some that had no knowledge of me, have greatly trusted vnto it, were it about their owne affaires or mine. And even in forraine countries, I have thereby reaped singular and rare favours. These two experiments, are hapily worthy to be particularly related. A *quidam* gallant, determined vpon a time to surprise both my house and my selfe. His plot was, to come riding alone to my gate, and instantly to vрге entrance. I knew him by name ■ and had some reason to trust him, being my neighbour and somewhat alide vnto me. I presently caused my gates to be opened, as I do to all men. He comes-in all afrighted, his horse out of breath; both much harassed. He entertaines me with this fable; that within halfe a league of my house he was sodainely set-vpon by an enemie of his, whome I knew well and had heard of their quarrell: that his foe had wondrously put him to his spurres; that being surprised vnarmed, and having fewer in his company then the other, he was glad to runne away, and for safety had made haste 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 slaine. I endeoured friendly to comfort and sincerely to warrant and refresh him. Within a while came galloping foure or five of his Souldiers, amazed, as if they had beene out of their wits, hasting, to be let-in: Shortly after came others, and others ■ all proper men, well mounted, better armed, to the number of thirty or there abouts, all seeming distracted for feare, as if the enemie that pursued them had beene at their heeles. This mysterie beganne to summon my suspicion. I was not ignorant of the age wherin I lived, nor how much my house might bee envied: and had sundry examples of others of my acquaintance, that had beene spoiled, beset and surprised thus and thus. So it is, that perceiving with my selfe, there was nothing to be gotten, though I had begunne to vse them kindly, if I continued not, and being vnable to rid my selfe of them and cleare my house without danger and spoiling all; as I ever doe, I tooke the plainest and naturall well meaning way, and commaunded they should be let in and bid welcome. And to say truth, I am by nature little suspicious or mistrustfull, I am easily drawn to admit excuses and encline to mild interpretations. I take men according to common order, and suppose every one to meane as I doe, and [598]believe these perverse and tletcherous inclinations, except I be compelled by some autenticall testimonie, no more then monsters or miracles. Besides, I am a man that willingly commit my selfe vnto fortune, and carelesly cast my selfe into her armes: Whereof hitherto I have more just cause to commend my selfe, then to complaine. And have found her more circumspect and friendly ■ carefull of my affaires, then I am my selfe. There are certaine actions in my life, the conduct of which may justly be termed difficult, or if any be so disposed, prudent. And of those, suppose the third part of them to be mine owne; truely the other two are richly hers. We are to blame, and in my conceit we erre, that we doe not sufficiently and so much as we ought, trust the heavens with ourselves. And pretend more in our owne conduct, then of right appertaines vnto vs. Therefore doe our desseignes so often miscarry, and our intents so seldome sort to wished effect. The heauens are angry, and I may say envious of the extension 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 we endeuour to amplifie them. But to come to my former discourse. These gallants kept still on horsebacke in my court, and would not alight: their Captaine with me in my hall, who would never have his horse set-vp, still saying that he would not stay, but must necessarily withdraw himselfe, so soone as he had newes of his followers. He saw himselfe master of his enterprise, and nothing was wanting but the execution. Hee hath since reported very often, (for he was no whit

scrupulous or afraid to tell this story) that my vndaunted lookes, my vndismaide countenance, and my liberty of speech, made him reject all manner of treasonable intents or trecherous desseignes. 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 eies fixed vpon him, to observe his lookes and see what signe he should make vnto them: much amazed to see him be gone, and wondring to see him omit and forsake such an advantage. An other time, trusting to a certaine truce or cessation of armes, that lately had beene published through our campes in *France*, as one suspecting no harme, I vndertooke a journey from home, through a dangerous and very ticklish country; I had not rid far, but I was discovered, and behold three or foure troupes of horsemen, all severall wayes, made after me, with purpose to entrap me: One of which overtooke mee the third day; where I was round beset and charged by fifteene or twenty Gentlemen, who had all vizardes and cases, followed aloofe-off by a band of Argoletiers. I was charged, I yeelded, I was taken and immediately drawne into the bosome of a thicke Wood, that was not far-off; there puld from my Horse, stripped with all speed, my truncks and cloke ■ bags rifled, my box taken; my Horses, my equipage and such things as I had, dispersed and shared amongst them. We continued a good while amongst those thorny bushes, contesting and striving about my ransome, which they racked so high, that it appeared well I was not much knowen of them. They had long contestation among themselves for my life. and to say truth: there were many circumstances, threatned me of the danger I was in.

Tunc animis opus. Aenea, tunc pectore firme. Virg. A [...]. 1. 6.  
 Of courage then indeed,  
 Then of stout brest is need.

I ever stood vpon the title and priuilege of the truce and proclamation 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 despised, without promising other ransome. After wee had debated the matter to and fro, the space of two or three houres, and that no excuses could serve, they set 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-busiers, and dispersed my people to others of their crew, commaunding we should all diuers wayes bee carried prisoners; and my selfe being gone two or threescore paces from them,

Iam pr [...]ce Pollucis, iam Castor is implorata. [...] ■ 4. 65.  
*Pollux* and *Castors* aide,  
 When I had humbly praide.

behold a sodain & vnexpected alteration took them. I saw their Captaine comming towards me, with a cheerfull countenance & much milder speeches then before: carefully trudging vp and downe through all the troups, to find out my goods againe, which as he found all scattred he forced every man to restore them vnto me; and even my boxe came to my handes againe. [599]To conclude, the most precious jewell they presented me, was my liberty; as for my other things, I cared not greatly at that time. What the true cause of so vnlockt for a change and so sodaine an alteration was, without any apparent impulsion, and of so wonderfull repentance, at such a time, in such an opportunity and such an enterprise, fore-meditated, consulted and effected without controlement, and which through custome and the impiety of times was now become lawfull, (for at the first brunt I plainly confessed, and genuinly told them what side I was of, where my way lay, and whither I was riding) I verily know not yet, nor can I give any reason for it. The chiefest amongst them vnmasked himselfe, told mee his name and repeated diuers times vnto me, that I should acknowledge my deliverance to my countenance, to my boldnesse and constancy of speech, and be beholding to them for it, insomuch as they made me vnworthy of such a misfortune; and

demanded assurance of me for the like curtesie. It may be, that the inscrutable goodnesse of God would vse this vaine instrument for my preservation: For, the next morrow it also shielded mee from worse mischiefe or amboscadoes, whereof themselves gently forewarned me, The last is yet living, able to report the whole succese himselfe; the other was slaine not long since. If my countenance had not answered for me, if the ingenuity of mine inward intent might not plainly have beene disciphered in mine eyes and voice, surely I could never have continued so long, without quarrells or offences: with this indiscreete liberty, 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 sort, (and that with reason) seeme vncivill and ill accomodated in our customary manners: but outrageous or malicious, I could never meete with any, would so judge it, or that was ever distasted at my liberty if he received the same from my mouth. *Words reported againe have, as another sound, so another sense.* And to say true, I hate no body; And am so remisse to offend, or slow to wrong any, that for the service of reason itselfe, I cannot doe it. And if occasions have at any time vrged me in criminall condemnations to doe as others, I have rather beene content to be amearced then to appeare. *Ut magis peccari nolim, quàm satis animi, ad vindicanda peccata habeam. So as I had rather men should not offend, then that I should have courage enough to punish their offences.* Some report, that *Aristotle* beeing vpbraided 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 wickednesse.* Ordinary judgements are exasperated vnto punishment by the horror of the crime. And that enmildens me. The horror of the first murther, makes me feare a second. And the vglinesse of one cruelty, induceth me to detest all maner of imitation of it. To me, that am but a plaine fellow and see no higher then a steeple, 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 *Plutarke* presents it two wayes, as he doth a thousand other things diversly and contrary; *Hee must needes be good, since he is so to the wicked.* Even as in lawfull actions, it grieues me to take any paines about them, when it is with such as are therewith displeased. So, to say truth, in vnlawfull, I make no great conscience, to employ my selfe or take paines about them, being with such as consent vnto them.

### **The thirteenth Chapter. Of Experience. ↩**

There is no desire more naturall, then that of knowledge. We attempt all meanes that may bring vs vnto it. When reason failes vs, we employ experience.

Per varios vsus artem experientia fecit,  
Exemplo monstr ante viam. Manil. lib. 1. a [...]. 61.  
By diverse proofes experience arte hath bred,  
Whilst one by one the way examples led.

Which is a meane by much more, weake and vile. But trueth is of so great consequence, that wee ought not disdaine any induction, that may bring vs vnto it. *Reason hath so many [600] shapes, that wee knowe not which to take holde of. Experience hath as many.* The consequence wee seeke to draw from the conference of events, is vnsure, because they are ever dissemblable. No quality is so vniversall in this surface of things, as variety and diversity. The Greekes, the Latines, and wee vse for the most expresse examples of similitude, that of eggs. Some have neverthesse beene found, especially one in *Delphos*, that knew markes of difference betweene egges, and neuer tooke one for another. And having diverse Hennes, could rightly judge which had laid the egge. dissimilitude doth of it selfe insinuate into our workes, no arte can come neere vnto similitude. Neither *Perozet* nor any other carde-maker can so industriously smoothe or whiten the backside of his cardes, but some cunning gamster will distinguish them, onely by seeing some other player handle or shuffle them. Resemblance doth not so much make one, as difference maketh another. Nature

hath bound herselfe to make nothing that may not be dissemblable- Yet doth not the opinion of that man greatly please mee, that supposed by the multitude of lawes, to curbe the authority of judges, in entting out their morsells. He perceived not, that there is as much liberty and extension in the interpretation of lawes, as in their fashion. And those but mocke themselves, who thinke to diminish our debates and stay them, by calling vs to the expresse word of sacred Bible. Because our spirit findes not the field lesse spacious, to controule and checke the sense of others, then to represent his own: and as if there were as litle courage and sharpenesse to gloseas to invent. Wee see how farre hee was deceived. For wee have in *France* more lawes then all the world besides; yea more then were needefull to governe all the worlds imagined by *Epicurus: Vt olim flagitijs, sic nunc legibus labor amus. As in times past we were sicke of offences, so now are we of lawes.* As wee have given our judges so large a scope to moote, to opinionate, to suppose and decide, that there was never so powerfull and so licentious a liberty. What have our lawmakers gained with chusing a hundred thousand kindes of particular cases, and adde as many lawes vnto them? That number hath no proportion, with the infinite diversity of humane accidents. The multiplying of our inventions shall never come to the variation of examples. Adde 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 enregistred events, shall meete with one, to which hee may so exactly joyne and match it, but some circumstance and diversity will remaine, that may require a diverse consideration of judgement. There is but little relation betweene our actions, that are in perpetuall mutation, and the fixed and vnmooveable lawes. The most to be desired, are the rarest, the simplest and most generall. And yet I believe, it were better to have none at all, then so infinite a number as wee have. Nature gives them ever more happy, then those wee give our selves. Witnessse the image of the golden age that Poets faine; and the state wherein wee see diverse nations to live, which have no other. Some there are, who to decide any controversie, that may rise amongst them, will chuse for judge the first man that by chance shall travell alongest their mountaines: Others, that vpon 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 wisest should so decide ours, according to occurrences and at first sight; without being tied to examples and consequences? *Let every foote have his owne shooe. Ferdinando King of Spaine* sending certaine Collonies into the *Indies*, provided wisely, that no lawyers or students of the lawes should bee carried thither, for feare lest controversies, sutes or processes should people that new-found world. As a Science that of her owne nature engendreth altercation and division, judging with *Plato* that *Lawyers and Phisitions are an ill provision for any countrie.* Wherefore is it, that our common language so easie to bee vnderstood in all other matters, becommeth so obscure so harsh and so hard to bee vnderstood in law-cases, bills, contracts, indentures citations, wills and testaments? And that hee who so plainly expresseth himselfe, what ever hee spake or write of any other subject, inlaw matters findes no manner or way to declare himselfe or his meaning, that admits not some doubt or contradiction: Vnlesse it be, that the Princes of this arte applying themselves with a particular attention, to invent and chuse strange, choise and solemne words, and frame artificiall cunning clauses, have so plodded and poized every sillable; canvased and sifted so exquisitely every seame and quidity, that they are now so entangled and so confounded in the infinity of figures and so severall-small partitions, that they can no more come within the compasse of any order, or prescription or certaine vnderstanding. [601] *Confusum est quidquid vsque in pulverem sectum est. Whatsoever is sliced into very powder is confused.*

Whosoever hath seene children, labouring to reduce a masse of quicke-silver to a certaine number, the more they presse and worke the same, and strive to force it to their will, so much more they provoke the liberty of that generous mettall, which scorneth their arte, and scatteringly disperseth it selfe beyond all imagination. Even so of lawyers, who in subdividing their subtleties or quiddities, teach men to multiply doubts: and by extending and

diversifying difficulties; they lengthen and amplify, they scatter and disperse them. In sowing and retailing of questions, they make the World to fructifie and abound in vncertainty, in quarrels, in sutes and in controversies. As the ground the more it is crumbled, broken and deeply removed or grubbed vp, becommeth so much more fertile. *Difficultatem facit doctrina. Learning breeds difficultie.* Wee found many doubts in *Ulpian*, wee finde more in *Bartolus* and *Baldus*. The trace of this innumerable diversity of opinious should never have beene vsed to adorne posteritie, and have it put in her head, but rather have beene vtterly razed out. I know not what to say to it; but this is seene by experience, that so many interpretations, dissipate and confound all trueth. *Aristotle* hath written to bee vnderstoode: 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 distempering it. Of one subject we make a thousand: And in multiplying and subdividing we fall againe into the infinity of *Epicurus* his Atomes. It was never seene, that two men judged alike of one samething. And it is impossible to see two opinions exactly semblable: not onely in divers men, but in any one same man, at severall houres. I commonly find something to doubt-of, where the commentary happily never deigned to touch, as deeming it so plaine. I stumble somtimes as much in an even smooth path; as some horses that I know, who oftner trip in a faire plaine way, than in a rough and stony. Who would not say, that glosses increase doubts and ignorance, since no booke is to bee seene, whether divine or profane, commonly read of all men, whose interpretation dimmes or tarnisheth not the difficulty? The hundred commentary sends him to his succeder, more thorny and more crabbed, than the first found him. When agreed wee amongst our selves, to say, this booke is perfect, there's now nothing to bee said against it? This is best seene in our French-pedling Law. Authoritie of Law is given to infinite Doctours, to infinite arrests, and to as many interpretations. Finde we for all that any ende of neede of interpretors? Is there any advaancement or progresse towards tranquility seene therein? Have wee now lesse neede of Advocates and Iudges, then when this huge masse of Law was yet in hir first infancy? Cleane contrary, we obscure and bury vnderstanding. We discover it no more but at the mercy of so many Courts, Barres, or Plea-benches. Men mis-acknowledge the naturall infirmity of their minde. She doth but quest and firret, and vncessantly goeth turning, winding, building and entangling her selfe in hir owne worke; as doe our silke-wormes, and therein stifleth hir selfe. *Mus in pice. A Mouse in pitch,* Hee supposeth to note a farre-off I wot not what apparence of cleerenesse and immaginary truth; but whilst he runneth vnto it, so many lets and difficulties crosse his way, so many empeachments and new questings start vp, that they stray loose and besot him. Not much otherwise than it fortuneth to *Aesops* Dogges, who farre-off discovering some shew of a dead body to flote vpon the Sea, and being vnable to approach the same, vndertooke to drinke vp all the Water, that so they might drie-vp the passage; and were all stifeled. To which answereth that, which one *Crates* said of *Heracлитus* his compositions, that they needed a Reader, who should be a cunning swimmer, lest the depth and weight of his learning should drowne and swallow him vp. It is nothing but a particular weakenesse, that makes vs contend with that which others or wee our selves have found in this pursuite of knowledge. A more sufficient man will not bee pleased therewith. There is place for a follower, yea and for ourselves, and *More wayes 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 wearinesse. No generous spirit stayes and relies vpon himselfe. Hee ever pretendeth and goeth beyond his strength. He hath some vagaries beyond his effects. If he advance not himselfe, presse, settle, shooke, turne, winde and front himselfe, hee is but halfe alive; His pursuites are termelesse and formelesse. His nourishment is admiration, questing and ambiguitie: Which *Apollo* declared sufficiently, alwayes speaking ambiguously, [602]obscurely and obliquely vntovs; not feeding, but busying and amusing vs. It is an irregular vncertaine motion, perpetuall, patternelesse and without end. His inventions enflame, follow and enter produce one another.

