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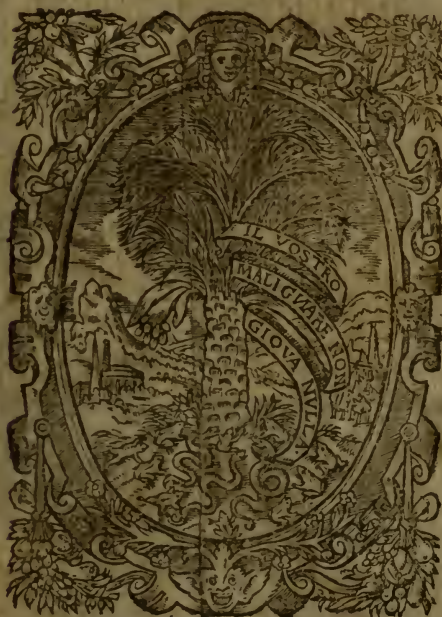


POLITICKE, MORAL,
AND MARTIAL
Discourses.

*Written in French by M. Jaques Hurault, lord of
Vicul and of Marais, and one of the French
kings privie Councill.*

Dedicated by the Author to the French-
kings Maiestie:

And translated into English by Arthur Golding.



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1595.

B.F. - 2-6

VI ET VIRTUTE



W^r William Baird of Newtraith Bar^t



TO THE RIGHT HONO-
rable his singular good Lord, William
*Lord Cobham, L. warden of the Cinque
ports, knight of the most noble order of the
Garter, and one of her Maiesties most honourable
privie counsell: long continuance of health,
with much increase of honour,
and prosperitie.*



Orasmuch as being vnknowne to
your good Lordship, otherwise
than by report, yet notwithstanding I haue tasted of your good-
nes and fauour, to my great com-
fort in my troubles, of the which when God vvil
I hope I shall be vwell discharged: I acknow-
ledge my selfe more bound vnto your honour,
than any seruice or abilitie of mine can extend
vnto. And therefore to testifie my thankfull and
dutifull mind towards you, I haue presumed to
dedicate this my labour to your Lordship. And
because it is a thing ingressed by nature, special-
ly in those that are of best and noblest dispositi-
on, to take delight in the hearing and reading of
such things, as are most proper and incident to

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their owne callings, as whereof they haue best skill, & wherein they most excel, & therefore may most iustly chalenge to themselues the censure and iudgement of them: I perswade my self that this my presumption wil not be vnacceptable, or at leastwise will not seeme vntollerable, in the sight of your good Lordship, and of the residue of your most honorable sort & calling, both for the matter, & for the author therof. For the matter in substance, is the due administration of state, and chiefly of a kingdom both in peace & war, at home and abroad: on the one side through the politike and vertuous government of the partie that holds the scepter of soueraigntie, with the loiall linking in of his magistrates and officers vnder him: and on the otherside through the seruiceable, willing, and faithfull obedience of those whom God hath put in subiection to him: a matter, as of verie great importance and behoofe, so also greatlie befeeming those whom GOD hath set in authoritie. For of all the states and degrees which GOD hath ordeined for the well maintaining of this mortall life, like as in highnesse of dignitie and honour, and woorthinesse of preheminance, none is comparable to the state of government, specially which is well and orderlie disposed: so of all the formes of government
that

that haue beene in the world, the Monarchie or Kingdome hath euer (as well by common and continuall experience, as also by the grounded iudgement of the best practised politicians, and by the graue censure of the wisest men, yea and euen by the ordinance & approbation of God) bin alwaies deemed and found to be most anti-ent and sufficient, most beneficial and behoofful, most magnificent and honourable, most stable and durable, and consequently most happie and commendable; as vvhich (besides many other most excellent prerogatiues which I omit here) doth most resemble the highest soueraigntie of God, the onely one vniversall Monarch of the whole world, and is most agreeable to the first originall patterne of souereigntie on earth, I meane *Adam*, whom God created but one, to haue the dominion and lordship of all creatures vnder the cope of heauē. The which being iustly forgone by that first mans disobedience, God thought good in his wisdom to repair and set vp againe much more large and magnificent than afore, in the person of one other man, namely of our Lord Iesus Christ, whom he hath made heir of all things, giuing vnto him all power both in heauen and earth, to reigne in glory euerlastingly world without end. Who whē he was to come into the world, in the last temporall Monarchie

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of the world, did thus much further beautifie and commend the state of Monarchie by his comming, in that he vouchsafed not to come, afore such time as the state of Rome was brought into a Monarchie, and setled in the government of one sole soueraigne. Such and so excellent is the matter, whereof this booke doth treat. The which was written in French by one *Iaques Hurault*, lord of Vieul and Marrais, an honourable personage, and (as may wel appeare by his handling of the matters here treated of) of great learning, iudgement, experience, and policie. Who for his prudence, grauitie, and loialtie, was admitted to be of the priuie counsell to his soueraigne lord and master the French king. Wherby he had fit occasion and meanes, to see into the states and forms of gouernmēt, as well of forrein countries, as of his owne, and therefore might be the better able to discern the truth of things; and to deliuer his censure the more soundlie, concerning the managing of publike affaires and matters of state.

But now to come home out of Fraunce into England, and to applie the case more particularlie to our selues: I am fullie resolued, that if wee list to looke vpon things with right iudging eyes, and to consider them with well aduised minds, we shall plainlie see
there

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there was neuer anie nation vnder the sunne, more bound to yeeld immortall thanks vnto God for their state, Prince, and soueraigne, than we be for ours; or to magnifie him more for the innumerable benefits receyued by that means, than we be. For first our state is that state which is most iustly deemed the best and most excellent, namely a Monarchie or kingdome, wherein one sole souereigne assisted with a most graue Senat of prudent and sage counsailors, reigneth by wisdom, and not by will, by law and not by lust, by loue and not by lordlinesse. And vnlesse we will denie the thing which the world seeth and gladly honoureth, and which we our selues haue continually found and felt in experience now by the space of xxxvi years and vppward, to our inestimable good and comfort: we must needs confesse that God hath giuen vs a prince, in whose sacred person (to speake the truth in as few words as so great a matter may permit) there wanteth not anie heroicall vertue or gift of grace, that may beseeme or adorne the maiestie of a kingdome, the which thing is so much the more glorious and beautifull in her highnesse being both a woman and a virgin. By whose means God hath also restored vnto vs the bright shining beames of his most holie Gospell, late afore eclipsed

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with the foggie clouds of superstitious ignorāce and humane traditions, and the true ancient and catholike religion, borne down and in maner ouerwhelmed with the terrible stormes of cruell persecutions: a benefit wherunto none other can be comparable in this world. Of the which religion her Maiestie hath continually shewed her self, not a bare professor, but a most earnest and zealous follower, and a most lightsome example to her subiects: directing al her studies, counsels and proceedings, to the setting forth of Gods glorie, as well by aduauncing and maintaining the same religiō vncorrupted; as also by her most prouident & motherly gouerning of hir people with all iustice & clemencie, to their greatest trāquilitie benefit and welfare. Wherupon hath also ensued Gods most mightie and miraculous protection of her mastiesties most roiall person, her realms dominions and subiects, from exceeding great perils, both forreine, ciuil and domesticall, such and so fitly contriued by the sleights of Satan & satanicall practisers, as but by the wonderfull and extraordinarie working of the diuine prouidence, could not haue beene found out, and much lesse preuented, auoided or escaped: an assured token of Gods speciall loue and fauor towards both soueraigne and subiects. To be short, so many and so great are the benefites which

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which we haue receiued and still receiue, by and from our most gracious soueraigie lady Queen *Elizabeth*, that I know not how to conclude her Maiesties most iust deserued commendation, more fitly than with the verses of a certaine auncient Poet, written long since in commendation of that renoumed prince of Britaine the noble king *Arthur*, the which verses I haue put into English, with small alteration of some words, but no alteration at all in matter and sense, after this maner :

*Hir deeds with maꝛeful wöderment shine euerywher so bright,
That both to heare and speak of the, men take as great delight,
As for to tast of honycombe or honie. Looke upon
The doings of the noblest wights that heretofore be gone.
† The Pellan Monarch same cōmends: the Romas highly praise † Alexand
The triumphs of their emperors. Great glory diuerse waies the great.
Is yeelded vnto Hercules for killing with his hand
The monsters that anoid the world, or did against him stand.
But neither may the Hazel match the Pine, nor stars the sun.
The ancient stories both of Greeks and Latins ouerrun :
And of our Queene *Elizabeth* ye shall not find the peere,
Ne age to come will any yeeld that shall to her come neere.
Alone all princes she surmounts in former ages past,
And better none the world shall yeeld, so long as time doth last.*

What remaineth then, but that all we her native subiects, knitting our selues together in one dutifull mind, do willingly and chearfully yeeld

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our obedience to her gracious maiestie with all submission faithfulness and loialtie, not grudging or repining when any things mislike vs, but alwaies interpreting all things to the best; not curiously inquisitiue of the causes of hir will, but forward and diligent in executing her commandements, euē as in the sight of God, not for feare of punishment, but of verie loue and conscience. Which things if we doe vnfeinedlie, then no doubt but God continuing his gracious goodnesse still towards vs, will giue vs daily more cause of praise and thanksgiuing, multiplying her maiesties yeares in health and peace, and increasing the honour and prosperitie of her reigne, so as our posteritie also may with ioy see and serue her manie yeares hence still reigning most blessedly: which are the things that all faithfull subiects doe and ought to reioice in and desire, more than their owne life and welfare, and for the which we ought with all earnestnes to make continuall praier and supplication vnto God. But while I am caried with the streame of my desire, to encourage my selfe and my countrey men to the performance of our dutie towards her maiestie, wherein neuerthelesse I haue ben much breefer than the matter requireth: I feare least I become more long and tedious than may be seeme the tenour of an epistle dedica-

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dedicatorie. And therefore most humbly submitting my selfe and this my present translation to your honourable censure and acceptation, I here make an end, beseeching God, greatly to increase and long to continue the honor and prosperitie of your good Lordship, and of your noble house.

Written the xxvii. of Ianuary, 1595.

Your Honors most humble to commaund,

Arthur Golding.





To the King.



*S*r, forasmuch as it hath pleased your maiestie, to command the states of your realme, and to ioinie all men without exception, to shew vnto you whatsoeuer they thinke to be for the benefit and preservation of your state, and the comfort of your subiects: And I see that euery man straineth himselfe, to giue you the best aduice he can: surely I alone ought not to be idle and negligent, nor to forslow the duetie wherby I am naturally bound vnto you. The which thing hath caused me to gather these matters of remembrance, which should haue ben better polished ere they had ben presented to your maiestie, if the state of your affairs and the time would haue permitted it. You haue vouchsafed me the honour to be neer about your person, and to do you seruice in such cases as it hath pleased your maiestie to imploy me, and specially in following the warres, where I haue the good hap, to be a witnesse of the victories that you haue fortunatly obtained, to the great reioycing of all christendome. And surely sir, this maketh me to hope, that you will accept this mine attempt

To the King,

tempt in good part, as a testimonie of the good will
and great desire which I haue alway had and will
haue, to spend my goods and life in the seruice of your
most christen maiestie, beseeching God to keepe mee
euer in this commendable deuotion and duti-
full good will, and to giue vnto your
highnesse a most happie long
life. From Paris the 28.
of October, 1588.

Your most humble seruant and subiect,


James Hurault, lord of Vieul and Marais.





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FINIS.



CHAP. I.

Of Office or Duetie, and of Policie or Estate.



It is manifest that the dutie of ciuill life consisteth in dealing one with another, and that therevpon both honours and empires do depend; so as princes, kings, emperours, and soueraigne lords, doe practise the ciuill life; their Dutie lieth in the exercise thereof, their welfare commeth thence, and therevpon dependeth their preservation. For policie is the verie soule of the publicke-weale, and hath like power there, as wisdom hath in the bodie of man: and as *Plutarch* saith in the life of *Marcus Cato*, It is a maxime or principle confessed of the whole world, that a man cannot atchieue a greater vertue or knowledge, than Policie is; that is to say, than is the skil to gouerne and rule a whole multitude of men, the which is the thing that we call Estate: to the knowledge whereof mans nature is so well disposed, that it seemeth to be borne with him. And the men of old time called the goddessse *Pallas*, by the names of *Polemike* and *Politike*, as who would say, That the gouernours of nations ought to haue both chiuallrie and lawes iointly together. And therefore in treating of the maners that are most befeeming in princes, and purposing by that mean to set their wise sayings, and politike doings in order, I haue vsed the word Duetie, as a terme most fittest to the matter I haue in hand. For vertuous deeds and good works are called Duties by the Philosophers, whereof *Cicero* hath made three goodly books, wherin he declareth

Arist. lib. 9. of matters of gouernment.

Isocrates in his Panathie.

What Policie is.

Cicero in his booke of the ends of good and euill.

The dutie of Magistrats.

at large, in what things euery mans dutie consisteth. For (as he saith) there is not any part of our life, be it in matters publicke or priuat, that can be without Dutie, as wherein consisteth the whole honour of our life, and likewise the dishonour through the forflowing therof; insomuch that an honest man will rather put himselfe in danger and endure all maner of aduersitie and paines, than leaue his Dutie vndone. And therefore, afore we speake of princes, it will be good for vs to decide what a Duty is, to the end that men may vnderstand wherof we treat. We call that a Dutie, to the doing whereof we be bound, as to a thing that our vocation or calling requireth: as for example, The dutie of a Til-man, is to till the ground well; the dutie of a Iudge, is to iudge mens causes vprightlie, without accepting of persons; the dutie of a housholder, is to gouerne well his house; likewise the dutie of a prince or king, is to gouerne well his people, to minister good iustice vnto them, and to keepe them from taking wrong: and generally the dutie of man (according to Aristotle in his first booke of Morals) is the inworking of the mind conformed vnto reason, or at least wise not alienated from reason; as when the crafts-man hauing purposed some peece of worke, employeth his skill and labour to bring his worke to a perfect end, so as the end and vtmost point of his honest and vertuous action, is his Dutie:

Cicero in his booke of Duties, maketh two sorts thereof; the one he termeth right and perfect, which is matched with true vertue, and is peculiar to the discretion of the wise; as when it is demaunded what is wisdom, iustice, valiantnesse, or temperance, or what is profit, or what is honestie. The other he termeth meane, which consisteth in precepts, whereby a man may stablish an honest trade of life; as when it is demaunded, why one thing should be done rather than another, and what difference there is betwixt one thing and another, because the thing that well beseemeth a yong man, doth ill beseeme an old man; and that which well beseemeth a magistrate, or a prince, doth ill become a priuat person; and that which becommeth well a priuat person, doth ill become a prince. But these two sorts may be reduced into one, euen by the saying of the same

Cicero

Our life can
not be with-
out Dutie.

Cicero in the
ends of good
and euil men.

The definiti-
on of Dutie.

Two sortes of
Dutie.

The dutie of Magistrats.

3

Cicero, who confesseth that these two sorts of duties tend both of them to the soueraigne good, and aime not at any other end than that, sauing that the one belongeth to the wise, who aime not at any other law than onely vertue: and the other serueth for the directing of the common conuersation, in respect whereof it needeth the helpe of lawes & precepts. And as touching vs that are Christians, we may well say, that all our duties tend to the soueraigne good, and are perfect, vnlesse ye will exact that exquisite perfection, which our Sauour taught the young man whē he said vnto him, That if he would be perfect, it behoued him to sell all that he had, and to deale it vnto the poore, and to follow him. Therefore to know what is the dutie of euery man, both prince and priuat, noble and vnnoble; our law-maker teacheth vs in two precepts: whereof the first consisteth in the worshipping of God, and in the louing of him with all our heart: for it is reason that we should yeeld him faith and allegiance for our creatiō, and for the great number of so many good things which we receiue dailie at his hand, seing that we peculiarly of all other liuing wights, are beholders of the heauenly things that are aboue. The other is, for the instruction and stablishment of the common conuersation; wherein consisteth the dutie of a christian, which is to loue his neighbour as himself. For (as saith *S. Paule* to the *Rōmanes*) it is a fulfilling of the law of God, and a confirming of the law of nature, which will not haue a man to doe that to another, which he would not haue done to himselfe. And he that keepeth this precept cannot do amisse. For it is very certaine, that no man hateth his own flesh, ne procureth any euill to himselfe, and therefore he vvill not do any such thing to his neighbour. Now then, we need not to be taught what is Vprightnesse, Valeantnesse, and Staiednesse: for he that keepeth the said precept, will not do any vnright. But forasmuch as our own nature, by reason of the corruption thereof, maketh vs to step out of the right vvay; if vve will come into the true path againe, it behoueth vs of necessitie to peruse the law and the commaundements, and to treat of the vertues which are termed Cardinall, namely, Wisedome, Vprightnesse, Valeantnesse, and Temperance, or Staiednesse; and of the branches depend-

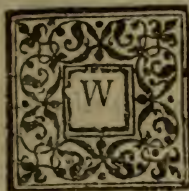
Men are beholders of heauenly things. *Cicero* in his second booke of the nature of the Gods. The louing of our neighbor is the fulfilling of the law.