Ainsi voit-on en vn ruisseau coulant,  
 San fin l'vne eau, apres l'outre roulant,  
 Et tout de rang, d'vn eternel conduit,  
 L'vne suit l'autre, & l'vne l'autre fuit.  
 Par cette-cy, celle-là est poussée,  
 Et cette-cy, par l'autre est devancée:  
 Tousiours l'eau va dans l'eau, & tousiours est [...]e  
 Mesme ruisseau, & tousiours eau diverse.  
 As in a running river we behold  
 How one wave after th'other still is rold,  
 And all along as it doth endlesse 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 fill.

There's more a doe to enterprete interpretations, than to interpret things: and more bookes vpon bookes, then vpon any other subject. We doe but enter-glose our selves. All swarmeth with commentaries: Of Authours their is great penury. Is not the chiefest and most famous knowledge of our ages, to know how to vnderstand the wise? Is it not the common and last scope of our study? Our opinions are grafted one vpon an other. The first serveth as a stocke 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, hee is got-vp but one inch above the shoulders of the last save one. How often and peradventure foolishly, hove I enlarged my Booke to speake of himselfe? Foolishly if it were but for this reason: That I should have remembred, that what I speake of others, they doe the like of me. That those so frequent glances on their workes, wisse their hart shivereth with their love they beare them; and that the disdainfull churlishnesse wherewith they beate them, are but mignardizes and affectations of a motherly favour. Following *Aristotle*, in whom, both esteeming and dis-esteeming himselfe, arise often of an equall aire of arrogancy. For mine excuse; That in this I ought to have more liberty than others, fosome 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 altercations, concerning the doubt of his opinions, yea and more, than himselfe mooveth about the Holy Scriptures. Our contestation is verball. I demaund what Nature voluptuousnesse, circle and substitution is? The question is of words, and with words it is answered. A stone is a body: but he that should insist and vrge; 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 worde is changed for another word, and often more vnknown. I know better what *Homo* is, then I know what *Animall* is, either mortall or reasonable. To answer one doubt, they give mee three: It is *Hidraes* head. *Socrates* demaunded of *Memnon* what vertue was; There is answered *Memnon*, the vertue of a Man, of a Woman, of a Magistrate, of a private Man, of a Childe, of an olde Man: What vertue meane you? Yea marry, this is very well, quoth *Socrates*; we were in search of one vertue, and thou bringest me a whole swarme. Wee propose one question, and wee have a whole huddle of them made vnto vs againe. As no event or forme doth wholly resemble another, so doth it not altogether differ one from another. Oh ingenious mixture of Nature. *If our faces were not like, wee could not discerne a man from a beast: If they were not vnlike, we could not distinguish one man from another man.* All things hold by some similitude: Every example limpeth. And the relation, which is drawen from experience, is ever defective and imperfect. Comparisons are neverthesse joyned together by some end. So serve the Lawes, and so are they sorted and fitted to all our sutes or affaires; by some wire-drawen, forced and collaterall interpretation. Since the morall Lawes [603] which respect the particular duty of every man in himselfe, are so hard to be taught and observed, as we see they are: It is no wonder, if those



which governe so many particulars, are more hard. Consider the forme of this Law, by which we are ruled: It is a lively testimony of humane imbecility; so much contradiction and so many errors are therein contained. That which we thinke favour or rigour in Law (wherein is so much of either, that I wot not well whether we shall so often find indifferency in them, are crazed-infected parts and vnjust members of the very body and essence of Law. Certaine poore Country-men came even now to tell me in a great haste, that but now in a Forrest of mine, they have left a man wounded to death, with a hundred hurts about him, yet breathing, and who for Gods sake hath begged a little water and some helpe to raise himselfe at their hands. But that they durst not come neere 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 vnto a murdered body, so they should bee compelled to give an account of this mischance, to their vtter vndoing; having neither friends nor mony to defend their innocency. What should I have said vnto them? It is most certaine, that this Office of humanity had brought them to much trouble. How many innocent and guilt-lesse men have wee seene punished? I say without the Iudges 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 Iudges are advertised by the Officers of a sub-alternall Court, not far-off, that they have certaine prisoners in hold, that have directly confessed the foresaid murther, and thereof bring most evident markes 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 passed according vnto Law, and therefore the Iudges are not subject to repentance. To be short, these miserable Wretches are consecrated to the prescriptions of the Law. *Philip*, or some other, provided for such an inconvenience, in this manner. He had by an irrevocable sentence condemned one to pay another 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 judiciary formes. He is in some sort to satisfie both parties, suffering the sentence to stand in full power: and with his owne purse recompensed the interest of the condemned. But hee was to deale with a reparable accident, my poore slaves were hanged irreparably. How many condemnations have I seene more criminall, than the crime it selfe? All this put me in minde of those auncient opinions; That *Hee who will doe right in grosse, must needes doe wrong by retaile; and iniustly in small things, that will come to doe iustice in great matters;* That humane iustice is framed according to the modell of physicke, according to which, whatsoever is profitable is also just and honest: And of that the Stoickes hold, that Nature her selfe in most of her workes, proceedeth against iustice: And of that which the Cyreniaques hold, that there is nothing just of it selfe: That customes and lawes frame justice. And the Theodorians, who in a wise man allow as just, all manner of theft, sacriledge and paillardise, so he thinke it profitable for him. There is no remedy: I am in that case, as *Alcibiades* 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 industry or care of mine attorney, more then mine innocency. I could willingly adventure my selfe, and stand to that Law, that should as well recompence me for a good deed, as punish me for a mis-deede: and where I might have a just cause to hope, as reason to feare. *Indemnitie is no sufficient coyne for him, who doeth better than not to trespasse.* Our Law presents vs but one of hir hands, and that is her left hand. *Whosoever goes to Law, doth in the end but loose by it.* In *China*, the policy, arts and government of which kingdome, having neither knowledge or commerce with ours; exceed 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 visite the state of his Provinces, as they punish such as abuse their

charge, so with great liberality they reward such as have vprightly and honestly behaved themselves in them, or have done any thing more then ordinary, and besides the necessity of their duty: There, all present [604]themselves, not onely to warrant themselves, but also to get something: Not simply to be paid, but liberally to be rewarded. No judge hath yet, God be thanked, spoken to me as a judge, in any cause whatsoever either mine or another mans; criminall or civill. No prison did ever receive me, no not so much as for recreation to walke in. The very imagination of one, maketh the sight of their outside seeme irkesome and loathsome to mee. I am so besotted vnto liberty, that should any man forbidde me the accesse vnto any one corner of the Indiaes I should in some sort live much discontented. And so long as I shall finde land or open ayre elsewhere, I shall never lurke in any place, where I must hide my selfe. Oh God, how hardly could I endure the miserable condition of so many men, confined and immured in some corners of this kingdome, barred from entring the chiefest Citties, from accesse into Courts, from conuersing with men, and interdicted the vse of common wayes, onely because they have offended our lawes. If those vnder which I live, should but threaten my fingers end, I would presently goe finde out some others, wheresoever it were. All my small wisdom, in these civill and tumultuous warres, wherein we now live, doth wholly employ it selfe, that they may not interrupt my liberty, to goe and come where ever I list. Lawes are now maintained in credit, not because they are essentially just, but because they are lawes. It is the mysticall foundation of their authority; they have none other; which availes them much: They are often made by fooles. More often by men, who in hatred of equality, have want of equity; But ever by men, who are vaine and irresolute Authours. There is nothing so grossely and largely offending, nor so ordinarily wronging as the Lawes. Whosoever obeyeth them because they are just, obeyes them not justly the way as he ought. Our French Lawes doe in some sort, by their irregularity and deformity, lend an helping hand vnto the disorder and corruption, that is seene in their dispensation and execution. Their behest is so confused, and their commaund so inconstant, that it in some sort excuseth, both the disobedience and the vice of the interpretation, of the administration and of the observation. Whatsoever then the fruit is wee may have of Experience, the same which we draw from forraine examples, will hardly stead our institution much; if we reape so small profit from that wee have of our selves, which is most familiar vnto vs: and truely sufficient to instruct vs of what wee want. I study my selfe more than any other subject. It is my supernaturall Metaphisike, it is my naturall Philosophy.

Qua Deus hanc mundi temperet arte domum, Propert [...] 3. [...]. 4. 26.  
 Qua venit exoriens, qua deficit, vnde coact is  
 Cornibus in plenum menstrua luna redit:  
 Unde salo superant venti, quid flamine capt [...]t  
 Eurus, & in nubes vnde perennis aequa.  
 Sit ventura dies mundi quae subruat arces,  
 This Worlds great house by what arte God doth guide.  
 From whence the monethly Moone doth rising ride,  
 How wane, how with clos'd hornes returne to pride.  
 How windes on seas beare sway, what th'Easterne winde  
 Would have▪ how still in clowdes we water finde;  
 If this worlds Towers to rase a day be signde.  
 Quaerite quos agitat mundi labor:  
 All this doe you enquire  
 Whom this worldes travailes tyre.

In this vniversality I suffer my selfe ignorantly and negligently to be managed by the generall law of the world. I shall sufficiently know it when I shall feele it. My learning cannot make her change her course: shee will not diversifie herselfe for me; it were folly to hope it: And greater folly for a man to trouble himselfe about it; since it is necessarily semblable publicke and common. The governours capacity and goodnesse, should throughly discharge vs of the governments care. Philosophical inquisitions and contemplations serve

but as a nourishment vnto our curiosity. With great reason doe Philosophers addresse vs vnto natures rules: But they have nought to doe with so sublime a knowledge: They falsifie them, and present her to vs with a painted face, too-high in colour and overmuch sophisticated; whence arise so many different pourtraits of so vniforme a subject. As shee hath given vs feete to goe withall, so hath shee endowed vs with wisdom to direct our life. A wisdom [605]not so ingenious, sturdie and pompous, as that of their invention, but yet easie, quiet and salutarie. And that in him who hath the hap to know how to employ it orderly and sincerely, effecteth very well what the other saith: that is to say naturally. For a man to commit himselfe most simply vnto nature, is to doe it most wisely. *Oh how soft, how gentle, and how sound a pillow is ignorance and incuriositie to rest a well composed head vpon.* I had rather vnderstand my selfe well in my selfe, then in *Cicero*. 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. Whosoever shall commit to memorie the excesse or inconvenience of his rage or anger past, and how farre that fit transported him, may see the deformity of that passion, better then in *Aristotle*, and conceive a more just hatred against it. Whosoever calleth to minde, the dangers he hath escaped, those which have threatned him, and the light occasions that have remooved him from one to another state, doth thereby the better prepare himselfe to future alterations, and knowledge of his condition. *Caesars* life hath no more examples for vs, then our owne; Both imperiall and popular; it is ever a life that all humane accidents regard. Let vs but giue eare vnto it, we recorde all that to vs, that wee principally stand in neede of. He that shall call to minde how often and how severall times hee hath bene deceived, and misaccompted his owne judgement: is hee not a simple gull, if hee doe not for ever afterward distrust the same? When by others reason, I finde my selfe convicted of a false opinion, I learne not so much, what new thing he hath told me; and this particular ignorance; which were but a small purchase; as in generall I learne mine owne imbecilitie and weakenesse, and the treason of my vnderstanding: whence I draw the reformation of all the masse. The like I doe in all my other errorrs: by which rule I apprehend and feele great profite for, and vnto my life. I regarde 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 same. To learne that another hath either spoken a foolish jest, or committed a sottish 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 vpon mee, at what time she stood most vpon her selfe, have not idly bene lost: she may sweare and warrant mee long enough; I shake mine eares at her: the first opposition made in witness of her, makes me suspect. And I durst not trust her in a matter of consequence; nor warrant her touching others affaires. And were it not, that what 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 anothers mouth, then from mine owne. Would every man prie into the effects and circumstances of the passions that sway him, as I have done of that whereunto I was allotted; hee should see them comming; and would somewhat hinder their course and abate their impetuositie: They doe not alwayes surprise and take hold of vs at the first brunt, there are certaine forethreatnings and degrees as forerunners.

Fluctus vti p [...]imò coepit cùm albescereponto,  
 Paulatim sese tollit mare, & altius vndas  
 Erigit, inde imo consurgit ad aethera fundo.  
 As when at sea, floods first in whitenesse rise,  
 Sea surgeth softly, and then higher plies  
 In waves, then from the ground mounts vp to skies.

Judgement holds in me a presidentiall seate, at least hee carefully endeavours to hold it: He suffers my appetites to keep their course: both hatred and love, yea and that I beare vnto 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 keeps his court apart. That warning-lesson given to all men, *to knowe themselves*, must necessarily be of important effect, since that God of wisdom, knowledge and light, caused the same to be fixed on the frontispice of his temple: as containing whatsoever he was to counsell vs. *Plato* saith also, that wisdom is nothing but the execution of that ordinance: And *Socrates* doth distinctly verifie the same in *Zenophon*. Difficulties and obscuritie 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 bee shutte. Whence ensueth this Platonicall subtiltie, that *neither those which knowe have no further to enquire, forsomuch as they knowe already: nor they that knowe not, because to enquire, it is [606] necessary they know what they enquire after*. Euen so in this, for a man to know himselfe: that every man is seene so resolute and satisfied, and thinks himselfe sufficiently instructed or skilfull, doth plainely signifie that no man vnderstands any thing, as *Socrates* teacheth *Euthydemus*. My selfe, who professe nothing else, finde therein so bottomlesse a depth, and infinit a varietie, that my apprenticeship hath no other fruit, than to make me perceiue how much more there remaineth for me to learne. To mine owne weaknesse so often acknowledged, I owe this inclination which I beare vnto modestie; to the obedience of beliefes prescribed vnto mee; to a constant coldnesse and moderation of opinions; and hatred of this importunate and quarellous arrogancie, wholly beleeuing and trusting it selfe, a capitall ennemie to discipline and veritie. Doe but heare them sway and talke. The first fopperies they propose, are in the stile, that Religions and Lawes are composed in. *Nihil est turpius quàm cognitioni* Ci [...] Acad. qu [...]. [...]b. 1. f. & *praeceptioni, assertionem app [...]ationem [...] praecurrere. Nothing is more absurd, than that avowching and allowance should runne before knowledge and precept. Aristarchus* saide, that in ancient times, there were scarce seven wise men found in the world: and in his time, hardly seven ignorant. Have not we more reason to say it in our dayes, than he had? *Affirmation & selfe-conceit, are manifest signes of foolishnesse*. Some one, who a hundred times a day hath had the canvase and beene made a starke coxcombe, shall notwithstanding be seene to stand vpon his *Ergoes*, and as presumptuously-resolute as before. You would say, he hath since some new minde and vigor of vnderstanding infused into him. And that it betides 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.

— cui cùm tetigere parentem, A [...]t [...].  
 I am defect a vident renovato robore membra.  
 Whose failing limmes with strength renew'd regrow,  
 When they once touch his mother Earth below.