The dutie of Magistrats.

diag vpon them (the which *S. Austine* doth allegoricallie terme the foure streames that watered the earthly Paradise in old time, and daily still watereth the little world of them that liue well) and to see how good princes haue practised them, and how euill princes for want of making account of them, haue found themselues ill apaid: to the end vve may make our profit of histories and not make them as a matter of course, but as a good and wholsome instruction. Howbeit, ere we enter into that matter, it behoueth vs to know vvhat a Prince, a King, an Emperour, and a soueraigne Lord, is.

CHAP. II.

¶ Of a Prince, a King, an Emperour, and a soueraigne Lord.



E cannot enioy the goods which God hath giuen vs on this earth, except there be a iustice, a law, and a prince, as *Plutarch* teacheth vs in his booke concerning the education of princes. Iustice is the end of the law; law is the workmanship of the prince; and the prince is the workmanship of God that ruleth all, who hath no need of a *Phidias*. For he himselfe behaueth himselfe as God. And like as God hath set the Sunne and the Moone in the skye, as a goodly resemblance of his Godhead: so a Prince in a common-weale is the light of the common-weale, and the image of God; who vvorshipping God, maintaineth iustice, that is to say, vttereth foorth the reason of God, that is to weet, Gods minde. A Prince then is a magistrate that hath soueraigne power to commaund those ouer vvhom he hath charge. And vnder this generall terme of Prince, I comprehend kings, emperours, dukes, earles, marquises, and gouernois of cities and common-weales. The men of old time called him a Prince, which excelled other men in discretion and wisdom. For like as to make a fortunate voyage by sea, there behoueth a good

Pilot,

The definition
of a
Prince.

Pilot, that is a man of courage and good skill : so to the well governing of subiects there behoueth a good Prince. And therefore we may say, that that prince is the chiefe and most excellent of all, which for the preheminance of his wisdom and worthinesse commaundeth all others. It is the first and chiefeft law of nature, that he which is vnable to gard and defend himselfe, should submit himselfe to him that is able and hath wherewith to do it; and such a one doe we tearme a chiefe man, or a prince, who ought to be esteemed as a God among men, (as *Aristotle* saith in his third booke of matters of state) or at least wise as next vnto God (as *Tertullian* saith vnto *Scapula* ;) and such a one ought all others to obey as a person that hath the authoritie of God, as saith *S. Paule*. *Hommer* termeth princes, *Diogenes* and *Diotrophes*, that is to say; Bred and brought vp of *Iupiter*. And *Cicero* in his common weale saith; That the gouerners and keepers of townes and cities doe come from heauen, and shal returne thither againe when they haue done their duties. And in another place describing a good Prince, he saith that he ought to despise all pleasures, and not yeeld to his owne lust, nor be needy of gold and siluer. For the needinesse of the Prince is but a deuiler of subsidies, as the Emperesse *Sphia* said to *Tiberius Constantine*. Also he ought to be more mindfull of his peoples profit, than of his own pleasure. And to conclude in a word, a prince ought to imprint in his heart the saying of *Adrian* the emperor to the Senate, namely, That he ought to behaue himselfe after such a sort in his governmēt, as euerie man might perceiue that he sought the benefit of his people, & not of himselfe. Also men call them Princes which are of the blood royal, & stand in possibilitie to succeed to the crowne, and generally all soueraigne magistrats, as dukes, marquises, earles, and other chiefe lords, of which sort there are in Italy and Germanie, which haue soueraigne authoritie and owe no more to the emperour, but only their mouth and their hands. But the greatest and excellentest magistrats are the kings and emperours.

Plutarck in the life of *Pelopidas*.

The prince is as a God among men.

A prince should not be bare of treasure.

An Emperour is a terme of warre, borrowed of the Romanes,

What an emperour is.

manes, for in their language the word *Impero* signifieth to commaund. And albeit that in their armies, the Romanes had captaines whom they called Emperors, which commaunded absolutely, and were obayed as kings, yet did not any man vsurpe or take to himselfe that title of Emperor, vntlesse he had done some notable exploit of warre. Insomuch that *Crassus* was counted a man but of base minde and small courage, and of slender hope, to atchieue any great or haughty matters, that could finde in his heart to be named emperor, for taking a silly towne called *Zenodotia*. Afterward when the state of the common weale was chaunged, by reason of the ciuill warres, and reduced into a Monarchie, the successors of *Iulius Caesar*, knowing how odious the name of king was to the Romanes, would not take that title vnto them, but contenting themselues with the effect therof, they named themselues Emperors, which among vs is as much to say, as chiefe leaders or Generals of an armie or host of men. *Plato* in his booke of Lawes, teacheth vs seuen sorts of ruling or commaunding; the first is, that the father commaundeth his children; the second, that the valeant & noble-minded commaund the weake and baseminded; the third, that the elder sort commaund the yonger; the fourth, that the maisters commaund the seruants; the fift, that the mightier commaunds the feebler; the sixt, (which is the greatest dignitie) is, that the wise commaund the ignorant; and the seuenth, is that which cometh by lot and by the grace of God; so as he that is chosen by lot, commaundeth and raigneth, and he that faileth of it, is bound to obay.

The qualities
of a good em-
perour.

Cicero speaking of *Pompey*, saith, that a good emperor (that is to say, a good Generall of a field) must haue the skill of chiuallric and feats of arms, vertue, authoritie, and felicitie. He must be painfull in affaires, hardy in daungers, skilfull in deuising things, quicke in performing, and of good prouidence to foresee. *Titus Livius* saith, that the great Captaine *Hanniball* was wonderful hardy in putting himselfe to the perils of warre, and very resolute in the midst of danger; that neither his
body

body nor his minde were fore-wearied with trauel, that he patiently abode both heat and cold alike, that he measured his eating and drinking rather by naturall appetite, than by pleasure; that for sleeping or waking, he made no difference betweene day and night; but looke what time remained vnto him from doing of his businesse, he bestowed it in taking his rest, not vpon a soft featherbed in some place far from noise, but ordinarily lying vpon the ground couered with a souldiers cassocke, among the warders, & the whole troops of the men of armes. When he went among the horsemen or the footemen, he marched alwaies formost, and was the first that gaue the onfet, and when the fight was ended, he was the hindermost in the retreat. *Plutarch* treating of *Sertorius* saith, that in matters ciuile he was gentle and courteous, and in matters of warre he was of great fiercenesse and forecast. He was neuer seene surprised with feare or ioy, but like as in most perill he was void of feare, so in his prosperity he was very moderate. He gaue not place in hardinesse to any of his time, nor for valiantnesse, in fighting, nor for setled resolution in all sudaaine aduentures. When any enterprise was to be done that required good aduise, or skill to choose the aduantage of some place of strong scituation to lodge in, or to giue battell, or to passe a riuier, or to shift off some mishap, & that for the doing thereof there behoued great sleight, or the working of some policie, and the giuing of some gleeke to the enemy, in due time & place, he was a most excellent crafts-maister. Besides all this, he was liberall & magnificent in rewarding honorable deeds of arms, and meeld and mercifull in punishing misdeeds. He was not subiect to his bellie, neither did he drinke out of measure, no not euen when he had no businesse to do. In time of most vacation he was wont from his very youth to put himselfe to great trauell, to make long iourneis, to passe many nights together without sleepe, to eate little, & to be contented with such meats as came first to hand. And whē he was at leisure, he was alwaies either riding, or hunting, or running, or walking abroad in the fields. I haue inserted this the more at

length, to the intent it may serue for a patterne to Princes that intend to prosper, and to performe their charge happily. Now let vs come to a king. The Latine word *Rego*, (whereof cometh *Rex*, which betokeneth a king) signifieth to rule or gouerne. And so a king is nothing else but a ruler or gouerner of people. Likewise *Homer* termeth him sometime the Garnisher, and sometime the heardman or shepheard of the people, because he ought to be carefull for his people, as the shepheard is for his sheepe, and to watch ouer them as the shepheard doth ouer his flocke, that no man doe them wrong. And (as *Plutarch* saith) a good prince is like a shepheards dogge, which is alwaies in feare, not for himselfe, but least the wolfe should fall vpon the sheepe, and so is a good Prince in feare, not for himselfe, but least any euill should befall his subiects. *Aristotle* in his third booke of matters of State, saith, There are foure sorts of kingdomes, the first is, where the king hath no soueraigne authoritie, further than in matters of warre, and in sacrificising; of which sort, were the kings of Sparta, or Lacedemon: and this maner of kingdome is as a perpetuall captaineship, matched with souereigne authoritie of life and death, such as *Agamemnon* had; who did put vp iniuries when he sate at counsell, but had power to put whom he list to death when he was in armes. And of such kingdomes some goe by inheritance, and other some by election. The second sort of kingdomes are those that goe both by inheritance and election, the which notwithstanding approacheth vnto tyrannie, sauing that the keeping thereof is king-like, that is to say, the kings are garded by their owne subiects, whereas the tyrants are garded by strangers. And the kings commaund by law, and are obayed with good will: whereas the tyrants raigne altogether by constraint. Insomuch that the one sort are garded by their owne citizens or countymen, and the other by strangers, against the countymen. The third is Barbarous, not for that it is against law, but for that it is not in custome, of which sort was the gouernment of the Mitylenians, which chose *Pittacus* against their banished

King^s are
heardmen
and shep-
heards of
their people.

shed persons. And the fourth sort is that which was vsed in the time of the noble princes, whom the Greeks called *Heroes*, who vsurped not dominion by force, but had it bestowed vpon them by the people, of good will, deliuered ouer afterward lawfully to their successors. They intended to the warres, and to church-matters, and therewithall iudged matters of controuersie. Of these foure sorts of kingdomes he maketh a silt, which is, when one commaundeth absolutely. This kind agreeth moſt to our time, specially in this country, where the king commaundeth absolutely, howbeit without infringing the law, for then were it not king-like, but tyran-like. And according to *Aristotle*, when a Prince reigneth without law, it is all one as if a wild beast reigned. A King then is a soueraigne Prince that reigneth ouer a people, not seeking his own peculiar profit, but the profit of his subiects. This maner of reigning is like to household gouernment; for although the maister of the house do ouer-rule his traine and his seruants at his pleasure, yet notwithstanding he regardeth aboue all things the welfare of his familie: euen so a good king is to haue an eye most principally to the welfare and benefit of his household, namely of his subiects. For vpon them dependeth his owne welfare, as the welfare of the maister of a household dependeth vpon his meiny and seruants. One being asked vpon a time what a prince was to doe, that he might raigne wel; said, He must commaund his subiects as a father commaundeth his children; for the father commaundeth not his children any thing, but that which is for their welfare. In this respect *Homer* called *Iupiter* Father of Gods and men, according to the saying of our Lord, who hath taught vs to call the soueraigne Monarch, (I meane the eternall God) Our father; and not our king and our Lord: whereby he teacheth vs, that the true soueraignie is that which resembleth the soueraignie of fathers, and that the true subiects are those that resemble children. * All such as haue written of gouernment; say; that a kingdome well ordered consisteth but in two points, namely in the iust commaundement of the Prince, and in the due

What a king
is.

A king must
commaund
his subiects as
a father doth
his children.

* The iust
commaundement
of the prince,
and the iust
obedience of
the subiects,
are answerable
either to
other, & can-
not be sepa-
ra. ed.

obedience.

obedience of the subiects. And if either of them both faile, it is like the separation of the soule and the body, in the life of man; asking *Francis* the first, right excellently declared to the men of Rochell, in the yeare of our Lord, siue hundred forty three. *Isocrates* in the instruction which he giueth to *Nicoles*, saith thus; It is to no purpose for you to haue faire horses, and faire hounds, if ye take no pleasure of them, ne loue them: so is it also to no purpose for a prince to haue such subiects as he desireth, if he take no pleasure in dealing well with them. And as the same author saith; Those kingdomes and states of government, continué long, which are charie ouer the welfare of their people. The treasure of a good princethat loueth his subiects, is in the houses of his subiects; and it is a common saying, That the pouertie of a prince appeareth by the pouertie of his subiects; but when they be well at ease, and wealthie, then is the prince to be deemed rich. Therefore the marke of a tyrant, whom *Homere* termeth, A deuourer of his people, is to be seene in the pouertie of the subiects, for that he fleeceth them to enrich those that are about him, namely the ministers of his pleasures, and of his euillusts; which thing causeth all men to hate him, and to shun him as a witlesse beaſt, so that for his reward he hath the indignation of God, and hatred of man, a short life, and a perpetuall shame: whereas the reward of a good Prince, that keepeth the laws, honoureth vprightnesse, and iudgeth according to iustice, is to liue and raigne long time, as *Moses* affirmeth. Which thing *Philos* laying foorth at large, saith, That although a prince die in body, yet liueth he still for euer by his vertues, which cannot be abolished or defaced by death. A kingdome therefore is a publike state, wherein one only commandeth, hauing respect to the common-weale. The contrary whereof is Tyrannie, which is a monarchie that respecteth alonly the profit of the monarch. The state of a king, because it respecteth the common profit, & by that means draweth the hearts, of the people vnto it, is durable, and is vpheld by the only friendship of the subiects. Contrarywise, because a Tyrant is like a roaring lion and a hunger-staruened beare (as *Salomon* saith in his Prouerbs)

The marke of
a tyrant.

A Kingdome.

Tyrannie.

and

and in that respect is not ordinarily beloued of his people, nor of any good men, therefore he is faine to keepe a gard of strangers about him, to make men feare him and obey him by force, which force of his maketh him the more behated. For the maintaining of which guard, he is faine to be at great charges, which is a cause that he becommeth the more odious, by his charging and greewing of the people. And therefore a certaine Gymnosophist of India being asked of *Alexander*, by what means he might make himselfe most beloued, answered wisely: By being very good, and by dealing so as men should not stand in feare of him. For feare is an ill preseruer of the thing that is to continue. And it is apparent, that such men endure but a little while, for as soone as the patience of the people beginneth to faile, by and by those princes loose their children and their state: as it befell to *Denis* the tyrant of *Siracuse*, and diuers other like. For (as saith *Ecclesiasticus*) a kingdome is transferred from one nation to another, for the vniustice, the iniuries, the extortions, and the fraudes that are diuersly committed. *Paulus Iouius* speaking of *Ismael sophie*, saith, That after he had recouered his grandfather's kingdome, by the fauor of the prouinces that were greatly affectioned towards him, he released the tribute incōtinently; being alwaies of opinion, that the good will of men (which is easily wone by liberality & iustice) was the surest strength of a kingdome; and (to his seeming) it was not the part of a good king, but of a proud Potentate and new vpstart, to raighe lord-like ouer the only goods of his people, when the hearts of them all were estranged from him by the grieuousnesse of tributes. Therefore I will conclude, that the kingdome which is maintained by fauorable means, is much more strong and durable, than that which is vpheld by force. Which thing *Philip* king of *Macedonia* perceiuing, sought by al means he could, to continue in friendship with the *Greeks*, notwithstanding that he was oftentimes constrained to vse force; in bereauing them of their liberty. And vpon a time when he was counselled by his faithfuller seruants, to set Garrisons in all the cities of *Greece* that

The way to winne loue.

Vniustice is the cause of the alteration of states.