Doth not this indocile, blocke-headed asse, thinke to reassume a new spirite, by vndertaking a new disputation? It is by my experience I accuse humane ignorance, which (in mine opinion) is the surest part of the Worlde's schoole. Those that will not conclude it in themselves, by so vaine an example as mine, or theirs, let them acknowledge it by *Socrates*, the Maister of Maisters. For the Philosopher *Antisthenes*, was wont to say to his Disciples: Come on my Maisters, let you and me goe to heare *Socrates*. There shall I bee a fellow Disciple with you. And vpholding this Doctrine, of the Stoickes Sect, that *only vertue sufficed to make a life absolutely-happy*; and having no neede of any thing, but of *Socrates* his force and resolution, he added moreover: This long attention, I employ in considering my selfe enableth me also to judge indifferently of others: And there are few things whereof I speake more happily and excusably. It often fortuneth me to see and distinguish more exactly the conditions of my friends, than themselves do. I have astonied some by the pertinencie of mine owne discription, 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 studious complexion therein. And when I thinke on it, I suffer few things to escape about me, that may

in any sort fit the same; whether countenances, humour or discourses. I studiously consider 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 diverse and so distracted actions to certaine Genders or Chapters, and distinctly to distribute my parcels and divisions into formes and knowne regions.

Sed neque quàm mult [...] species, & nomina qu [...] sint. Virg. Georg lib. 1. 103.  
Est numerus.  
But nor how many kindes, nor what their names:  
There is a number of them (and their frames.)

The wiser sort speake and declare their fansies more specially and distinctly: But I, who have no further insight then I get from common vse, without rule or method, generally present mine owne, but gropingly. As in this: I pronounce my sentence by articles, loose and disioynted: it is a thing cannot be spoken at once and at full. Relation and conformity are not easily found in such base and common mindes as ours. Wisedome is a solide and compleate frame; every severall piece whereof keepeth his due place and beareth his marke. *Sola sapientia in se tota conversa est. Onely wisdome is wholly turned into it selfe.* I leave it to Artists, [607] 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 diversity of visages; and settle our inconstancy and place it in order. I doe not onely finde it difficult to combine our actions one vnto another; but take every one aparte, it is hard, by any principall quality to desseigne the same properly: so double, so ambiguous and party-coloured are they to diverse lusters. Which in *Pers [...]*us the *Macedonian King* was noted for a rare matter, that his spirit fastning it selfe to no kinde of condition; wont wandring through every kinde of life: and representing so new-fangled and gadding maners, that hee was neither knowen of himselfe nor of others, what kinde of man hee was: mee thinkes may well-nigh agree and sute with all the world. And above all, I have seene some other of his coate or humour, to whom (as I suppose) this conclusion might also more properly be applide. No state of mediocrity being ever transported from one extreame to another, by indivinable occasions: no maner of course without crosses, and strange contrarities: no faculty simple: so that the likeliest a man may one day conclude of him, shall be, that he affected and laboured to make himselfe knowen by being not to be knowen. *A man had neede of long-tough eares, to heare himselfe freely iudged.* And because there be few that can endure to heare it without tingling: those which adventure to vndertake it with vs, shew vs a singular effect of true friendship. For, *that is a truely-perfect love, which, to profit and doe good, feareth not to hurt or offend.* I deeme it absurd, to censure him, in whom bad qualities exceede good conditions. *Plato* requireth three parts in him that will examine anothers minde: *Learning, goodwill, and boldnesse.* I was once demanded, what I would have thought my selfe fit-for, had any beene disposed to make vse of me, when my yeares would have fitted service:

Dum melior vires sanguis dabat, aemula necdum Virg. A [...]. lib. 5 415.  
Temporibus geminis canebat sparsa senectus.  
While better blood gave strength, nor envious old yeares  
Ore-laid with wrinckled temples grew to hoary haire.

I answered, for nothing. And I willingly excuse my selfe that I can doe nothing which may enthrall mee to others. But had my fortune made me a servant, I would have told my maister all truths; and, had he so wild it, controled his maners: Not in grosse, by scholastical lessons, which I cannot doe: besides, I see no true reformation to ensue in such as know them: but faire and softly and with every opportunity observing them; and simply and naturally judging them distinctly by the eye. Making him directly to perceive, how and in what degree hee is in the common opinion; opposing my selfe against his flatterers and sycophants. There is none of vs, but would be worse then Kings, if as they are, hee were

continually corrupted with that rascally kinde of people. But what? if *Alexander* that mighty King and great Philosopher, could not beware of them? I should have had sufficient fidelity, judgement and liberty for that. It would be a namelesse office, otherwise it should lose both effect and grace; And is a part, which cannot indifferently belong to all. For, *truth it selfe, hath not the priviledge to bee employed at all times, and in every kinde* ■ Bee her vse never so noble, it hath his circumscriptions and limites. It often commeth to passe, the world standing as it doth, that truth is whispered into Princes eares, not onely without fruit, but hurtfully and therewithall vnjustly. And no man shall make me beleve, but that an hallowed admonition may be viciously applied, and abusively employed: and that the interest of the substance should not sometimes yeeld to the interest of the forme. For such a purpose and mystery I would have an vnrepining man and one contented with his owne fortune ■

Quod sit, esse velit, nihilque malit: Mart. lib. 10. epigr. 47. 12  
 Willing to be as him you see,  
 Or rather nothing else to bee:

and borne of meane degree: Forsomuch as on the one side, hee should not have cause to feare, lively and neerely to touch his maisters heart, therby not to lose the course of his preferment: And on the other side, being of a low condition, hee should have more easie communication with all sorts of people. Which I would have in one man alone; for, to impart the priviledge of such liberty and familiarity vnto many, would beget an hurtful irreverence. Yea, and of that man, I would above all things require trusty and assured silence. *A King is not to bee credited, when for his glory, hee boasteth of his constancy, in attending his enemies encounter: if for his good amendment and profit, hee cannot endure the liberty of his friends words, [608] which have no other working power, then to pinch his learning: the rest of their effect remaining in his owne hands.* Now, there is not any condition of men, that hath more neede of true, sincerly-free and open-hearted advertisements, then Princes. They vndergoe a publike life, and must applaude the opinion of so many spectators, that if they be once enured, 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 subjects; many times for occasions, which had they beene forewarned, and in time gently reformed, they might no doubt have eschewed, to no interest or prejudice of their private delights. *Favorites doe commonly respect themselves more then their masters.* And surely it toucheth their free-hold, forsomuch as i [...]good truth, the greatest part of true friendship [...]offices, are towards their soveraigne in a crabbed and dangerous Essay. So that, there is not onely required much affection and liberty, but also an vndanted courage. To conclude, all this gal [...]emafrie which I huddle-vp here, is but a register of my lives-Essayes: which in regard of the internall health are sufficiently exemplare to take the instruction against the haire. But concerning bodily health, no man is able to bring more profitable experience, then my selfe; who present the same pure, sincere and in no sorte corrupted or altred, either by arte or selfewill'd opinion. Experience in her owne precinct, may justly be compared to Phisicke, vnto which, reason giveth place. *Tiberius* was wont to say, that *whatsoever had lived twenty yeares, should be able to answeare himselfe of all such things as were either wholesome or hurtfull for him; and know howe to live and order his body without Phisicke.* Which hee peradventure had learned of *Socrates*; who industriously advising his disciples (as a study of chiefe consequence) to study their health, told them moreover, that it was very hard, if a man of vnderstanding, heedefully observing his exercises, his eating and drinking, should not better then any Phisition discern and distinguish such things as were either good or bad or indifferent for him. Yet doth Phisicke make open profession alwayes 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 who should vndertake that profession, had past through all such diseases as hee will adventure to cure, and knownen or felt all the accidents and cricumstances hee is to iudge of.* It is reason,

themselves should first have the pox, if they will know how to cure them in others. I should surely trust such a one better then any else. Others but guide vs, as one who sitting in his chaire paints seas, rockes, shelves and havens vpon a boarde, and makes the modell of a tale ship, to saile in all safety: 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 infimities as doth a towne-crier, who crieth a lost horse, or dog, and describeth his haire, his stature, his eares, with other markes and tokens, but bring either vnto him, he knowes him not. Oh God, that physicke would one day affoord mesome good and preceptible helpe, how earnestly would I exclaime.

Tandem efficaci do manus scient [...],  
 I yeeld, I yeeld at length,  
 To knowledge of chiefe strength.

The Artes that promise to keepe our body and minde in good health, promise much vnto vs; but therewith there is none performeth lesse what they promise. And in our dayes, such as make profession of these Artes amongst vs, doe lesse then all others shew their effects. The most may be said of them, is, that they sell medicinable drugs; but that they are Physitians, no man can truly say it., I have lived long enough, to yeeld an accoont of the vsage that hath brought mee to this day. If any bee disposed to taste of it, as his taster I have given him an assay. Loe here some articles, digested as memory shall store me with them. I have no fashion but hath varied according to accidents: I onely register those I have most beene acquainted with; and hetherto possesse me most. My forme of life is ever alike, both in sicknesse and in health: one same bed, the same houres, the same meate, the same drinke doth serve me. I adde nothing to them but the moderation of more or lesse, according to my strength or appetite. My health is to keepe my accustomed state free from care and trouble. I see that sicknesse doth on the one side in some sort divert me from it, and if I beleeeve Physitians, they on the other side will turne mee from it: So that both by fortune and by arte I am cleane out of my right bias. I beleeeve nothing more certainly then this; that I cannot be offended by the vse of things, which I have so long accustomed. *It is in the hands of cuctome to give our life what forme it pleaseth:* in that it can do all in all. It is the [609]drinke of *Circes*, diversifieth our nature as she thinkes good. How many nations neere bordering vpon vs imagine the feare of the sereine or night-calme to be but a jest, which s [...]o apparently doth blast and hurt vs? and whereof our Mariners our watermen, and our countriemen make but a laughing-stocke? You make a Germane sicke, if you lay him vpon a matteras, as you distemper an Italian vpon a fetherbed, and a Frenchman to lay him in a bed without curtaines, or lodge him in a chamber without a fire. A Spaniard can not well brooke to feede after our fashion, no [...] wee endure to drinke as the Swizzers. A Germane pleased me well at *Augusta* to raile against the commodity of our chimnies, vsing the same reasons or arguments, that wee ordinarily employ in condemning their stoves. For, to say truth, the same close-smothered heate, and the smell of that oft-heated matter, whereof they are composed, fumeth in the heads of such as are not accustomed vnto them; no [...] so with me. But on the other side, that heate being equally dispersed, constant and vniversall, without flame or blazing, without smoake, and without that winde which the tonnells of our chimnies bring vs, may many wayes 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 foote of them: Whence by tonnells, which were convaide through their thickest walls, and contrived neere and about all such places as they would have warmed; so that the heare was convaide into every part of the house. Which I have seene manifestly described in some place of *Seneca*, though I can not well remember where. This Germane, hearing mee commend the beauties and commodities of his Citty (which truly deserveth great commendation) beganne to pittie mee, because I was shortly to goe from it. And the first inconvenience hee vrged mee withall, was the heavinesse in the head, which Chimnies in other places would cause mee.

Hee had heard some other body complaine of it, and therefore all eadged the same against mee, beeing wont by custome to perceive it in such as came to him. All heate comming from fire doth weaken and dull mee: Yet saide *Evenus*, that fire was the best sauce of life. I rather allow and embrace any other manner or way to escape cold. Wee feare our Wines when they are lowe; whereas in *Portugall*, the fume of it is counted delicious, and is the drinke of Princes. To conclude, each severall Nation hath divers customes, fashions and vsages; which, to some others, are not onely vnknowne and strange, but savage, barbarous and wondrous. What shall wee doe vnto that people, that admit no witsnesse, except printed; that will not believe men, if not printed in Bookes, nor credite truth, vnlesse it bee of competent age? Wee dignifie our [...]opperies, when wee put them to the presse. It is another manner of weight for him, to say, I have seene it, then if you say, I have heard it reported. But I, who mis-believe no more the mouth, than the hand of men; and know that *men write as indiscreetly, as they speake vnadvisedly*; and esteeme of this present age, as of another past; alleadge as willingly a friend of mine as *Aulus Gellius* or *Macrobius*, and what my selfe have seene, as that they have written. And as they accoumt vertue to bee nothing greater by being longer, so deeme I truth to be nothing wiser [...]ly being more aged. I often say it is meere folly that makes vs runne after strange and scholasticall examples. The fertilitie of them is now equall vnto that of *Homer* and *Platoes* times. But is it not, that we rather seek the honour of allegations, than the truth of discourses? As if it were more to borrow our proofes from out the shope of *Vascosan* or *Plantin*, than from that we dayly see in our village. Or verely that wee have not the witte to blanch, sift out or make that to prevaile, which passeth before vs, and forcibly judge of it, to drawe the same into example. For, if wee say, that authority failes vs, to adde credite vnto our testimony, wee speake from the purpose. Forsomuch as in my conceit, could we but find out their true light Natures greatest myracles and the most wonderfull examples, namely vpon the subject of humane actions, may bee drawn and formed from most ordinary, most common and most knowen things. Now concerning my subject, omitting the examples I know by bookes; And that which *Aristotle* speaketh of *Andron of Argos*, that hee would travell all over the scorching sands of *Lybia*, without drinking: A Gentleman, who hath worthily acquitted himselfe of many honourable charges, reported where I was, that in the parching heate of Summer, hes had travelled from *Madriil* to *Lisb [...]ne*, without ever drinking. His age respected, he is in very good and healthy plight, and hath nothing extraordinary in the course or custome of his life, saving (as himselfe hath told me.) that hee can very [610]well continue two or three moneths, yea a whole yeere, without any manner of beverage. He sometimes finds himselfe thirsty, but let's it passe; and holds, that it is an appetite, which will easily and of it selfe languish away: and if he drinke at any time, it is more for a caprice or humor, than for any need or pleasure. Loe here one of another key. It is not long since, that I found one of the wisest men of *France*, (among those of so meane fortune) studying hard in the corner of a great Hall, which for that purpose was hung about with tapistrie, and round about him a disordered rable of his servants, groomes and lackeys; prattling, playing and hoyting: who tolde me (as *Seneca* in a manner saith of himselfe) that he learn'd and profited much by that hurly-burly or tintimare: as if beaten with that confused noyse, he did so much the better recall and close himselfe into himselfe, for serious contemplation; and that the said tempestuous rumours did strike and repercusse his thoughts inward. Whilst he was a scholler in *Padua*, his study was ever placed so neere the jangling of bells, the ratling of coaches and rumbling tumults of the market place, that for the service of his study, he was fame, not onely to frame and enure himselfe to contemne, but to make good vse of that turbulentnoyse. *Socrates* answered *Alcibiades*, who wondered how hee could endure the continuall tittletattle and vncessant scoulding of his Wife: even as those who are accustomed to heare the ordinary creaking of the squeaking wheeles of welles. My selfe am cleane contrary, for I have a tender braine, and easie to take snuffe in the nose, or to be transported. If my minde be busie alone, the least stirring, yea the buzzing of a [...]ie doth trouble and distemper the same. *Seneca* in his youth, having earnestly vndertaken to follow the



example of *Sext* [...] *Jus*, to feede on nothing that were taken dead: could with pleasure (as himselfe averreth) live so a whole yeere. And left it, onely because he would not bee suspected to borrow this rule from some new religions, that instituted the same. He therewithall followed some precepts of *Attalus*, not to lie vpon any kinde of carpets or bedding that would yeeld vnder one; and vntill he grew very aged, hee never vsed but such as were very hard and vn-yeelding to the body. What the custome of his dayes makes him account rudenesse, ours makes vs esteeme 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 roaguing vp and downe, to serue mee; hoping to doe some good vpon them, who have within a little while after left mee, my fare and my livery; onely that they might without controule or checke follow their former idle loytring life. One of which I found not long since gathering of muskles in a common sincke, for his dinner; whom (doe what I could) I was never able, neither with entreaty to reclaime, no [...] by threatning to withdrawe, from the sweetnesse hee found in want, and delight he felt in roaguing lazinesse. Even vagabonding roagues, as well as rich men, have their magnificences and voluptuousnesse, and (as some say) their dignities, preheminenes and politike orders. They are effects of custome and vse: and *what is bred in the bone, will never out of the flesh*. Both which have power to enure and fashion vs, not onely to what forme they please (therefore, say the wise, ought we to be addressed to the best, and it will immediately seeme easie vnto vs) but also to change and variation: Which is the noblest and most profitable of their apprentisages. The best of my corporall complexions, is, that I am flexible and little opiniative. I have certaine inclinations, more proper and ordinary, and more pleasing than others. But with small adoe and without compulsion, I can easily leave them and embrace the contrary. A yong man should trouble his rules, to stirre-vp his vigor; and take heede he suffer not the same to grow faint, sluggish or teasty: For, there is no course of life so weake and sottish, as that which is mannged by Order, Methode and Discipline.