The kingdome that is maintained by friendly dealing, is stronger than that which is vpheld by force.

he:

he had conquered, he would not take knowledge of it, saying, he had leuer to be esteemed a good man for a long time, than to be king or a lord for a short time, because he thought that the soueraigntie which is held by loue is durable, whereas the soueraignty that is held by violence & terror, cannot continue any long time. At another time, hauing gotten the possession of a certain place in Peloponnesus, he deliberated a long time whether he should keepe it, or leaue it to the Messenians, wherein he asked the aduice of *Aratus* and *Demetrius*. The opinion of *Demetrius* was, That he should hold fast the Oxe by both the hornes; meaning, that he should easily keepe the country of Peloponnesus, if he had the said towne which was called Ithomata, together with Acrocorinth, which he had already. But *Aratus* after long thinking vpon the matter said thus, Sir, the Phocenses haue many cities, and so haue also the Acarnanians, all wel fortified, as wel in the firme land, as vpon the Sea-coast: of all these you shall not enioy any, and yet notwithstanding they faile not to doe whatsoeuer you commaund them, without compulsion. The outlawes are in the rocks and mountaines, and there they hold themselues strong: but vnto a king there is no castle more strong and sure, than good will. Also counsell was giuen to *Antigonus*, to place a good garison in Athens, to keepe it from reuolting any more, and to inake it as a bulwarke against all Greece, but he answered, That there was not a better bulwarke, than the loue of the people. And as *Plutarch* saith in the life of *Aratus*, The surest guard that a great lord can haue, is the true and constant good will of his subiects. For when the nobilitie & commualty of a country are wont to be afraid, not of him, but for him that gouerneth them, then doth he see with many eies, and heare with many eares, and perceiueth a far off, whatsoeuer is done. And thierfore there is more profit and more honor also in being a king, than in being a tyrant. And as it is Gods commaundement and will, that the prince should haue a singular care and regard of the welfare and benefite of his people, because he is chosen to be vnto them a defender and protector: so on
the

No castle so
strong as
good will.

The best Bul-
warke is the
peoples loue.

the contrarie part, he is forbidden by the mouth of *Salomon*, to pill and oppresse the poore, because they be succourlesse. For the Lord (saith he) will take their cause in hand, & will deale roughly with such as haue dealt roughly with them.

CHAP. III.

Of the three sorts of Government, and which of the three is the best.



INASMUCH as we treat of the state of government, we must not suffer a very comon thing to passe in silence, which yet (to my seeming) ought not to be omitted, namely, that there be three sorts of ciuill governments approoued in the world; whereof the one is called by the generall name of a Publike-weale, wherein all men as wel poore as rich, noble as vnnoble, are admitted to gouerne by turne. Another is called Aristocracie, which is compacted of some smal number of noble men, and men of reputation, who beare all the sway. And the third is the Monarchie, or Kingdome, wherein all things are at the commandment of one alone. These three sorts of government, because they tend all to the welfare of the whole state, are all allowable, and many like well to be vnder them, some vnder one, and some vnder another, according as the humors of people be diuersly disposed. As for example, The Egyptians could not abide to be without a king, and the Athenians could not endure to haue a king. The contraries to these three sorts of government are faulty and reproued; namely Democracie, the contrarie to a Publike-weale: wherein the people beare all the sway alone, and carrie all the credite, without calling the nobilitie and gentlemen to counsell. Oligarkie, the contrarie to Aristocracie; which is the gouernment of some few men, that conuert all things to their
owne

owne profit : and tyranny the contrarie to a kingdome, which is the government of one alone that doth all things at his pleasure, without resourning himselfe to law and reason. To say which of the said three good states is the best, it is a hard matter ; yet notwithstanding many men prefer Aristocracie before the Kingdome, because it is not ruled by the discretion of any one transitorie man, vpon the valour whereof the welfare of the whole state might depend ; but it is gouerned by the immortall counsell of an euerlasting senate. For it is a rare matter to find any one man so fully perfect & worthie to raig.

The praise of
Aristocracie.

Kings do not
so easily resist
their lusts as
priuat persons
doe.

And as *Nicholas Foscarin* of Venice said, Kings doe not easily resist their owne lusts as priuat persons do ; because that in as much as they be customably honoured in their kingdomes, and are heard and obayed in the twinckling of an eie, they be not only high-minded and insolent, but also impatient if they obtaine not whatsoeuer seemeth iust vnto them ; and to their seeming, all things is iust that they desire ; bearing themselues in hand, that with one word they can put away all impediments, and ouercome the nature of all things ; nay, they thinke it a shame for them to shrinke from their inclinations, for any difficulties ; taking counsell, not of discretion & reason, but of their own will & statelinesse. And as *Soderin Gonsalonier* of Florence said ; (when he moued the Florentines to take a parte, and not to be newtors any more) Princes thinke themselves wrōged when they be denied their requests, & flie vpon euery man that followeth not their will, and hazardeth not his state together with theirs. But if they be such as they ought to be, vndoubtedly it is the greatest good turne that can befall to a realme, and most resembling God, who by his euerlasting prouidence, raigeth alone ouer the whole world. And it is also conformable and drawing neere to our nature, wherein we see one that ouer-ruleth all the rest ; for if we consider our body, we see it is ouer-ruled by a soule, which gineth mouing to all the members, without the which, the body is but as a blocke. Among our members we haue a heart, which is (as you would say) the Prince and king of all the rest. And in the
mind

The cōmen-
dation of the
state of a
kingdome.

mind, reason beareth chiefe rule. The Bees haue their king. In an armie there is a generall that commaundeth, and in a ship there is a Pilot that guideth it. Rome could not abide two brothers rainging together. *Eſau* and *Iacob* ſtroue euen in their mothers wombe. In the church-gouernment one only biſhop or Metropolitan commaundeth. In a houſe there is but one maifter, the reſidue are but ſeruants, obeying the commaundements of the maifter of the houſe. And therefore he that would haue altered the kingdome of Sparta into a popular ſtate, came ſhort; inſomuch that *Ageſilauſ* ſaid vnto him, It was meet that he ſhould firſt ſtabliſh a popular ſtate in his owne houſe: doing vs to vnderſtand, that that forme of gouernment which a man would be loath to haue in his houſe, is not meet to be in a citie or country. For (as ſaith *Ariſtotle*) A citie is nothing elſe but a great houſhold. To the ſame purpoſe did *Homer* ſay, That the gouernmēt of many was nothing woorth, and that mo than one gouernor needed not. After the death of *Cambifeſ*, when the Princes of Perſia had expelled the Magies, who had inuaded the empire, they aſſembled together, to conſult how they might thensforth gouerne the State. In this meeting there were three ſundry opinions. One was of *Othanes*, who ſaid there needed no king to be choſen, but that the affaires of the realme were to be managed by all men in common, and euerie man ought to be left at his owne libertie, without ſubiection to any one, becauſe it is ordinarily ſeene, that a ſole ſoueraign becommeth inſolent, and that if he be diſpleaſed, he may ſatiſſie his inſolencie to the full. *Megabyſus* was of the contrarie opinion, ſaying that ſuch libertie is more dangerous than Tyranny, becauſe that if the noblemen and cities ſhould be without a ſoueraigne lord, they might abuſe that libertie at their pleaſure. And therefore he thought it good, that neither the cities themſelues, nor the whole multitude of the nobilitie, ſhould haue the managing of the publike affairs; but that the doing therof ſhould be committed to ſome certaine number of good and vertuous Princes, which ſhould haue the gouerning of the State,

Sole gouernment maketh men inſolent.

State, and be obeyed as a king of all the rest. But *Darius* liked none of both those aduises, because that if all men should be at libertie, without obedience to anie, it could not continue long, forso much as it was not possible; that a multitude of free lords could any long time agree among themselves; and to take any small number of them to rule the State, it was also vnconuenient, because there would rise innumerable matters, wherein the princes would not be all of one mind; and moreover, there would alwaies be some one or other that would attempt to controle the rest, which thing would breed dissention among them, and finally the ruine of the State. And therefore he was of opinion that of all the kinds of government, ther was not a better than the Monarchie. The which aduise of his, all the rest of the princes followed. Of a verie truth we see, that neither the State of Aristocracie, nor the State of Democracie, haue attained to like greatnesse as kingdoms haue, sauing onely Rome for the largenesse of empire, and Venice, for continuance of time. For, as for Lacedemon and Athens, their dominions extended but a little way, notwithstanding that the one of them made their power to be seene in the lesser Asia, and the other became terrible to the Persians. But about all other, the popular government is most vnweeldie, because it is full of ignorance and confusednesse of people; whose nature (as said *Bellifarius*) is to moue by rage, rather than by reason; and who (as saith *Guicciardine*) grounding themselves vpon deceitfull and vaine hopes, & being furious in their dealings, when danger is far off, and quite out of courage when perill doth approach, are not in any wise to be ruled or restrained. And (as *Philip* of Nauar was wont to say) there is not any certain stay in a cōmunaltie; & for that cause he would not trust the Parisians, nor come within their citie, what shew of good will soeuer they were able to make; perswading himselfe that he could not be in sufficient suretie, among so great a number of people of so diuers humors. Which thing the Senat of Rome considering, chose rather to giue their people Tribunes, than to giue vnto them the reines of

authoritie

Kingdomes
haue passed al
other states
of gouern-
ment, both in
largenesse of
dominion, &
in length of
time.