Ad primum lapidem vectari cum placet, hora Iuven. Sat. 6. 477.  
 Sumi [...]ur ex libro, si prurit frictus ocell [...]  
 Anguibus, inspecta genesi collyria qu [...]rit.  
 List he to ride in coach but to *Mile-end*,  
 By th'Almanacke he doth the houre attend:  
 If his eye-corner itch, the remedy,  
 He [...]et's from calculation of nativity.

If he beleeeve mee, he shall often give himselfe vnto all manner of excesse: otherwise the least disorder will vtterly overthrow him; and so make him vnfit and vn welcome in all conversations. [611] *The most contrary quality in an honest man, is nice-delicateuesse, and to bee tied to one certaine particular fashion*. It is parcular, if it be not supple and pliable. *It is a kinde of reproch, through impuissance not to doe or not to dare, what one seeth his other companions doe or dare*. Let such men keepe their kitchin. It is vndecent in all other men, but vitious and intollerable in one professing Armes: who (as *Philopoemen* said) should fashion himselfe to all manner of inequality and diversity of life. Although I have (as much as might bee) beene enured to liberty and fashioned to indifferency, yet in growing aged, I have through carelesnesse relied more vpon certaine forms (my age is now exempted from institution, and hath not anie thing else to looke vnto, but to maintaine it selfe) which custome hath already, without thinking on it, in certaine things so well imprinted her character in me, that I deeme it a kinde of excesse to leaue them. And without long practise, I can neither sleepe by day; nor eate betweene meales; nor breake my fast; nor goe to bed without some entermission; as of three houres after supper) nor get children, but before I fall asleepe, 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 spare my gloves as my shirt: or forbear washing of my handes,

both in the morning and rising from the table; or lie in a bed without a tester and curtains about it, as of most necessary 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 seldome vse either spoone or forke. I am sory wee follow not a custome, which according to the example of Kings I have seene begunne by some; that vpon every course or change of dish, as we have shift of cleane trenchers, so we might have change of cleane napkins. We reade that that laborious souldier *Marius*, growing olde, grew more nicely delicate in his drinking, and would taste no drinke, except in a peculiar cuppe of his. As for me, I observe a kinde of like methode in glasses, and of one certaine forme, and drinke not willingly in a commonglasse: no more than of one ordinary hand: I mislike all manner of mettall in regard of a bright transparent matter: let mine eyes also have teste of what I drinke according to their capacity. I am beholding to custome for many [...] nicenesses and singularities. Nature hath also on the other side bestowed this vpon mee, that I can not wel brooke two ful meales in one day, without surcharging my stomacke; nor the meere abstinence of one, without filling my selfe with winde, drying my mouth and dulling my appetite: And I doe finde great offence by a long sereine or night-calme. For some yeeres since, in the out-roades or nightservices that happen in times of warres, which many times continue all night, five or sixe houres after my stomacke beginnes to qualme, my head feeleth a violent aking, so that I can hardly hold-out till morning without vomiting. When others goe to breakefast▪ I goe to sleepe: and within a while after I shall be as fresh and jolly as before. I ever thought that the serein never fell, but in the shutting in of night, but having in these latter yeeres long time frequented very familiarly the conversation of a Gentleman, possessed with this opinion, that it is more sharpe and dangerous about the declination of the Sunne, an houre or two before it set, which he carefully escheweth, and despiseth that which falles at night: he hath gone about to perswade and imprint into mee, not onely his discourse but also his conceit. What if the very doubt and inquisition, woundeth our imagination and changeth vs? Such as altogether yeelde to these bendings, draw the whole ruine vpon themselves. And I bewaile diuerse Gentlemen, who being yong and in perfect health, have by the ignorant foolishnes of their Physitians brought themselves into consumptions and other lingering diseases; and as it were in Physickes fetters. Were it not much better to be troubled with a rheume, than for ever through discustome, in an action of so great vse and consequence, loose the commerce and conversation of common life? Oh yrkesome learning! Oh Science full of molestation; that wasteth vs the sweetest houres of the day. Let vs extend our possession vnto the vtmost meanes. A man shall at last, in opinionating himselfe, harden and enure himselfe for it, and so correct his complexion: as did *Caesars* the falling sicknesse, with contemning and corrupting the same. A man should apply himselfe to the best rules, but not subject himselfe vnto them: except to such (if any there bee) that duty and thraldome vnto them, be profitable. Both Kings and Philosophers obey nature, and goe to the stoole, and so doe Ladies: Publike lives are due vnto ceremony: mine which is obscure and private, enjoyeth all naturall dispensations. To be a Souldier and a *Gascoyne*, are qualities somewhat [612]subject to indiscretion. And I am both. Therefore will I say thus much of this action; that it is requisite we should remit the same vnto certaine prescribed night-houres; and by custome (as I have done) force and subject our selves vnto it: 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 *Ajax* or easie close-stoole for that purpose: and make it troublesome with long sitting and nice observation. Neverthelesse in homeliest matters and fowlest offices, is it not in some sorte excusable, to require more care and cleanelinesse? *Natur [...] homo mundum & elegans* Sen epist. 92. *animal est. By nature man is a cleanly and neate creature.*

Of all naturall actions, there is none wherein I am more loath to be troubled or interrupted, when I am at it. I have seene diuers great men and souldiers, much troubled and vexed with their bellies vntune and disorder, when at vntimely houres it calleth vpon them: whilst mine and my selfe never misse to call one vpon another at our appointment: which is,

as soone as I get out of my bed, except some vrgent busines or violent sicknesse trouble mee. Therefore (as I saide) I judge no place where sicke men may better seate themselves in security, then quietly and wisht to holde themselves in that course of life, wherein the have beene brought vp and habituated. Any change or variation soever, astonieth and distempereth. Will any beleue, that Chestnuttes can hurt a *Perigordin* or a *Luquo [...]*s, or that milk▪ or whitmeates are hurtful vnto a mountaine dwelling people? whom if one seeke to divert from their naturall diet, he shall not onely prescribe them a new, but a contrary forme of life: A change which a healthy man can hardly endure. Appoynt a *Bretton* of three score yeeres of age to drinke water; put a Sea-man or Mariner into a Stove; forbid a lackey of Baske to walke: you bring them out of their element, you depriue them of all motion, and in the end, of aire, of light and life.

—*an vivere tanti est?* Cor. Gal. el. 1. 155.

Doe we reckon it so deare,  
 Onely living to be here?  
 Cogimur à suet is animum suspendere rebus.  
 Atque vt vivamus, vivere desinimus:  
 From things erst vs'd we must suspend our minde,  
 We leave to live that we may live by kinde.  
 Hos superesse reor quibus & spirabilis a [...]*r*,  
 Et lux quaregimur, redditur ipsa gravis.  
 Doe I thinke they liue longer, whom doth grieve  
 Both aire they breathe, and light whereby they live.

If they doe no other good, at least they doe this, that betimes they prepare their patients vnto death, by little vndermining and cutting-off the vse of life. Both in health and in sicknesse, I haue willingly seconded and giuen my selfe over to those appetites that pressed mee. I allow great authority to my desires and propensions. I loue not to cure one evill by another mischief. I hate those remedies, that importune more then sicknesse. To be subject to the cholike, and to be tied to abstaine from the pleasure I have in eating of oysters, are two mischiefes for one. The disease pincheth vs on the one side, the rule on the other. Since we are ever in danger to misdoo, let vs rather hazard our selves to follow pleasure. Most men doe contrary and thinke nothing profitable, that is not painefull: Facility is by them suspected. Mine appetite hath in diuerse things very happily accommodated and ranged it selfe to the health of my stomake. Being yong, acrimony and tartnesse in sawces did greatly delight me, but my stomake being since glutted therewith, my taste hath likewise seconded the same. Wine hurts the sicke; it is the first thing that with an invincible distaste, brings my mouth out of taste. Whatsoeuer I receiue vnwillingly or distastefully hurts me, whereas nothing doth it whereon I feede with hunger and rellish. I never receiued harme by any action that was very pleasing vnto me. And yet I have made al medicinall conclusions, largely to yeeld to my pleasures. And when I was yong.

Quem circumcursans huc atque huc saepe Cupido  
 Fulgebat crocina splendidus in tunica, C [...]*t* [...]*l*. el. 4. 131.  
 About whom *Cupid* running here and there,  
 Shinde in the saffron coate which he did weare.

I have as licentiously & inconsiderately as any other, furthred al such desires as possessed me;

[613]

Et militavi non sine gloria.  
 A Souldier of loves hoast, Hor. c [...]*r*. l. 3. [...]*d*. 26. 2.  
 I was not without boast.

More notwithstanding in continuation and holding out, then by snatches or by stealth.

Sex me vix memini sustinuisse vices,  
I scarce remember past  
Six courses I could last.

It is surely a wonder accompanied with unhappiness, to confesse how young and weak I was brought vnder it's subjection. Nay, shall I not blush to tell it? It was long before the age of choise or yeares of discretion: I was so young, as I remember nothing before. And fitly may my fortune bee compared to that of *Quartilla*, who remembred not her mayden-head.

Inde tragus celeres (que) pili, mirandá (que) matri Barba me [...].  
Thence goatishnesse, haire over-soone, a beard  
To make my mother wonder, and afear'd.

Physitians commonly enfold and joine their rules vnto profit, according to the violence of sharpe desires or earnest longings, that incidently follow the sicke, No longing desire can be imagined so strange and vicious, but nature will apply herselfe vnto it. And then how easie is it to content ones fantasie? 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 fancy chargeth vs withall. That Spanish saying doth every way please me: *Deffienda me Dios de my. God defend me from my selfe*. Being sicke, I am sorry I have not some desire may give mee the contentment to satiate and cloy the same: Scarsly 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. It is pittie a man should be so weakned and enlanguished, that hee hath nothing left him but wishing. The arte of Physicke is not so resolute, that whatsoever wee doe, wee shall bee void of all authority to doe it. Shee changeth and shee varieth according to climates; according to the Moones; according to *Fernelius*; and according to *Scala*. If your Physitian thinke it not good that you sleepe, that you drinke wine, or eate such and such meates: Care not you for that; I will finde you another that shall not be of his opinion. The diversity of physicall arguments and medicinall opinions, embraceth all manner of formes. I saw a miserable sicke man, for the infinite desire he had to recover, ready to burst, yea and to die with thirst; whom not long since another Physitian mocked, vtterly condemning the others counsell, as hurtfull for him. Had not hee bestowed his labour well? A man of that coate is lately dead of the stone, who during the time of his sicknesse vsed extreame abstinence to withstand his evill; his fellowes affirme that contrary, his long fasting had withered and dried him vp, and so concocted the gravell in his kidnies. I have found, that in my hurts and other sicknesse, earnest talking distempers 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 entertaine the eares of great men, about weighty affaires, I have often troubled them with care how to moderate my voice, This story deserveth to bee remembred and to divert me. A certaine man, in one of the Greeke schooles spake very lowde, as I doe; the maister of the ceremonies sent him word, hee should speake lower: let him (quoth he) send mee the tune or key in which he would have me speake. The other replied, that hee should take his tune from his eares to whom he spake. It was well sayd, so hee vnderstood himselfe: Speake according as you have to doe with your auditory. For if one say, let it suffice that he heareth you; or, governe your selfe by him: I do not thinke he had reason to say so. The tune or motion of the voyce, hath some expression or signification of my meaning: It is in me to direct the same, that so I may the better represent my selfe. There is a voyce to instruct one to flatter, and another to chide. I will not onely have my voyce come to him, but peradventure to wound and pierce him. When I brawle and rate my lackey, with a sharpe and piercing tune; were it fit he should come to me and say, Master speake softly, I vnderstand and heare you very well? *Est quaedam vox ad auditum accomod [...]. Ita non magnitudine sed proprietat [...].*

*There is a kinde of voyce well applied to the hearing, not by the greatnesse of it, but by the propri [...]tie.* The word is halfe his that speakeh, and halfe his that harkoneth vnto it. The hea [...]er [614]ought to prepare himselfe to the motion or bound it taketh. As betweene those that play at tennis, he who keepe the hazard, doth prepare, stand, stirre and march, according as he perceives him who stands at the house, to looke, stand, remoove and strike the ball, and according to the stroake. Experience hath also taught mee this, that wee lose our selves with impatience. *Evills have their life, their limites; their diseases and their health,* The constitution of diseases is framed by the patterne of the constitution of living creatures. They have their fortune limited even at their birth, and their dayes allotted them. Hee that shall imperiously goe about, or by compulsion (contrary to their courses) to abridge them, doth lengthen and multiply them; and instead of appealing, doth harsell and wring them. I am of *Crantors* opinion, that a man must neither obstinately nor frantikely oppose himselfe against evills; nor through demissenesse of courage faintly yeeld vnto them, but according to their condition and ours, naturally incline to them. A man must give sicknesses their passage: And I finde that they stay least with mee, because I allow them their swinge, and let them doe what they list. And contrary to common-received rules, I have without ayde or arte r [...]dde my selfe of some, that are deemed the most obstinately lingring, and vnremoovably-obstinate. *Let nature worke:* Let hir have hir will: Shee knoweth what snee hath to doe, and vnderstands hir selfe better then wee doe. But such a one died of it, will you say; So shall you doubtlesse; if not of that, yet of some other disease. And how many have wee seene die, when they have had a whole Colledge of Physitians round about their bed, and looking in their excrements? *Example is a bright looking-glasse, vniversall and for all shapes to looke-into.* If it be a lushious or taste-pleasing potion, take it hardly; it is ever so much present ease. So it be delicious and sweetely tasting, I will never stand much vpon the name or colour of it. *Pleasure is one of the chieftest kindes of profite.* I have suffered rheumes, gowty defluxions, relaxions, pantings of the heart, megreimes and other such-like accidents, to grow old in me, and die their naturall death; all which have left me, when I halfe enured and framed my selfe to foster them. They are better conjured by curtesie, then by bragging or threats, *We must gently obey and endure the lawes of our condition:* We are subject to grow aged, to become weake and to fall sicke, in spight of all physicke. It is the first lesson the Mexicans give their children; When they come out of their mothers wombes, they thus salute them: *My childe, thou art come into the world to suffer; Therefore suffer and hold thy peace.* It is injustice for one to grieve, that any thing hath befallen to any one, which may happen to all men. *Indignare si quid in te iniquè propriè constitutum est. Then take it ill, if any thing bee decreed vniustly against thee alone.* Looke on an aged man, who sueth vnto God to maintaine him in perfect, full an vigrous health, that is to say, he will be pleased to make him yong againe:

Stulte quid haec frustra votis puerilibus optas? Orid. Trist. 1. 3. el. 8. 11.  
 Foole why dost thou in vaine desire,  
 With childish prayers thus t'aspire?

Is it not folly? his condition will not beare it. The gowt, the stone, the gravell and indigestion are symptomes or effects of long continued yeares; as heates, raines and windes, are incident to long voyages. *Plato* cannot beleeeve, that *Aescu [...]apius* troubled himselfe with good rules and diet to provide for the preservarion of life, in a weake, wasted and corrupted body: being vnprofitable for his country, inconvenient for his vocation. & vnfit to get sound and sturdy Children: and deeme not that care inconvenient vnto divine justice and heavenly Wisedome, which is to direct all things vnto profite. My good sir, the matter is at an end: You cannot be recovered; for the most, you can be but tampered withall, and somewhat vnder-propt, and for some houres have your misery prolonged.

Non secus instantem cupiens fulcire ruinam Corn. Gal. el. 173.  
 Diversis contrà nititur obicibus,  
 Donec certa dies omni compage solutâ  
 Ipsum cum rebus subruat auxilium.  
 So he that would an instant ruine stay,  
 With divers props strives it to vnderlay,  
 Till all the frame dissolv'd a certaine day,  
 The props with th'edifice doth oversway.

*A man must learne to endure that patiently, which he cannot avoyde conveniently.* Our life is composed, as is the harmony of the World, of contrary things; so of divers tunes, some pleasant, [615]some harsh, some sharpe, some flat, some low and some high: What would that Mu [...]tition say, that should love but some one of them? He ought to know how to vse them severally and how to entermingle them. So should we both of goods and evils, which are consubstantiall to our life. Our being cannot subsist without this commixture. whereto one side is no lesse necessarie than the other. To goe about to kicke against naturall necessity, were to represent the folly of *C [...]*esiphon, who vndertooke to strike or wince with his [...]ule. I consult but little about the alterations which I feele: For these kinde of men are advantagious, when they hold you at their mercy. They glut your eares with their Prognostications, and surprising mee heretofore, when by my sicknesse I was brought very lowe and weake, they have injuriously handled me with their Doctrines, positions, prescriptions, magistrall fopperies and prosopopeyall gravity; sometimes threatning me with great paine and smart, and othertimes menacing me with neere and vnavoydable death: All which did indeede move, stirre and touch me neere, but could not dismay, or remoove mee from my place or resolution: If my judgement be thereby neither changed nor troubled, it was at least hindred: 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 cleane discharge it of all paine and contestation. A man must further, help, flatter and (if he can) cozen and deceive it. My spirit is fit for that office. There is no want of apparances every where. Did he perswade, as he preacheth, he should successefully ayde me. Shall I give you an example? He tels me, it is for my good, that I am troubled with the gravell: That the compositions of my age, must naturally suffer some leake or flaw: It is time they beginne to relent and gaine-say themselves: It is a common necessity: And it had beene no new wonder for mee. That way I pay the reward due vnto age, and I could have no better reckoning of it. That such company ought to comfort me, being fallen into the most ordinary accident incident to men of my dayes. I every where see some afflicted with the same kinde of evill; whosesociety is honourable vnto mee, forsomuch as it commonly possesseth the better sort of men: and whose essence hath a certaine nobility and dignity connexed vnto it: That of men tormented therewith, fewe are better cheape quit of it: and yet, it costs them the paine of a troublesome dyet, tedious regiment, and daily loath some taking of medicinall drugges and phisicall potions: Whereas I meerly owe it to my good fortune. For, some ordinary broths made of Eringos or Sea-Holme, and Burstwort, which twice or thrice I have swallowed downe, at the request of some Ladies, who more kindly then my disease is vnkind, offred me the moiety of theirs, have equally seemed vnto mee as easie to take, as vnprofitable in operation. They must pay a thousand vowes vnto *Aesculapius*, and as many crownes to their Physition, for an easie profluvion or abundant running of gravell, which I often receive by the benefite of Nature. Let mee bee in any company, the decency of my countenance is thereby nothing troubled; and I can hold my water full tenne houres, and if neede bee, as long as any man that is in perfect health: The feare of this evill (saith hee) did heeretofore affright thee, when yet it was vnknownen to thee. The cries and despaire of those, who through their impatience exasperate the same; bred a horror of it in thee. It is an evill that comes and falles into those limmes, by, and with which thou hast most offended: Thou art a man of conscience:

Quae venit indignè paena, dolenda venit. Orid. e [...]ist. 5. 8.  
The paine that comes without desart,  
Comes to vs with more grieffe and smart.

Consider but how milde the punishment is, in respect of others, and how favourable. Consider his slownesse in comming: hee onely incommodeth that state and encombreth that season of thy life, which (all things considered) is now become barren and lost, having as it were by way of composition given place vnto the sensuall licentiousnesse and want on pleasures of thy youth. The feare and pittie, men have of this evil, may serve thee as a cause of glory. A quality, whereof, if thy judgement be purified and thy discourse perfectly sound, thy friends doe notwithstanding discover some sparkes in thy complexion. It is some plea [...]ure for a man to heare others say of him: *Loe there a patterne of true fortitude; loe there a mirrour of matchlesse patience.* Thou art seene to sweate with labour, to grow pale and wanne, to wax red, to quake and tremble, to cast and vomite blood, to endure strange contractions, to brooke convulsions, to trill downe brackish and great teares, to make thicke, muddie blacke, bloody and fearefull vrine, or to have it stopt by some sharpe or rugged stone, which [616]pricketh and cruelly wringeth the necke of the yarde: entertaining in the meane while the by-standers with an ordinary and vndanted countenance, by pawses jesting and by entermissions dallying with thy servants: keeping a parte in a continued discourse; with wordes now and then excusing thy grieffe, and abating thy painefull sufferance. Dost thou remember those men of former ages, who to keep their vertue in breath and exercise, did with such greedinesse seeke after evils? Suppose Nature driveth and brings thee vnto that glorious Schoole, into which thou hadst never come of thine owne accord and freewill. If thou tel me, it is a dangerous and mortall evill.; what others are not so? For, it is a kinde of physicall cousenage, to except any, and so they goe 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 therevnto? But thou diest not because thou art sicke; thou diest because thou art living. Death is able to kill thee without the helpe of any sicknesse. Sicknesse have to some prolonged their death; who have lived the longer, inasmuch as they imagined they were still dying. Seeing it is of woundes, as of diseases, that some are medicinall and wholesome. The chollike is often no lesse long-lived than you. Many are seene, in whom it hath continued even from their infancy vnto their extreamest age, who had they not forsaken hir company; she was like to have assisted them further. You oftner kill her, than she doth you. And if she did present thee with the image of neer-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 woorse, thou hast no longer cause to be cured: Thus and howsoever, common necessity calles for thee against the first day. Consider but how artificially and how mildely she brings thee in distaste with life, and out of liking with the world; not forcing thee with a tyrannicall subjection, as infinite other diseases doe, wherwith thou seest olde men possessed. which continually holde them fettered and ensnared, and without release of weakenesse nor intemission of paines but by advertisements and instructions, reprised by intervalles: entermixing certaine pawses of rest, as if it were: to give thee meane, at thy ease, to meditate and repeate her lesson. To give thee leasure and ability to judge soundly, and like a man of a corage to take a resolution, shee presents thee with the state of thy condition perfect, both in good and evill, and in one same day, sometimes a most pleasing, sometimes a most intolerable life. *If thou embrace not death, at least thou shakest her by the hand once a moneth.* Whereby thou hast more cause to hope, that she will one day surprise thee without threatning. And that being so often brought into the haven; supposing to be still in thy accustomed state, one morning at vnawares, both thy selfe and thy confidence shall be transported over. A man hath no reason to complaine against those diseases, which so equally divide time with health. I am beholding to Fortune, that shee so often assailes mee with one same kinde of weapon: shee by long vse doth fashion and enure mee vnto it, harden and habituate mee therevnto: I now know within a little which way and how I shall bee quit. For want of naturall memory I frame some of paper. And when

some new symptome or accident commeth to my evill, I set it downe in writing: whence it proceedeth, that having now (in a manner) passed over and through all sortes of examples, if any astonishment threaten mee; running and turning over these my loose memorialles (as *Sybillaes* leaves) I misse no more to finde to comfort me with some favourable prognostication in my former past experience. Custome doth also serve mee, to hope the better heereafter. For, the conduct of this distribution, having so long bene constituted, it is to be supposed 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 seeming to my ready and sodaine complexion. When it but faintly assailes mee, it makes mee afraid, because it is like to continue long: But naturally it hath certaine vigorous and violent excesses. It doth violently shake me for one or two dayes. My reines have continued a whole age without alteration, an other is now well-nigh come, that they have changed state. *Evilles as well as goods have their periodes*: this accident is happily come to his last. Age weakeneth the heate of my stomacke: his digestion being thereby lesse perfect, heesendeth this crude matter to my reines. Why may not, at a certaine revolution, the heat of my reines be likewise infebled: so that they may no longer petrifie my fleagme; and Nature addresse her selfe to finde some other course of purgation? Yeares have evidently made me drie vp certaine rheumes: And why not these excrements, that minister matter to the stone or gravell? But is there any thing so pleasant, in respect of this sodaine change, [617]when by an extreame paine, I come by the voyding of my stone, to recover, as from a lightning, the faire Sunne-shine of health; so free and full, as it happeneth in our sodaine and most violent cholliks? Is there any thing in this paine suffered, that may be counterpoised to the sweete pleasure of so ready an amendment? By how much more health seemeth fairer 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 attyre themselves avy, as it were confront and counterchecke one another: Even as the Stoickessay, that *Dices were profitablie brought in; to give esteeme and make head vnto vertue*; So may we with better reason and bold conjecture, affirme, that Nature hath lent vs grieffe and paine, for the honour of pleasure and service of indolency. When *Socrates* (after he had his yrons or fetters taken from him) felt the pleasure or tickling of that itching, which their weight and rubbing had caused in his legges; he rejoyced, to consider the neere affinity that was betweene paine and pleasure: how they combined together by a necessary bond; so that at turnes they enter-engender and succede one an other: And cry out to good *Aesope*, that hee should from that consideration have taken a proper body vnto a quaint fable. The worst I see in other diseases, is, that they are not so grievous in their effect, as in their issue. A man is whole yeare to recover himselfe; ever full of weakenesse, alwayes full of feare.

There is so much hazard and so many degrees before one can be brought to safety, that hee is never at an end. Before you can leave off your cover-chiefe and then your nightcappe; before you can the ayre againe, or have leave to drinke Wine, or lye with your Wife, or eate melons, it is much, if you fall not into some relapse or new misery. The gravell hath this priviledge, that it is cleane carried away. Whereas other maladies, leave ever some impression and alteration, which leaveth the body susceptible or vndertaking of some new infirmity; 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 same, 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 neuer had ague since. I argue, that the extreame and frequent vomites I endure, purge me; and on the other side, the distastes and strange abstinences I tolerate, disgest my offending humours: and Nature voydeth in these stones and gravell, whatsoever is superfluous and hurtefull in her. Let no man tell me, that it is a medicine too deere sold. For, what availe so many loathsome pills, stincking potions, cauterizings, incisions, sweatings, setons, dyets and so divers fashions of curing, which, because we are not able to vndergoe their violence and brooke their



importunity, doe often bring vs vnto our graves? And therefore, when I am surprised, I take it as physicke: and when I am free, I take it as a constant 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's mee keepe mine owne; or else I want but courage to doe it: In his greatest emotion, I have held out tenne houres on Horse-backe with him. Doe but endure, you neede no other rule or regiment: Play, dally, dyne, runne, be gamesome, 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 gowt, or to one that is belly-broken or codburst. Other infirmities have more vniversall bonds, torment farre-otherwise our actions, pervert al 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 vnderstanding, nor with your will, tongue, feete nor hands, but leaves them all in your disposition; it rather rouzeth and awaketh you, then deterre and drouzie you. The mind is wounded by the burning of a feaver suppressed by an Epilepsie, confounded by a migrane, and in conclusion, astonied and dismayed by all the diseases that touch or wound the whole masse of his body, and it's noblest partes: This never medleth with it. If therefore it go ill with it, his be the blame: she bewrayeth, she forsaketh and she displaceth herselfe. None but fools will be perswaded, that this hard, gretty and massie body, which is concocted and petrified in our kidneis, may be dissolved by drinks. And therefore after it is stirred, there is no way, but to give it passage▪ For if you doe not, he will take it himselfe. This other peculiar commodity I obserue, that it is an infirmity, wherein we haue but little to diuine. We are dispensed from the trouble, whereinto other maladies cast vs, by the vncertainty of their causes, conditions and progresses. [618]A trouble infinitely painfull. We have no neede of doctorall consultations, or collegiall interpretations. Our senses tell vs where it is, and what it is. By, and with such arguments, forcible or weake (as *Cicero* doth the infirmity of his old-age) I endeavour to lull asleepe, and study to amuse my imagination, and supple or annoynt her sores. If they growe worse to morrow; to morrow we shall provide for new remedies or escapes. That this is true: loe afterward againe, happily the lightest motion wrings pure blood out of my reines. And what of that? I omitte not to stirre as before, and with a youthfull and insolent heate ride after my hound. And find that I haue great reason of so important an accident, which costs me but a deafe heavinesse and dombe alteration in that parte. It is some great stone that wasteth and consumeth the substance of my kidneis and my life, which I avoyde by little and little: not without some natural pleasure, as an excrement now superfluous and troublesome. And feele I something to shake? Except not that I amuse my selfe to feele my pulse or looke into my vrine, thereby to finde or take some tedious prevention. I shall come time enough to feele the smart, without lengthening the same with the paine of feare. *Who feareth to suffer, suffereth already, because he feareth.*

Seeing the doubt and ignorance of those, who will and do meddle with expounding the drifts and shifts of nature, with her internall progresse; and so many false prognostications of their arte should make vs vnderstand her meanes infinitely vnknownen. There is great vncertainty, variety and obscurity, in that shee promiseth and menaceth vs. Except oldage, which is an vndoubted 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 discourse: To what end? since I will adde nothing therunto except attention and patience. Will you know what I gaine by it? Behold those who doe otherwise, and who depend on so many diverse perswasions and counselles; how oft imagination presseth them without the body. I have diverse times being in safety and free from all dangerous accidents, taken pleasure to communicate them vnto Phisitions, as but then comming vpon me. I endured the arrest or doome of their horrible conclusions, and remained so much the more bounden vnto God for his grace, and better instructed of the vanity of this arte. *Nothing ought so much be recommended vnto youth, as activitie and vigilancie.* Our life is nothing but motion, I am hardly shaken, and am slow in all things, bee it to rise, to goe to bed, or to my

meales. Seaven of the clocke in the morning is to me an early houre: And where I may commaund, I neither dine before eleven, norsup till after six. I have heretofore imputed the cause of agues or maladies, whereinto I have falne, to the lumpish heavinesse or drowzy dulnesse, which my long sleeping had caused me. And ever repented mee to fall asleepe againe in the morning. *Plato* condemnes more the excesse of sleeping, then the surfet of drinking. I love to lie hard and alone, yea and without a woman by me: after the kingly manner: 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 feete my stomacke. Great *Scipio* was taxed to bee a sluggard or heavy sleeper (in my conceit) for no oother cause, but that men were offended, hee onely should bee the man, in whom no faulte might justly bee found. If there be any curiosity in my behaviour or manner of life, it is rather about my going to bed, then any thing else; but if neede bee, I generally yeeld and accommodate my selfe vnto necessity, as well and as quietly, and any other whosoever. Sleeping hath possessed a great parte of my life: and as old as I am, I can sleepe eight or nine houres together. I doe with profit withdraw my selfe from this sluggish propension, and evidently finde my selfe better by it. Indeede I somewhat feele the stroke of alteration, but in three dayes it is past. And I see few that live with lesse (when neede is) and that more constantly exercise themselves, nor whom toying and labour offend lesse. My body is capable of a firme agitation, so it be not vehement and sodaine. I avoide violent exercises, and which induce mee to sweate: my limbs will sooner be wearied, then heated. I can stand a whole day long, and am seldome weary with walking. Since my first age, I ever loved rather to ride then walke vpon paved streetes. Going a foote, I shall durty my selfe vp to the waste: and little men, going alongst our streetes, are subject (for want of presentiall apparence) to be justled or elbowed. I love to take my rest, bee it sitting or lying-along, with my legs as high or higher then my seate. No profession or occupation is more pleasing then the military; A profession or exercise, both noble in execution (for, *the strongest, most generous and prowdest [619] of all vertues, is true valour*) and noble in it's cause. No vtilitie, is either more just or vniversall then the protection of the repose, or defence of the greatnesse of ones country, The company and dayly conversation of so many noble, young and active men, cannot but be well-pleasing to you: the dayly and ordinary sight of so diverse tragicall spectacles: the libertie and vncontroled freedome of that artelesse and vnaffected conversation, masculine and ceremonillesse maner of life: the hourelly variety of a thousand ever changing and differing actions: the couragious and minde stirring harmonie of warlike musike, which at once entertaineth with delight and enflameth with longing, both your eares and your minde: the imminent and matchlesse honour of that exercise: yea the very sharpenesse and difficulty of it, which *Plato* esteemeth so little, that in his imaginary commonwealth, he imparteth the same both to women and to children. As a voluntary Souldier, or adventurous knight you enter the lists, the bands or particular hazards, according as your selfe judge of their successes or importance: and you see when your life may therein be excusably employed,

pulchrúmque morisuccurrit in armis. Virg. Aen. lib 3 317.  
 And nobly it doth come in minde,  
 To die in armes may honor finde.