A commen-
dation of the
popular state.

authoritie without a magistrat. For although the power of the tribunes was ouer-great, yet thought they it better than the ouer-vehement and boistrous power of the people; who become more tractable when they haue a head, than when they be without one; For a head considereth the danger, but the people cast no perill at all. The popular gouernment is hard to be dealt with; for it is a beast with many heads, which doth good vnto them that would it euill, and requite euill to them that doe it good. As the Athenians did to *Miltiades*, whom in recompence of the good which he had done them in deliuering them from a dangerous siege, and in vanquishing ten hundred thousand Persians, himselve hauing but ten thousand men, they amerced at a great fine, keeping him in prison till he had fully paid it, and finally banished him out of the country. They did as much to *Themistocles*, *Aristides*, *Alcibiades*, and other good captaines of their citie, whereof anon after ensued their owne decay. We know how *James* of Arreuil gouerned the people of Gaunt in his time, and what power and authoritie he had ouer them, and how he was beloued of all; and yet neuerthelesse they put him to death vpon a small suspicion, and would not so much as heare his reasons. They did as much to *John Boulle*, one of their captaines, because that without cause and without likelihood, they had wrongfully surmised of him, that he had brought them into an ambush, vpon secret compact with the earle of Flaunders; and he was not permitted to shew his reasons and excuses. For without hearing him, they drew him out of his lodging into the street, and there hewed him into small peeces, euerie man carrying away a peece that could come by it. Therefore *Demosthenes*, who was banished Athens as others had been, considering how Athens was dedicated to *Minerua*, said; O *Pallas*, what meanest thou to enterteine so wicked and foule beasts, as a night-owle, a dragon, and a popular gouernment? for vnto *Pallas* were these things dedicated. And *Aristides* the best man of life that euer was in Athens, vpbraided the Athenians with their rashnesse, who had condemned him for executing

People are more tractable hauing a head, than being without a head.

The reward of such as serue in popular state.

The dutie of Magistrats.

his charge faithfully, in not suffering the common treasure to be robbed & spoiled, and had had him in great loue and estimation, when he winked at the pilfries which he saw committed, as though he had then worthily & faithfully discharged his duty. For a multitude is hard to be ruled, and other counsel is there none with them, than such as they bring of themselves, misconceiued, misvnderstood, misjudged by passions; neither is there any thing so vnequall in a common-weale, as that is which they call equalitie of persons. All is there equall and euen, sauing their minds, which are as farre at oddes as may be. And yet notwithstanding, because things goe by the number of voices, without weighing them otherwise; they passe alwaies with the most number, that is to say, with the foolishest opinion. By reason whereof, *Anacharsis* said, that in the citie of Athens, wise men propounded matters, and fooles judged of them. And *Phocion* who neuer agreed in opinion with the common people, hauing in open assembly deliuered an opinion that was liked of the whole multitude, insomuch that all the standers-by yeelded to his aduise; turned himselfe to his friends and asked them, whether some fond thing had not escaped him in his speech vnawares. As touching the common-weale of Rome, albeit that the Romanes had conquered the whole world by battell, yet notwithstanding they were oftentimes ill gouerned, for all their good policie. For after that the kings were once expulsed, the citie was neuer without quarels, some while against the ten cōmissionsers, another while the people against the Senat, and the Senat against the people; one while against the tribunes, and another while against the consuls: and nothing did euer vphold and maintaine the citie so much and so long, as the forreigne wars, which caused them to compound their quarrels at home, without the doing wherof they could neuer haue continued; foras soone as they had any vacation from forreigne warres, by and by they lost their libertie, and found from that time forth, that the opinion of *Scipio Nasica* was grounded vpon great reason, when he would not that Carthage should haue been destroyed,

In the citie of
Athens, wise
men propound,
and fooles
iudge.

stroyed, that it might haue kept Rome still in hir right wits, for in very deed, their couetousnesse and ambition bred cruell dissentions among them, which in the end did bring the overthrow of their State. And therefore I will not say but that disagreements are oftentimes necessarie in a house, a kingdome, or a common-weale, and that (as *Onomademus* said after the rebellion of the Island Chios) it is not behooffull to make cleane riddance of all enemies, for feare least there should be dissention among friends. I am fully perswaded it is not amisse to suffer some enemies to spight one another, as well for the reason aforementioned, as also for that the enemies by their crossing one another, doe discouer their owne lewdnesse, couetousnesse, and ambition, to the benefit of the prince and of the common-weale; and yet notwithstanding are afraid to doe euil, least men should espie their doings and behavior. And (as saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Pompey*) the disagreement of two mightie citizens that are at variance among themselues, vpholds the common weale in equall ballance, like a staffe that is equallie charged at both the ends, so as it cannot sway one way or other. But come they once to ioine in one body, & to knit themselues together in one, then it maketh so great an inclination or sway, as no man can withstand; insomuch that in the end, they turne all things vpside downe, & therefore vnto such as went about, complaining that the quarrell & enmitie of *Caesar* and *Pompey*, had ouerthrowne the common-weale, *Caro* said that they ouershot themselues very greatly in saying so, because it was not their discord and enmitie, but rather their friendship and good agreement that was the first and principall cause therof. When Pope *Iuly* had made a league with the Venetians and the king of Arragon, against the Frenchmen, many men commended his dealing, as wherby he meant to driue away the Frenchmen at the colts of the Spaniards, in hope to driue away the Spaniards afterward, when they had bin tired already by the Frenchmen. But the best advised sort found this counsell to be pernicious vnto Italy, saying; that sith it was the hard hap of Italy, to haue both the ends

Whether dissention be requisite in a common weale or no:

The friendship of *Caesar* and *Pompey* was the overthrow of the common weale.

The dutie of Magistrats.

thereof possessed by strangers, it was better for the country to haue them both continue there still, (because that as long as the one king was able to weigh euen with the other, those that were not yet entered into bondage, should be able to maintaine their owne libertie) than that the Italians should be at warres among themselues, by means whereof so long as such warres continued, the parties that were yet whole and sound should be torne in pieces by sacking, burning, and other miserable inconueniences, and finally he that gained the goale, would punish the whole country with the harder and irkesomer bondage. That was the cause why Pope *Clement* turned to the French kings side, bearing himselfe in hand, that as long as the emperour and the king continued both in Italy, the Apostolike sea should be vpheld by the power of either of the; and therefore he would not suffer the kingdome of Naples and the duchie of Millan to fall both into one hand. Small dissentions forasmuch as they be intermingled both with perill and profit, cannot ouerthrow a state, but when the dissention is great, and betweene great persons, it maketh strange tragedies, as did the dissentions betweene *Marius* and *Silla*, *Pompey* and *Cesar*. For hauing once gained and drawne vnto them the whole citie of Rome, and hauing weapon in hand, and men of warre at commaundement, they could hardly eschew, that their discord should not procure the ruine of the state. The enmitie that was betweene *Aristides* and *Themistocles*, had like to haue ouerthrowne the state of Athens: and when vpon a time they had nothing preuailed in an assembly by their quarelings, *Themistocles* returning thence in a great rage, said; that the common-weale of Athens could not continue in good state, vnlesse that he himselfe and *Aristides* were both cast downe. The enuie that some citizens bare vnto *Alcibiades*, was a cause of the destruction of Athens. Likewise the state of Florence was in short time ouerthrowne by such partakings. The Romanes in time of danger chose a dictator that had soueraign authoritie; but he was not to continue any long time, for feare least his ouer-great authoritie

Great dissention between over-great personages is dangerous to a state.