Basely to feare common dangers, that concerneso numberlesse a multitude, and not to dare, whatso many sortes of men dare, yea whole nations together, is onely incident to base, craven and milke-sop-hearts. *Company and good fellowship doth harten 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 collateral causes to blame and take hold-of; but to yeeld to them in constancie of minde, and resolution of courage, you have none but yourselfe to find fault with. *Death is much more abiect, languishing, grisly and painefull in a downe-bed, then in a field-combate; and agues, catarres or apoplexies, as painefull and mortall, as an harquebusado*. He that should be made vndantedly to beare the accidents of common life,

should not need to bumbast his courage, to become a man at armes. *Divere, mi Lucilli, milis are est. Friend mine, Se [...]. epist. 96. f. to live is to goe onwarre-fare.* I can not remember that ever I was scabbed: yet is itching one of natures sweetest gratifications, and as readie at hand. But repentance doth over-importunately attend on it. I exercise the same in mine eares (and by fits) which within doe often itch. I was borne with all my senses sound, almost in perfection. My stomake is commodiously good; and so is my head: both which, together with my winde, maintaine them selves athwart my agues. I have outlived that age, to which some nations have not without some reason prescribed for a just end vnto life, that they allowed not a man to exceede the same. I have notwithstanding some remyses or intermissions yet: though vnconstant and short, so sound and neate, that there is little difference betweene them and the health and indolencie of my youth. I speake not of youthly vigor and chearefull blithnesse; there is noreason they should follow mee beyond their limites:

Non haec amplius est liminis, aut aquae Hor. car. lib. 3. [...].d. 10. 15.  
 Coelestis, patiens latus.  
 These sides cannot still sustaine,  
 Lying without dores, showing raine.

My visage and eyes doe presently discover me. Thence beginne all my changes, and somewhat sharper then they are in effect. I often moove my friends to pittie, ere I feele the cause of it. My looking glasse doth not amaze me: for even in my youth it hath diverse times befallne me, so to put-on a duskie looke, a wanne colour, a troubled behaviour and of ill presage, without any great accident; so that Phisitions perceiving no inward cause to answer this outward alteration, ascribed the same to the secret minde or some concealed passion, which inwardly gnawed and consumed mee. They were deceived, were my body directly by mee, 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 blithnesse, as it is most commonly, partly by it's owne complexion, and partly by it's owne desseigne:

Nec vitiant art us aegrae contagia mentis. Ov [...].d. Triss. 1. 3. [...]. 8. 25.  
 Nor doth sicke mindes infection,  
 Pollute strong joynts complexion.

I am of opinion, that this her temperature hath often raised my body from his fallings: he is often suppressed, whereas she, if not lasciviously wanton, at least in quiet and reposed [620]estate. I had a quartan ague which held me foure or five moneths, and had altogether disvisaged and altered my countenance, yet my minde held ever out, not onely peaceably but pleasantly. So I feele no paine ot smarte; weaknesse and languishing doe not greatly perplex me. I see divers corporall defailances, the only naming of which breede a kind of horror, and which I would feare lesse then a thousand passions and agitations of the mind, which I see in vse. I resolve to runne no more: it sufficeth me to goe-on faire and softly; nor doe I complaine of their naturall decadence or empairing that possesseth me,

Quis tumidum guttur miratur in Alpibus? I [...].n. sat. 13. 152.  
 Who wonders a swolne throate to see,  
 In those about the Alpes that be?

No more, then I grieve that my continuance is not as long and sound, as that of an oske. I have no cause 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 awaken without dismay or afflicting me. I seldome dreame, and when I doe, it is of extravagant things and chymeras; commonly produced of pleasant conceits, rather ridiculous then sorrowfull. And thinke it true, that dreames are the true interpreters of our inclinations: but great skill is required to sort and vnderstand them.

Res quae in vit a vsurpant homines, cogitant, curant, vident,  
 Quae (que) agunt vigilantes, agitant que ea sicut insomno accidunt  
 Minus mirandum est.  
 It is no wonder if the things, which we  
 Care-for, vse, thinke, doe oft, or waking see.  
 Vnto vs sleeping represented be.

*Plato* saith moreover, that is the office of wisdom to draw divining instructions from them, against future times. Wherein I see nothing but the wonderfull experience, that *Socrates*, *Xenophon* and *Aristotle* relate of them: men of vnreprovable authority. Histories reporte, that the inhabitants of the Atlantique Iles never dreame: who feede on nothing that hath beene slaine. Which I adde, because it is peradventure the occasion the dreame not. *Pythagoras* ordained therefore a certaine methode of feeding, that dreames might bee sorted of some purpose. Mine are tender, and cause no agitation of body or expression of voice in mee. I have in my dayes seene many strangely stirred with them. *Theon* the Philosopher walked in dreaming; and *Pericles* his boy went vpon the tiles and top of houses. I stand not much on nice choice of meates at the table: and commonly beginne with the first and neerest dish: and leape not willingly from one taste to another. Multitude of dishes, and varietie of services displease mee as much as any other throng. I am easily pleased with few messes and hate the opinion of *Favorinus*, that at a banquet you must have that dish whereon you feede hungerly taken from you, and ever have a new one set in the place: And that it is a niggardly supper, if all the guests be not glutted with pinions and rumps of divers kindes of fowle: and that onely the daintie bird *heccafico* or snapfig deserveth to bee eaten whole at one morsell. I feede much vpon salte cates and love to have my bread somewhat fresh: And mine own Baker makes none other for my bord; against the fashion of my cuntry. In my youth, my overseers had much adoe to reforme the refusall I made of such meats as youth doth commonly love best, as sweete-meates, confets and marchpanes. My Tutor was wont to finde great fault with my lothing of such dainties, as a kinde of squeamish delicacie. And to say truth, it is nothing but a difficultie of taste, where it once is applied. Whosoever remooveth from a childe a certaine particular or obstinate affection to browne bread, to bakon, or to garlike, taketh friandize from him. There are some, that make it a labour, and thinke it a patience to regret a good piece of powdred beefe, or a good gammon of bakon, amongst partridges. Are not they wise men in the meane time? It is the chiefe daintie of all dainties: It is the taste of nice effeminate fortune, that will bee distasted with ordinarie and vsuall things. *Per quae luxuria divitiarum taedio ludit. Whereby the lavistinesse of plentie; playes with tedious pleasure.* To forbear to make good cheare, because another doth it; for one to have care of his feeding, is the essence of that vice.

Si modica caenare times olus omne patella. H [...]rd. 1. ep [...]. 5. 2  
 If in a sorry dish to sup  
 You brooke not all th'hearbe pottage vp.

[621]

Indeede there is this difference, that it is better for one to tie his desires vnto things easiest to be gotten, yet is it a vice to tie himselfe to any stricktnesse. I was heeretofore wont to name a kinsman of mine over delicate, because, whilst hee lived in our Gallies, hee had vnlearn't and left to lie vpon a bedde, and to strippe himselfe to goe to bedde. Had I any malechildren, I should willingly wish them my fortune. That good Father, it pleased God to allot me (who hath nothing of mee but thankfulnessse for his goodnesse, which indeed, is as great as great may be) even from my cradle sent mee to be brough-vp in a poore village of his, where he kept me so long as I suckt, and somewhat longer: breeding mee after the meanest and simplest-common fashion: *Magna pars libertatis est benè moratus venter. A mannerly* Sen epist. 123. *belly is a great part of a mans libertie.* Never take vnto your selfe,

and much lesse never give your wives the charge of your childrens breeding or education. Let fortune frame them vnder the popular and naturall Lawes: Let custome enure them to frugality, and breed them to hardnesse: That they may rather descend from sharpenesse, than ascend vnto it: His conceipt 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 gossips to hold me at the so [...], than men of abject 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 accost my selfe vnto the meaner sort; whether it bee because there is more glorie gotten by them, or through some naturall compassion, which in me is infinitely powerfull. The faction which I condemne in our ciuill warres, I shall more sharply condemne when it prospers and flourisheth. I shall in some sort be reconciled vnto it, when I see it miserably-depressed and overwhelmed. Oh how willingly doe I remember that worthy humour of *Chelonis*, daughter and wife to Kings of *Sparta*. Whilest *Cleombrotus* hir husband, in the tumultuous disorders of his Citty, had the vpper hand of *Leonidas* her father, shee played the part of a good daughter: allyng her selfe with her father, in his exile and in his misery, mainely opposing hir selfe against the Conquerour: Did fortune turne? So chaunged she hir minde, couragiously taking hir husbands part: Whom she never forsooke, whether-soever his ruine or distresse carryed him. Having (in my seeming) no other choise, than to follow that side, where shee might doe most good, where shee was most wanted, and where she might shew her selfe most truely pittifull. I doe more naturally encline toward the example of *Flamineus*, 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, demissely to stoope and yeeld to the mighty, and insolently to grow proud over the weake. Long sitting at meales doth much weary and distemper 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 seede as long as I sitte at the table. And therefore, being in mine owne house, though my board be but short, and that wee vse not to sit long, I doe not commonly sit downe with the first, 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 sit a great while after, and to heare some discourse or table-talk. Alwayes provided I beare not a part my selfe, for, if my belly bee full, I shall soone bee weary, and hurt my selfe with talking: and I finde the exercise of lowde-speaking and contesting before meate very pleasant and wholesome. The auncient Graecians and Romanes had better reason than wee, allotting vnto feeding, which is a principall action of mans life (if any other extraordinary businesse did not let or divert them from it) diuers houres, and the best part of the night: eating and drinking more leisurely than we doe, who passe and runne over all our actions in post-haste: and extending this naturall pleasure vnto more leisure and vse: entermixing therwith diuers profitable and mind-pleasing offices of ciuill conversation. Such as have care of me, may easily steale from me what soever they imagine may be hurtfull for me: inasmuch as about my feeding, I never desire or find fault with that I see not: That Proverb is verified in me; *What eye seeth not, the heart rueth not*. But if a dish or any thing else be once set before me, they loose their labour, that goabout to tell me of abstinence: so that, when I am disposed to fast I must be sequestred from eaters, and have no more set before me, than may serue for a stinted and regular collation: for if I but [...].itte downe at a sett table, I forget my resolution. If I chance to bidde my cooke change the dressing of some kinde of meate or dish, all my men know, I inferre my appetite [622]is wallowish and my stomacke out of ordeer, and I shall hardly touch it. I love all manner of flesh or sowe but greene roasted and rawe sodden, namely, such as may beare it without danger; and love to have them throughly mortified; and in diuers of them the very alteration of their smell. Onely hardnesse or toughnesse of meate doth generally molest me (of all other qualities. I am as carelesse, 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 firme, It is not the fault or want of teeth, which I ever had as perfectly-sound and compleate as any other man: and which but now, being so olde, beginne to threaten mee. I have from my infancie learnd to rubbe them with my napkin, both in the morning when I rise, and sitting downe and rising from the table. God doth them a grace, from whom by little and little he doth substract their life. It is the onely benefite of old age. Their last death shall be so much the lesse full, languishing and painefull: it shall then kill but one halfe or quarter of a man. Even now I lost one of my teeth, which of it selfe fell out, without strugling or paine: it was the naturall terme of it's continuance. That part of my being, with diuerse 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 sinke and scape from my selfe. What foolishnes will it be in my vnderstanding, to feele the start of that fall, already so advaunced, 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 just and natural: and cannot now require or hope other favor of destinie, concerning that, then vnlawfull. Men perswade themselves, that as heretofore they have had a higher stature, so their lives were longer; But they are deceived: for *Solon*, of those ancient times, though he were of an exceeding high stature, his life continued but 70. yeeres. Shal I, that have so much & so vniversally adored, that [...], *a meane is best*, of former times; and have ever taken a meane measure for the most perfect, therefore pretend a most prodigious and vnmeasurable life? whatsoever commeth contrary to Natures course, may be combersome, but what comes according to her, should ever please. *Omnia quae secundum naturam fiunt, sunt habenda in bonis. All things are to be accompted good, that are donne according to nature.* And therefore (saith *Plato*) is that death violent, which is caused either by woundes or sicknesses; but that of all others the easiest and in some sort delitious, which surprizeth vs by meanes of age. *Vitam adolescentibus vis aufert, senibus maturitas. A forcible violence takes their life from the yoong, but a ripe maturitie from the old.* Death entermedleth, and every where confounds it selfe with our life: declination doth preoccupate her houre, and insinuate it selfe in the very course of our advancement: I have pictures of mine owne, that were drawne when I was five and twenty, and others being thirty yeeres of age, which I often compare with such as were made by mee, as I am now at this instant. How many times doe I say, I am no more my selfe; how much is my present image further from those, then from that of my decease? It is an over-great abuse vnto nature to dragge and hurry her so farre, that shee must bee forced to give vs over; and abandon our conduct, our eyes, our teeth, our legges and the rest, to the mercy of a forraine help and begged assistance: and to put our selves into the hands of arte, wearie to followe vs. I am not overmuch or greedily desirous of sallets or of fruites, except melons. My father hated all manner of sawces; I love them all. Overmuch eating doeth hurt and distemper me: but for the qualitie I have yet no certaine knowledge that any meate offends me: I never observe either a full or wained Moone, nor make a difference betweene the Spring time or Autumne. There are certaine inconstant and vnknowne motions in vs. For (by way of example) I have heeretofore found redish-roots to be very good for mee, then very hurtfull, and now againe very well agreeing with my stomacke. In diverse other things, I feele my appetite to change, and my stomacke to diversifie from time to time. I have altred my course of drinking, sometimes from white to claret wine, and then from claret to white againe.

I am very friand and gluttonous of fish; and keepe my shroving dayes vpon fish dayes; and my seasts vpon fasting-dayes. I believe as some others doe, that fish is of lighter digestion than flesh. As I make it a conscience to eate flesh vpon a fish day, so doth my taste to eate fish and flesh together. The diversity betweene them, seemes to mee over-distant. Even from my youth I was wont now and then to steale some repast, either that I might sharpen my stomake against the next day; for, (as *Epicurus* was wont to fast, and made but sparing [623]meales, thereby to accustome his voluptuousnesse, to neglect plenty: I, contrarie to him to enure my sensualitie to speede the better, and more merrily to make vse of plentie) or else I fasted, the better to maintaine my vigor for the service or performaunce of some

bodily or mentall action: for both are strangely dulled and ideled [...] me, through over-much fulnesse and repleatenesse. (And above all, I hate that foolish combination, of so sound and bucksome a Goddesse, with that indigested and belching God all puffed with the [...]jume of his liquor) or to recover my crazed stomake, or because I wanted some good companie. And I say as *Epicuria* said, that *A man should not so much respect ■ what he eateth, as with whom hee eateth*. And commend *Chilon*; that he would not promise to come to *Periander's* feast, before he knew certainly who were the other bidden g [...]sts. *No viends are so sweetely pleasing, nor no sauce so tastefull, as that which is drawne from conversable and mutuall societie*. I thinke it wholesome to eate more leisurely, and lesse in quantity, and to feede oftner: But I will have appetite and hunger to be endeared: I should finde no pleasure, after a phisicall maner, to swallow three or foure forced and spare meales a day. Who can assure me, if I have a good taste or stomake in the morning, that I shall have it againe at supper? Let vs old men; let vs, I say, take the first convenient time that commeth: Let vs leave hopes and prognostikes vnto Almanacke-makers. The extreame fruite of my health, is pleasure: Let vs hold fast on the present, and to vs knowne. I eschew constancie in these Lawes of fasting. Who so will have a forme to serue him, let him avoyd continuance of it: but wee harden our selves vnto it, and therevnto wholly apply our forces: sixe moneths after, you shall finde your stomake so enured vnto it, that you shall have gotten nothing but this, to have lost the liberty to vse it otherwise without damage. I vse to goe with my legges and thighs no more covered in Sommer than in Winter; for I never weare but one paire of single like-stockins. For the easing of my rheume and helpe of my chollike, I have of late vsed to keepe my head and belly warme. My infirmitie did in few dayes habituate themselves thereunto, and disdaind my ordinary provisions. From a single night-cappe, I came to a double coverchef, and from a bonnet, to a lined and quilted hat. The bum basting of my doublet, serves me now for no more vse then a stomacher: it is a thing of nothing, vnlesse I adde a hare or a vultures skin to it; and some warme wrapping about my head. Follow this gradation and you shall goe a faire pace, I will do no such thing. If I durst I could find in my hare to revoke the beginning I have given vnto it. Fall you into any new inconvenience? This reformation will no longer availe you. You are so accustomed vnto it, that you are driven to seeke some new one. So are they overthrowne, that suffer themselves with forced formalities or strict rules, to be intangled, and do superstitiously constraine 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 businesse and for our pleasure (as did our forefathers) to loose our dinner, and deferre making of good cheere, vnto the houre of withdrawing and of rest, 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 sicknesse, I am not much subject to be thirsty: indeede my mouth is somewhat dry, but without thirst. And commonly I vse 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 stature I drinke indifferent much. In Sommer, and at an hungry meale, I not onely exceede the limites of *Augustus*, who drunke but precisely three times: but, not to offend the rule of *Democritus*, who forbade vs to stay at foure, as an vn lucky number; if need be, I come to five: Three demisextiers, or thereabouts. I like little glasses best; and I love to empty my glasse: 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 antient custome, which my fathers phisitian ordained both for him, and himselfe, looke what quantity of Wine is thought will serve mee a meale, the same is commonly tempered two or three houres before it be served in, and so kept in the seller. It is reported, that *Cranaus* King of the Athenians, was the first, that invented the mingling of Wine with Water. Whether it were profitable or no, I will not now dispute or 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 eighteene yeares. *The most vsuall and common forme of life, is the best*: Each

particularity, doth in mine opinion impugne it. And I should as much detest a Germane, that should put Water in his Wine, as a French-man, that should drinke it [624]pure. Publike custome giveth Law vnto such things. I feare a foggy and thicke ayre, and [...]hunne smoke more than death; (the first thing I began to repaire when I came to be maister of mine owne house, was the chimnies and privies, which, in most of our buildings, is a generall and intolerable fault) and mischiefs and difficulties attending on Warre, there is none I hate more, than in hot-sweltring wether, to ride vp and downe all the day-long in smokie dust, as many times our Souldiers are faine to doe. I have a free and easie respiration, and doe most commonly passeover my mures and colds without offence to my lungs, or without coughing. The soultry heate of sommer is more offensive to me, than the sharpnesse of Winter: for, Besides the incommodity of heate, which is lesse to bee remedied, than the inconvenience of cold; and besides the force of the Sunnes beames, which strike into the head, mine eyes are much offended with any kinde of glittering or sparkling light; so that I cannot well sit at dinner over against a cleare-burning fire. To allay or dim the whitenesse 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 vsed spectacles, nor know not what they meane; and can yet see as farre as ever I could, and as any other man; true it is, that when night comes, I begin to perceiue a dimnes and weakenesse in reading; the continual exercise whereof, and specially by night, was ever somewhat troublesome vnto mine eyes. Loe-heere a steppe-backe, and that very sensible. I shall recoyle no more, from a second to a third, and from a third to a fourth, so gently, that before I feele the declination and age of my sight, I must bee starke blinde. So artificiall doe the Fates vntwist our lives-threede. Yet am I in doubt, that my hearing is about to become thicke: and you shall see, that I shal have lost it halfe, when yet I shall finde fault with their voyces that speake vnto mee. The minde must be strained to a high pitch, to make it perceiue howe it declineth. My going is yet very nimble, quicke and stout; and I wot not which of the twoo I can more hardly staie at one instant, eyther my minde or my body. I must like that preacher wel, that can tie mine attention to a whole sermon. In places of ceremonies, where every man doth so nicely stand vpon countenance, where I have seene Ladies hold their eyes so steady, I could never so hold out, but some part of mine would ever be gadding: although I be sitting there, I am not well settled. As *Chrysippus* the Phylosophers chamber-maide, saide of hir Master, that he was never drunke but in his legges; for whersoever he sate, he was ever accustomed to bee wagging with them: and this she saide at what time store of Wine had made his companions cuppe-shotten, and yet he felt no alteration but continued sober in minde. It might likewise have beene saide of mee, that even from mine infancie, I had either folly or quicke-silver in my feete, so much stirring and naturall inconstancy have I in them, where ever I place them. It is vnmannerlinesse, and prejudiciall vnto health, yea and to pleasure also, to feede grosely and greedily, as I doe. I shall sometimes through haste bite my tongue and fingers ends. *Diogenes* meeting with a childe, that did eate so, gave his tutor a whirret on the eare. There were men in *Rome*, that as others teach youth to go with a good grace, so they taught men to chew, with decency, I doe sometimes loose the leisure to speake, which is so pleasing an entertainment at the table, provided they be discourses short, witty and pleasant. There is a kinde of jelosie and envy betweene our pleasures, and they often shocke and hinder one an other. *Alcibiades*, a man very exquisitely-skilfull in making good cheere, inhibited all manner of musicke at tables, because it should not hinder the delight of discourses, for the reason which *Plato* affords him: that it is a custome of populare or base men to call for minstrels or singers at feasts, and an argument, they want witty or good discourses, and pleasing entertainment, wherewith men of conceipt and vnderstanding knowe how to enterfeast and entertaine themselves. *Varro* requireth this at a banquet: an assemblie of persons, faire, goodly and handsome of presence, affable and delightfull in conversation, which must not be dumbe nor dull, sullaine nor slovenly: cleanlinesse and neatnesse in meates: and faire wether. A good minde-pleasing table-entertainment, is not a little voluptuous feast, nor a meanly artificiall banquet. Neither



great or sterne commaunders in Warres, nor famous or strict Philosophers have disdained the vse or knowledge of it. My imagination hath bequeathed three of them to the keeping of my memorie, onely which▪ fortune did at several times, yeeld exceedingly delightsome 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 findes himselfe, addeth either principall grace or taste vnto them. My selfe, who but grovell on the ground, hate that kinde of inhumane wisdom, which would make vs disdainfull and enemies of [625]the bodies reformation. I deeme it an equall injustice, either to take naturall sensualities against the hart, or to take them too neere the hart. *Xerxes* was a ninny-hammer, who enwrapped and given to all humane voluptuousnesse, proposed rewards for those, that should devise such as he had never heard-of. And he is not much behinde him in sottishnesse, that goes about to abridge those, which nature hath divided for him. One should neither follow nor avoyde them: but receiue them. I receive them somewhat more amply and graciously, and rather am contented to follow naturall inclination. We neede not exaggerate their inanity: it will sufficiently be felt, and doth sufficiently produce it selfe. Godamercy our weake, crazed and joy-diminishing spirit, which makes vs distaste both them and himselfe. Hee treateth both himself and whatsoever he receiveth sometimes forward and othertimes backward, according as himself is either insaciate, vagabond, newfangled or variable.

Sincerum est nisi vas, quod cún (que) infundis, accescit. Hor l. 1. epist. 2 54.  
 In no sweet vessell all you poure,  
 In such a vessell soone will sowre.

My selfe, who brag so curiously to embrace and particularly to allow the commodities of life; whensoever I looke precisely into it. I finde nothing therein but winde. But what? we are nothing but winde. And the very winde also, more wisely then we, loveth to bluster and to bee in agitation: And is pleased with his owne offices: without desiring stability or solidity; qualities that be not his owne. The meere pleasures of imagination, as well as dis pleasure (say some) are the greatest: as the ballance of *Critolaius* did expresse. It is no wonder, shee composeth them at hir pleasure, and cuts them out of the whole cloth. I see dayly some notable presidents of it, and peradventure to be desired. But I, that am of a commixt condition, homely and plaine, cannot so throughly bite on that onely and so simple object: but shall grosely and carelesly give my selfe over to the present delights, of the generall and humane law. Intellectually sensible, and sensibly-intellectuall. The *Cyrenaique* Philosophers are of opihion, that as griefes, so corporal pleasures are more powerfull; and as double, so, more just. There are some (as *Aristotle* saith) who with a savage kinde of stupidity, will seeme distastefull or squemish 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 commeth of gratuitie; and costs them neither invention nor vigor? That *Mars*, or *Pallas*, or *Mercurie*, should nourish them to see, insteade of *Ceres*, *Venus*, or *Bacchus*. Will they not seeke for the quadrature of the circle, even vpon their wives? I hate that we should be commanded to have our minds in the cloudes, whilst our bodies are sitting at the table: yet would I not have the minde to be fastned thereunto, nor wallow vpon it, nor lie along thereon, but to applie it selfe and sit at it. *Aristippus* defended but the body, as if wee had no soule: *Zeno* embraced but the soule, as if wee had no body. Both viciously, *Pythagoras* (say they) hath followed a Philosophie, all in contemplation: *Socrates* altogether in maners and in action: *Plato* hath found a mediocritie betweene both. But they say so by way of discourse. For, the true temperature is found in *Socrates*; & *Plato* is more *Socraticall* then *Pythagorica* [...], and it becomes him best. When I dance, I dance; and when I sleepe, I sleepe. And when I am solitarie walking in a faire orchard, if my thoughts have a while entertained themselves with strange occurrences, I doe another while bring them to walke with mee in the orchard, and to be partakers of the pleasure of that solitarinesse and of my selfe. Nature hath like a kinde mother observed this, that such actions as shee for our necessityes hath enjoyed vnto

vs, should also be voluptuous vnto vs. And doth not onely by reason but also by appetite envite 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 release thereby their minde, but rather strengthen the same; submitting by vigor of courage their violent occupation, and laborious thoughts to the customary vse of ordinary life. Wise had they beene, had they beleaved, that that was their ordinary 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 noblest of your occupation. Had I beene placed or thought fit for the managing of great affaires, I would have shewed what I could have performed. *Have you knowen how to meditate and manage your life? you have accomplished the greatest worke of all.* For a man to shew and exploite himselfe, nature hath no neede of fortune, shee equally shewes herselfe vpon all grounds, in all sutes, before and behinde, as it [626]were without curtines, welt or garde. *Have you knowen how to compose your manners? you have done more than hee who hath composed bookes.* Have you knowen how to take rest? you have done more then he, who hath taken Empires and Citties. *The glorious maister piece of man, is, to live to the purpose.* All other things, as to raigne, to governe, to hoard vp treasure, to thrive and to build, are for the most part but appendixes and supportes thereunto. It is to mee a great pleasure, to see a Generall of an armie at the foote of a breach, which he ere long intendeth, to charge or enter; all whole, vndistracted and carelesly to prepare himselfe, whilst he sits at dinner with his friends about him, to talke of any matter. And I am delighted to see *Brutus*, having both heaven and earth conspired against him and the liberty of *Rome*, by stealth to take some houres of the night from his other cares and walking of the round, in al security to reade, to note and to abbreviate *Polibius*. It is for base and petty mindes, dulled and overwhelmed with the weight of affaires, to be ignorant how to leave them, and not to know how to free themselves from them; nor how to leave and take them againe.

O fortes peior áque passi, Hor. [...] l 1. [...]. 7. 30.  
 Mecum s [...]pe viri, nunc vino pellite curas,  
 Cras ingens iterabimus aequor.  
 Valiant compeeres, who oft have worse endured  
 With me, let now with wine your cares be cured:  
 To morrow wee againe  
 Wil launch into the maine.

Whether it be in jest or earnest, that the *Sorbo [...]*icall or theologicall wine, and their feasts or gaudy dayes are now come to bee proverbially jested-at: I thinke 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 should they dine at noone. A cleare conscience to have well employed & industriously spent the other houres, is a perfect seasoning and savory condiment of tables. So have wise men lived. And that inimitable contention vnto vertue, which so amazeth vs, in both *Catoes*, their so strictly-severe humour, even vnto importunity, hath thus mildely submitted my selfe, and taken pleasure in the lawes of humane condition, and in *Venus* and *Bacchus*. According to their Sects-precepts, which require a perfectly wise man, to bee fully-expert and skilfull in the true vse of sensualities, as in all other duties or devoires belonging to life. *Cui cor sapiat, ei & sapiat palatus.* Cic fin. 1. b. 2. *Let his palate be savory, whose heart is savory.* Easie-yeelding and facility doth in my conceit, greatly honour, and is best befitting a magnanimous and noble minde. *Epaminondas* thought it no scorne, to thrust himselfe amongst the boyes of his citie, and dance with them, yea and to sing and play, and with attention busie himselfe, were it in things that might derogate 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 so much grace vnto him, as to see him carelesly to dally and childishly to trifle, in gathering and chusing of cockle-shells, and play at cost castle amongst the sea-shoare with his friend *L [...]*lius. And if it were fowle whether, ammusung and solacing himselfe, to represent in writing and commedies the most popular and base actions of men. And having his head continually busied with that wonderfull enterprise against *Hanniball* and *Affricke*, yet hee still visited the schooles in *Cicilie*, and frequented the lectures of Philosophie, arming his enemies teeth at *Rome* with envy and spight. Nor any thing more remarkeable in *Socrates*, then, when being old and crazed, hee would spare so much time as to be instructed in the arte of dancing and playing vpon instruments; and thought the time well bestowed. Who notwithstanding hath beene seene to continue a whole day and night in an extasie or trance, yea ever standing on his feete, in presence of all the Greeke armie, as it were surprised and ravished by some deede and minde-distracting thought. Hee hath beene noted to be the first, amongst so infinite valiant men in the army, headlong to rush out, to helpe and bring-of *Alcibiades*, engaged and enthronged 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 *Deliane* 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 vnworthy a spectacle, headlong present himselfe to the first man, to recover *Theramenes*, from out the hands of the officers and satellites, of the thirty tyrants of *A [...]*hens, who were leading him to his death; and never desisted from his bold attempt, vntill [627] hee met with *Theramenes* himselfe, though hee were followed and assisted with two more. He hath beene seene (provoked therevnto by a matchlesse beauty, wherewith he was richly endowed by nature) at any time of neede to maintaine severe continency. Hee hath continually beene noted to march to the warres on foote; to breake the ice with his bare feete; to weare one same garment in summer and winter, to exceede all his companions in patience of any labour or travell; to eate no more, or otherwise at any banquet, then at his ordinary: He hath beene seene seaven and twenty yeares together with one same vndismaide countenance, patiently to beare and endure hunger, poverty, the indocilitie and stubbornesse of his children, the frowardnes and scratchings of his wife; and in the end malicious detraction, tyranny, emprisonment, shakles and poison. But was that man envited to drinke to him by duty of civility? he was also the man of the army, to whom the advantage thereof remained. And yet he refused not, nor disdained to play for nuts with children, nor to run with them vpon a hob by-horse, wherein he had a very good grace: *For, all actions (saith Philosophy) doe equally beseeme well, and honour a wise man.* We have good ground and reason, and should never bee weary to present the image of this incomparable man, vnto all patterns and forme of perfections. There are very few examples of life, absolutely full and pure. And our instruction, is greatly wronged, in that it hath certaine weake, defective and vnperfect formes proposed vnto it, scarcely good for any good vse, which divert and draw vs backe; and may rather be termed Corrupters then Correctors. *Man is easily deceived.* One may more easily goe by the sides, 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 lesse nobly and with lesse commendation. *The greatnesse of the minde is not so much, to drawe vp and hale forward, as to knowe how to range, direct and circumscribe it selfe.* It holdeth for great whatever is sufficient. And sheweth 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 so hard and difficult, as to knowe how to live this life well.* And of all the infirmities we have, the most savage, is to despise our being. Whoso will sequester or distract his minde, le [...] him hardily doe it, if hee can, at what time his body is not well at ease, thereby to discharge it from that contagion: And elsewhere contrary; that shee may assist and favour him, and not refuse to be partaker of his naturall pleasures, and conjugally be pleased with them: adding therevnto, if shee bee the wiser, moderation, least through indiscretion, they might be confounded with displeasure. *Intemperance is the plague of sensuality; and temperance is*