authoritie should turne into tyranny. When *Cicero* was Consul, there was giuen vnto him a greater authoritie than ordinarie, in these words namelie, That he should haue a speciall care of the common-weale, that it incurred not any danger; and this was at such time as they perceiued the conspiracie of *Catilin* to hang ouer their heads. *Cicero* in this his time of authoritie, did put many noble men of Rome to death, being first atteinted and conuicted of high treason, which thing he could not otherwise haue done. The Senat perceiuing that the magistrats of Rome did not their duties, and that all went to hauoke, determined to chuse *Pompey* to be Consul alone; to reforme the common-weale: and of that mind also were *Bibulus* and the yonger *Cato*, howbeit that they liked not of *Pompeys* behavior and trade of life, saying it was much better to haue a Magistrat, be what he be may, than to haue none at all. And this their vsing of the absolute maner of gouernment by one alone in the times of danger, doth shew that they liked better of it, and esteemed it to be better and more certaine, than the maner of gouernment that was in Athens; and that they abhorred not so much the thing it selfe, as the name thereof. Also *Mithridates* king of Pontus said, That the Romanes hated their kings, because they were such as they were ashamed of, as namely Shepherds, Bird-gazers, Sooth-sayers, Outlawes, Bondmen, and (which was the fairest title of all) Vain-glorious and Proud. The Carthaginenses likewise had but one Generall captaine of warre, whom they changed oftentimes. Contrariwise the Athenians chose many captains at once, to lead their forces of warre. In respect whereof, *Alexander* maruelled how the Athenians could find euery yeare ten captains, seing that he himselfe in al his lands; could find but one good captaine, which was *Parmenio*. Also we see that common-weales haue not made so great conquests as Monarchies haue done, except the common-weale of Rome; which brought all kingdomes vnder the dominion thereof: But for that one common-weale, ye haue many kingdomes which haue had greater possessions, and haue kept them a

The absolute
gouernment
is best and
most certain.

The Atheni-
ans had ma-
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ther state of
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longer time. As for example, the kingdome of Assyria had more Kingdomes and countries vnder the dominion thereof, than euer had the citie of Rome. The Romane empire lasted partly at Rome, and partly at Constantinople, about fiftene hundred yeares. The Empire of Almaine (which began vnder *Otho* the second, about two hundred yeares after the coronation of *Charlemaine*) hath continued vnto this day: but yet in some things it fauoreth of the Aristocracie. The kingdome of France hath endured about a twelue hundred yeares. As for the dominion of Venice, the government wherof is an Aristocracie, is the Paragon of all Common-weales in the world, as which alonely may vant that it hath maintained his state the longest time of all others, howbeit with such good lawes as were able to preserue it, as they well shewed vnto one of their citizens, whom they dispatched out of his life without speaking any word vnto him, only because he was of authoritie and credit to appease a certayne sedition or mutinie among the men of warre in their citie. And to say the truth, the thing that ouerthrew the state of Rome, was the ouer-great authoritie which they suffered their citizens to beare.

Of a Tyrant.

Now then, as a good king is a right excellent thing, so when he becommeth a tyrant, he is as excessiue a mischiefe. For the man that is set in that authoritie, hath power ouer mens persons to dispose of them at his pleasure: as *Samuel* told the Israelits when they chose their first king. And (as sayd *Orhanes*) he peruerreth the lawes and the customs of the countrie, he rauisheth women, and he putteth folke to death without sentence of condemnation. If ye commend him modestly, he is discontented that ye doe it not excessiue: and if you commend him out of measure, he is offended as though ye did it of flatterie. *Policrates* the tyrant of the Isle of Samos, made warre vpon all his neighbours without any respect; saying that he pleased his friend the more in restoring to him that which he had taken from him, than if he had not taken ought from him first. Neuertheless, it behoueth a Prince to thinke that if he forget himselfe and doe not his dutie, ne performeth his

his charge as he ought to do; besides, that he shall yeeld an account for it before him that gaue him that charge, he shall not leaue his kingdome to his posteritie. Which thing *Demis* the tyrant of Siracuse did his son to vnderstand, rebuking him for the adulteries and other crimes that he had committed, and declaring vnto him, that he himselfe had not vsed such maner of dealing when he was of that age. Whereunto his sonne answered him, that he had not had a king to his father: neither shall you (quoth his father) haue a king to your son, except you doe better. And as he had said, so it came to passe. *Peter* king of Castile, for his tyrannie and wicked demeanor towards his subiects, was first driuen out of his realme by his bastard-brother, aided with the helpe of such as hated *Peter*; and afterward when he had recouered it againe, by the means of the blacke Prince, as soone as his brother the bastard came againe with any force, all the countrie reuolted from him to the bastard, and the Spaniards that were with him would neither put on armor nor mount on horse-backe at his commaundement; by reason whereof, he was faine to craue succour of strangers, and yet notwithstanding he lost the battell, & with the battell, both his kingdome and his life. *Alfons* the yonger, king of Naples, hauing done many tyrannicall deeds, fled dishonorably out of his kingdome at the comming of *Charles* the 8. king of France; and (as *Guicciardine* reporteth) being tormented with the sting of his owne conscience, found no rest of mind day nor night: for a night-times, those whom he had wronged appeared vnto him in his sleepe; & a day-times, he saw his people making insurrectiō against him, to be reuenged. His son also to whom he left the kingdome, felt himselfe pinched with the sins of his predecessors: for the Neapolitanes forsooke him as wel as his father, & turned to the French kings side. We see what befell to *Roboam* the son of king *Salomon*, for exacting too much vpon his subiects; & to the duke of *Guyen*, (commonly called the blacke Prince) for raising a fowage in the country of Aquitane. *Marcus Aurelius* said, that the cause why God suffered wicked Princes to be murdered, is

A Tyrant's
kingdome leaueth
his kingdom
to his posteritie.

Why Tyrants
are murdered
rather
than priuat
household. rs.
being both of
them wicked.

The dutie of Magistrats.

ther than other wicked men, is for that the priuat mans naughtinesse hurteth but himselfe and his owne familie, for want of abilitie to extend his naughtinesse any further; but the Prince that is tyrannous and wicked, ouerthroweth the whole Common-weale. To conclude, the tyrannicall dominion is very dangerfull and noisome to all the people: but the kingdome that is gouerned according to law, passeth all other states of government, be it in comfort of the people, or in the durableness of it selfe, or in making of great conquests.

CHAP. IIII.

Whether the State of a Kingdome, or the State of a Publike-weale be the antienter.



Manie be of opinion, that the Kinglie authoritie had his beginning from the people, and that the state of a Publike-weale was afore the state of a King. Of that opinion is *Cicero* in his bookes of Duties, saying that Kings were chosen at the first, for the good opinion that men had of them. And in another place he saith, That when folke found themselues harried and troden vnderfoot by the richer sort, they were constrained to haue recourse to some man of excellent prowesse, to defend them from the oppresion of the mightier sort, and to maintaine both great and sinall in a kind of equalitie. Of the same opinion likewise is *Aristotle*. Because the men of old time (saith he) were benefactors to the communaltie, either by the inuention and practise of arts, or by making warres in their behalfe, or by assembling them together into corporations, and by allotting them their territories; the multitude did willinglie create them Kings, & so they conueyed their kingdomes ouer by succession to their posterities.

posterities. *Plinie* saith, that the Athenians were the first that brought vp the popular gouernment, which neuertheless had been vsed long afore by the Iewes, as *Iosephus* witnesseth in his books of their antiquities. Indeede *Thucidides* in his first booke of the warres of Peloponnesus, saith, that when the countrie of Greece was become rich by reason of the nauigations, there stept vp euerie day new tyrants in the cities, by reason of the greatnesse of their reuenues. For afore that time, the kings came in by Succession, and had their authorities, prerogatiues, and preheminences limited. Whereby he doth vs to vnderstand, that kingdomes were afore common-weales, as indeed there is great likelihood that the state of a king was the foremost. And it is not to be doubted, but the first men that were after the the flood, when the earth was repeopled againe, did rule the lands which they possessed, first in their owne houtholds, and afterward (when they were increased) in gouerning the whole off-spring that came of their race, as we see was done by *Sem, Cham, Iaphet, Ianus, Gomer, Samoths*, and such others, of whom some reigned in the West, and some in the East. And *Nembroth* of *Chams* lineage, *Nembroth the first King.* was the first that troubled his neighbours, by making warre vpon them, and the first that made himselfe a king, as *S. Iohn Chrysostome* affirmeth vpon the ninth of *Genesis*. For afore that time there could be no king, because there were no store of people to be subiects. Also *Abraham* hauing a great household, tooke three hundred and eighteene of his owne men, and pursuing those that had spoiled *Lot*, discomfited them. The fathers of old time therefore hauing many slaues and seruants, which were multiplied afterward with the increase of their issue, had them at comraundement as a King hath his subiects. And of this opinion seemeth *Iustine* to be, in his abridgement of *Trogus Pompeius*; who saith in his first booke, That at the beginning euery nation and euerie cite was gouerned by kings; and that such as had none of their owne, did chuse one, either for the good opinion which they had of the person whom they chose, or for some good turne which

which they had receiued at his hand, or else for that they felt themselues misused by their head, whom they themselues had set ouer them, as it befell by the sonnes of *Samuel*, whose vniust behavior caused the Iews to demaund a King. Here is a faire field offred me, for the discoursing of this matter on either side, but it shall suffice me to haue had this speech following at a glance.