*not her scourge, but rather her seasoning.* Eudoxus, who thereon established his chief fecility, and his companions, that raised the same to so high a pitch, by meanes of temperance, which in them was very singular and exemplar, savoured the same in her most gracious sweetenes. I enjoyne my minde, with a looke equally regular, to behold both sorrow and voluptuousnesse: *Eodem enim vitio est effusio animi in laeri [...],a, quo in dolor [...]* *contractio.* Cic. Tusc. qu. 1. [...] *As faultie is the enlarging of the minde in mirth, as the contracting it in griefe;* and equally constant: But the one merrily, and the other severely: And according to that shee may bring vnto it, to bee as carefull to extinguish the one, as diligent to quench the other. *To have a perfect insight into good, drawes with it an absolute insight into evill.* And sorrow hath in her tender beginning something that is vnavoydable: and voluptuousnesse in her excessive ende, something that is evitable. *Plato* coupleth them together, and would have it to bee the equall office of fortitude, to combate against sorrowes, and fight against the immoderate and charming blanchishments of sensuality. They are two fountaines, at which whoso draweth, whence, when and as much as hee needeth, bee it a cittie, be it a man, be it a beast, hee is very happy. The first must be taken for physicke and necessitie, and more sparingly: The second for thirst, but not vnto drunkennesse. *Paine, voluptuousnesse, love and hate, are the first passions a childe feeleth: if reason approach, and they apply themselves vnto it; [...]* *that is vertue.* I have a Dictionary severally and wholly to my selfe: I passe the time when it is foule and incommodious; when it is faire and good, I will not passe it: I runne it over againe, and take holde of it. *A man should runne the badde, and settle himselfe in the good.* This vulgar phrase of passe time, and, to passe 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 bee disdained quality. But I know it to bee otherwise; and finde it to be both priseable and commodious, yea in her last declination; where I holde it. And [628]Nature hath put the same into our handes, furnished with such and so favourable circumstances, that if it presse and molest vs, or if vnprofitably it escape vs, we must blame our selves. *S [...]* *Iti vita ingrata est, trepida est, tota in suturum fertur. A [...]* *ooles life is all pleasant, all fea [...]* *lf [...]* *l* *all fond of the future.* I therefore prepare and compose my selfe, to forgoe and lose it without *S [...]* *ep [...]* *st* *15* *grudging;* but as a thing that is loseable and transitory by it's owne condition: not as troublesome and importunate *▪* Nor beseemes it a man not to be grieved when he dieth, except they be such as please themselves to live still. There is a kinde of husbandry in knowing [...]ow to enjoy it: I enjoy it double to others. For, *the measure in [...]* *ovissance dependeth more or lesse [...]* *the application we lend it.* Especially at this instant, that I perceive mine to be [...]ort in time, I will extend it in weight: I still stay the readinesse of her flight, by the promptitude of my holefast by it: and by the vigor of custome recompence the haste of her fleeting. According a [...] the possession of life is more short, I must endeavour to make it [...]ore profound and full. Other men feele the swe [...]tnesse of a contentment and prosperity. I feele it as well as they; but it is not in passing and gliding: yet should it be studied, tasted and ruminated, thereby to yeeld him condigne thanks, that it pleased to graunt the same vnto vs. They enjoy other pleasures, as that of sleepe, without knowing them. To the end that sleepe should not dully and vnfeelingly escape me, and that I might better taste and bee acquainted with it, I have heeretofore found it good, to bee troubled and interrupted in the same. I have a kinde of contentment to consult with my selfe: which consultation I doe superficially runne over, but considerately sound t [...]e same, and apply my reason to entertaine and receive it, which [...] now become froward, peevish and distasted. Doe I finde my sel [...]e in some quiet moode? is there any sensuality that tickles me? I doe not suffer the same to bu [...]e it sel [...]e or dally about senses, bet associate my minde vnto it: Not to engage or plunge it selfe therein, but therein to take delight: not to lose, but therein to finde it selfe. And for her part I employ her, to view her selfe in that prosperous estate, to ponder and esteeme the good fortune she hath, and to amplifie the same. She

measureth how much she is beholding vnto God, for that she is at rest with her conscience, and free from other intestine passions, & hath her in body her natural disposition: orderly & competently enjoying certaine flattering and effeminate functions, with which it pleaseth him of his grace to recompence the griefes, wherewith his justice at his pleasure smiteth vs. Oh how avaylful is it vnto her, to be so seated, that whatever she casteth her eyes, the heavens are calme round about her; and no desire no feare or doubt troubleth the ayre before her: there is no difficulty, either past, or present, or to come, over which her imagination passeth not without offence. This consideration takes a great lustre from the comparison of different conditions. Thus doe I in a thousand shapes propose vnto my selfe, those whom either fortune, or their owne error doth transport and torment. And these nearer, who so slackely and incuriously receive their good fortune. They are men which indeed passe their time: they overpasse the present and that which they possesse, thereby to serve their hopes with shadowes and vaine images, which fancy sets before them,

Morte oblit â quales fama est volit are figur as Virg. [...]p. l. 10. 641.  
 Aut quae sopitos deludunt somnia sensus.  
 Such walking shapes we say, when men are dead,  
 Dreames, whereby sleeping senses are misse-led.

Which hasten and prolong their flight, according as they are followed. The fruit and scope of their pursuit, is to pursue: As *Alexander* said, that *The end of his travell, was to travell.*

Nil actum credens cùm quid superesset agendum. [...]Jucan. l. [...]. 656.  
 Who thought that nought was done,  
 When ought remain'd vndone.

As for mee then, I love my selfe and cherish it, such as it hath pleased God to graunt it vs. I desire not hee should speake of the necessity of eating and drinking. And I woulde See [...] epist. 119. thinke to offend no lesse excusably, in desiring it should have it double. *Sapiens divi [...]iarum naturalium quaesitor acerrimus. A wise man is a most eager and earnest searcher of those things which are natural.* Nor that we should sustaine our selves by only putting a litle of that drugge into our mouth, wherewith *Epimenides* was wont to alay hunger, and yet maintained himselfe. Nor that wee should insensibly produce children at our fingers endes or at our heeles, but rather (speaking with reverence) that wee might with pleasure and voluptuousnesse produce them both at our heeles and fingers endes. Nor that the body [629] should bee voyde of desire, and without tick-ling delight. They are vngratefull and impious complaints. I cheerefully and thankfully, and with a good heart, accept what nature hath created for me; and am therewith well pleased, and am proud of it. Great wrong is offred vnto that great and all-puissant Giver, to refuse his gift, which is so absolutely good; and disanull or disfigure the same, since hee made perfectly good. *Omnia quae secundum naturam Cie. sin. [...]on. l. sunt; estimatione dignasunt. All things that are according to nature, are worthy to bee esteemed.* Of Philosophies opinions, I more willingly embrace those, which are the most solide: and that is to say, such as are most humane and most ours: My discourses are sutable to my manners; lowe and humble. She then brings forth a childe well pleasing mee, when she betakes herselfe to her Quiddities and Ergoes, to perswade vs, that it is a barbarous aliance, to marry what is divine with that which is terrestriall; wedde reasonable with vnreasonable; combine severe with indulgent, and couple honest with vn honest: that voluptuousnesse is a brutall quality, vnworthy the taste of a wiseman. The onely pleasure he drawes from the enjoying of a faire yong bride, is the delight of his conscience, by performing an action according vnto order; As to put on his bootes for a profitable riding. Oh that his followers had no more right, or sinewes, o [...] pithe, or juice, at the dis-maydening of their wives, than they have in his Lesson. It is not that, which

*Socrates*, both his and our Master, saith; Hee valueth rightly as he ought corporall voluptuousnesse: but he preferreth that of the minde, as having more force, more constancy, facility, variety and dignity. This according to him, goeth nothing alone, he not so fantastick; but onely first. For him, tempe [...]ance is a moderatrix, and not an adversary of sensualities. *Nature is a gentle guide*: Yet not more Ibid. l. 5. gentle, then prudent and just. *Intrandum est in rerum naturam, & penitus quid ea postulet, pervidendum. Wee must enter into the nature of things, and throughly see what shee inwardly requiers*. I quest after her track; we have confounded her with artificiall traces. And that Academicall and Peripateticall *summum bonum* or soveraigne felicity, which is, to live according to her rules: by this reason becommeth diff [...]cult to be limited, and hard to bee expounded. And that of the Stoickes, couzin germane to the other, which is, to yeeld vnto nature. Is it not an error, to esteeme some actions lesse woorthy, forsomuch as they are necessary? [...]et shall they never remooue out of my head, that it is not a most conuenient marriage, to wedde Pleasure vnto Necessity. With which (saith an ancient Writer) the Gods doe ever complot and consent.

To what end doe wee by a divorce dismember a frame contexted with so mutuall, coherent and brotherly correspondency? Contrariwise, let vs repaire and renewe the same by enterchangeable offices: that the spirit may awake and quicken the dul heavinesse of the body, and the body stay the lightnesse of the spirit, and settle and fixe the same. *Qui v [...]lut summum Aug. verb ■ apostol. ser. 13. c. 6 bonum, laudet animae naturam, & tanquam malum, naturam carnis accusat, profectò & animam carnaliter appetit, & carnē incarnaliter fugit, quoniam id vanitate sentit humana, non veritate divina. He that prai [...]eth the nature of the soule, as his principall good, & accuseth nature of the flesh as evill, assuredly he both carnal [...]y affecteth the soule and carnally escheweth the fl [...]sh, since hee is of this mind not by divine verity, but humane vanitie*. There is no part or parcell vnwoorthy of our care in that present, which God hath bestowed vpon vs: We are accomptable even for the least haire of it. And it is no commission for fashion sake for any man, to direct man according to his condition: it is expresse, naturall and principall: And the Creator hath seriously and severely given the same vnto vs. Onely authority is of force with men of common reach and vnderstanding; and is of more weight in a strange language. But here let vs charge againe. *Stul [...]i [...]iae proprium quis non dixerit, ignavè & contumaciter facere quae facienda sunt: & aliò c [...]rpus impellere, alio animum, distrahique inter diversissimos motus? Who will not call it a property of folly to doe sloathfully and frowardly, what is to be done, and one way to drive the body and another way the minde, and himselfe to bee distracted into most divers motions? Which, the better to see, le [...]such a man one day tell you the amusements and imaginations, which he puts into his owne head, and for which he diverteth his thoughts from a good repast, and bewaileth the houre, he employeth in feeding himselfe: you shall finde there is nothing so wallowish in all the messes of your table, as is that goodly entertainment of his minde (*It were often better for vs to bee sound [...]sleepe, than awake vnto that wee doe*) and you shall finde, that his discourses and intentions are not worth your meanest dish. Suppose they were the entrancings of *Archimedes* himselfe: and what of that? I here touch not, nor doe I blend with that rabble or raskality of men, as wee are, nor with that vanity of desires and cogitations, [630]which divert vs, onely those venerable mindes, which through a feruency of devotion and earnestnesse of religion, elevated to a constant and consciencious meditation of heavenlydivine things, and which by the violence of a lively and vertue of a vehement hope, preoccupating the vse of eternall soule-saving nourishment; the finall end, only stay and last scope of Christian desires; the onely constant delight and incorruptible pleasure; disdain to rely on our necessitous, fleeting and ambiguous commodities: and easily resigne, the care and vse of sensuall and temporall feeding vnto the body. It is a priviledged study. Super-celestiall opinions, and vnder-terrestriall manners, are things, that amongst vs, I have ever seen to bee of singular accord. *Aesope* that famous man, saw his Master pisse as he was walking: What (saide he) must wee not &c. when wee are running? *Let vs husband time as well as wee can. Yet shall wee employ**

*much of it, both idely and ill.* As if our minde had not other houres enough to doe hir businesse, without disassociating hirselve from the body in that little space which shee needeth for hir necessity. They will bee exempted from them and escape man. It is meere folly: insteade of transforming themselves into Angells, they transchange themselves into beasts: in lieu of advauncing, they abase themselves. Such transcending humor [...] affright me as much, as steepy, high and inaccessible places. And I finde nothing so hard to be digested in *Socrates* his life, as his extasies and communication with *Daemones*. Nothing so humane in *Plato*, as that which they say, hee is called divine. And of our sciences those which are raised and extolled for the highest, seeme to me, the most basest and terrestriall. I finde nothing so humble and mortall in *Alexanders* life, as his concepts about his immortalization. *Philotas* by his answere quipped at him very pleasantly and wittily. Hee had by a letter congratulated with him, and rejoyced that the Oracle of *Iupiter Hammon* had placed him amongst the Gods; to whom he answered, that in respect and consideration of him, he was very glad; but yet there was some cause those men should bee pittied, that were to live with a man and obay him, who outwent others, and would not bee contented with the state and condition of a mortal man.

—*Dijs te minorem quòd geris, imperas.* H [...]r. car. l. 3 [...]d. 6.  
 Since thou lesse then the Gods  
 Bear'st thee, thou rul'st with ods.

The quaint inscription, wherewith the Athenians honored the comming of *Pompey* into their Citty, agreeth well, and is conformable to my meaning.

D'autant es tu Dieu, comme [...]lut. [...]it. Po [...] p  
 Tuter [...]cognois homme.  
 So farre a God thou mai'st accompted be  
 As thou a man doost re-acknowledge thee.

*It is an absolute perfection, and as it were divine for a man to know how to enioy his being loyally.* We seeke for other conditions because we vnderstand and not the vse of ours: and goe out of our selves, forsomuch as we know not what abiding thereis. *Wee may long enough get vpon stilis, for be wee vpon them, yet must wee goe with our owne legges. And sit we vpon the highest throne of the World, yet fit we vpon our owne taile.* The best and most commendable lives, and best pleasing me are (in my conceit) those which with order are fitted, and with *decorum* are ranged to the common mould and humane model: but without woonder or extravagancy. Now hath old age neede to be handled more tenderly. Let vs recommend it vnto that God, who is the protector of health, and fountaine all wisdom: but blithe and sociall:

Frui paratis & valido mihi H [...] car. l. 1. [...]d. 31. 17.  
 Latoe dones, & precor i [...]tegra  
 Cum mente, nec turpem senectam,  
 Degere, nec Cythara carentem.  
*Apollo* graunt, enjoy health I may  
 That I have got, and with sound minde, I pray:  
 Nor that I may with shame spend my old yeares,  
 Nor wanting musike to delight mine eares.

**The end of the third and last Booke.**