CHAP. V.

*Whether it be better to haue a king by Succession,
or by Election.*



Some there are that demaund, whether it be more behoofull and expedient for the welfare of a people, to haue a king by Election, or by Succession. For if ye proceed by Election, it is to be presumed, that ye will choose the best, namely such a one as hath made good prooue of himselfe, and is knowne to be wise, fortunat, and valeant. Or if ye let it goe by Succession, it may be that the king shall be yong, of small experience, and of little vnderstanding. And therefore *Alexander* knowing the dutie of a king, said; He would leaue his kingdome to the worthiest. *Pirrhus* being asked of his children to whom he would leaue his kingdome, answered, To him that of you all hath the sharpest sword; as if he should say, to him that is the most valeant. Whosoeuer would maintaine this opinion, should haue reasons enow to vphold, and defend it. Yet notwithstanding we ought to rest vpon the custome of the country, and not to swarue from it. Such as are wont to choose their king, do well and worthily therein. And yet the granting of a kingdome to goe by Succession, which also is a very generall custome in most countries, is not to be mislud. For oftentimes it falleth out, that

Elections are
causes of
great warres.

Elections.

Elections are a cause of many warres; as we haue seene in the Romane emperors. On the other side, when the kingdome goeth by succession, there is no quarrell or ciuill warre, because it is knowne who ought to be king. For that cause did *Geofrike* appoint by his will, that his children should exceed one another in the kingdome, so that after the death of his eldest sonne, dying without issue, the eldest next him should succede. And as long as that order was obserued among them, the kingdome continued in the race of *Geofrike*; as witnesseth *Jordane* in his historie of the Gothes. Moreouer, a father is desirous to leaue all things in best order to his children; the which thing tendeth alwaies to the publike commoditie; Contrariwise they that are chosen, endeour rather to diminish than to enlarge their kingdomes, because they shall not leaue them to their heires; and therefore they labor to draw all things to their owne peculiar profit, that they may leaue to their familie some frute of the kingdome wherto they were come; and therewithall they be bound to fauer and recompence their Electors, which cannot be done without expenses and charges to the common-weale. And it will not serue the purpose to say, that oftentimes it falleth out, that kings are yoong and vnder age, and consequentlie without authoritie, and without abilitie to gouerne themselves, and much lesse their people; or else that they be witlesse, or out of their wits, which is worse. For it is well knowne, that nothing is so well ordered in this world, nor any law so well stablished, which may not admit some inconuenience. But in this case the inconuenience is such, as may easily be remedied. For if a king be yoong, he hath a Counsell, by whom oftentimes he ruleth better than some old man that will needs do all things on his owne head; as we read of *Iosias*, who was crowned at seuen yeares of age, and raigned forty yeares, in which time he did not any thing which was not to be done; so as the minoritie of his age, made him not to be the lesse honored & regarded. Herof we haue record in little *Europus* king of Macedonia, the presence of whom (notwithstanding that he lay in his cradle)

In the kingdome that goes by inheritance there is no cause of warre.

A King that is vnder age ruleth by his counsell.

cradle) caused his subiects to win the battell; and the Macedonians said all with one voice, That when they fled afore, they wanted not corage, but their king; in whose presence they fought as manfully, as if he had beene of discretion to haue marked them that did well. And although we haue somtimes had warres by reason of the minoritie and debilitie of our kings as it happened in the times of *S. Lewis*, of *Charles* the first, and lastly of the late king *Charles* whom God pardon; yet may we well avow, that we neuer had so much harme therby, as the Romans had by their wicked emperors, that came in by Election, yea euen by the best taught of them, as *Heliogabalus* was, who being trained vp in all duties of honor and godlinesse, by *Varia Mesa*, did neuerthelesse become one of the wickedst creatures vnder the sunne. And therefore we may well say, that it commeth of Gods will, who according to his threatening of the Israelites in old time, sendeth vs babes or foles to be our gouernors, when he listeth to punish vs, and oftentimes princes well brought vp, but yet abiding in their wicked and ill-disposed nature, such as were *Tiberius*, *Nero*, *Caligula*, and infinit other mo. Neuerthelesse there is this difference, that the king which is of tender yeares, or simple-witted, hath his counsell, which notwithstanding that they be oftentimes at odds among themselues, omit not for all that, to giue him good counsel in most things. But as for the Prince that is of a froward nature, he beleueth nothing but that which is of his own head, neither giueth he himselte to any thing else than to do mischief. I know wel that the minoritie of a prince is oftentimes the cause of many dissentions & partakings for the gouernmēt: and that men stand not in so great awe of him, as of an elder person, that is well aduised. But yet the state of the time and of affaires, doth more in that behalfe, than all other things. For if they happen vnder a prince that is yong or simple-witted, they procure great tragedies; and yet for all that they faile not to step in also euen vnder a king that is man-growne and well aduised. If *Robert* of Artois (who was the cause of all the misfortune that we had in France, by the Englishmen) had

Wicked kings
are sent of
God for the
sins of the
people.

The state of
the time and
of affaires,
causeth ciuill
warres.

had beene in the time of a young prince, men would haue said, that the small regard which he had of the princes age, had made him to despise him. And yet neuerthelesse, hauing to do with a king of full age and well experienced aforehand, he forbare not for all that, to make open warre vpon him, and to cause the English men to come into France, vpon a choller and despite, for that *Philip* of Valois had adiudged the earledome of Artoys to his aunt. The king of Nauar had to do with a king of sufficient years, & with such a one as had not then tasted of such misfortune as he felt afterward by experience, and yet notwithstanding hee forbare not to giue many proud attempts against him, to slea his constable, and to refuse to be at his commaundement, vntill the king had giuen him his sonne the earle of Aniou in hostage. At such time as *Charles* the fift was regent of France, the same king of Nauar, being vnderpropped by certain seditious persons of Paris, forbare not to make warre vpon the said *Charles*, for all his wisdom, puissance, and good government. In the time of *Charles* the sixt, no such distresses & aduersities had befallen in France, but for the iarres that were betweene the houses of *Burgundie* and *Orleans*. And therefore we must not impute the misfortune, so much to the vnskilfulnesse of the king, as to priuat quarrels, and to the troublesomnesse of the time wherein he reigned, which was such, that if they had had neuer so sage a prince, he should haue found himselfe very sore cumbred. After that *Charles* the seuenth had recouered all France, he was not so greatly redouted, nor so settled in peace, but there remained vnto him some small ciuill warres. *Lewis* the eleuenth was a prince of sufficient wisdom, forecast, and age, to guide himselfe; and yet he could not turne away the warres from the common weale, which had not hapned vnder princes of vnripe years. For the gouernors of a young prince durst not to haue despised the great men openly, nor to haue defeated the antient officers, as he did; whereof insued euill vnto him. What would haue been said of the war in Germanie, if it had happened vnder a simple-witted Emperour, seing it befell vnder

Priuat quarrels caused the wars vnder *Charles* the sixt.

The dutie of Magistrats.

der a prince of government, fortunat, puiffant, and well aduifed? Men haue imputed our warres to the minoritie of the late king. But had he been much elder than he was, he could not haue preuented them, feing that to the discontentment of moft men, the cafe stood vpon the ftate of religion, a matter fufficient (being fo intermedled both with matters of ftate, and with priuat quarrels) to maintaine the tragedies that we haue feene. Therefore it behoueth vs to yeeld vnto custome, and to fay with *S. Paul*, That the power of a king commeth of God; and likewise with *Salomon* in his Prouerbs, That the heart of a king is in the hand of God; as is the courfe of waters, and that he inclineth them which way he listeth. Some men like well of the kingdome that goes by Election; and otherfome milike not of the kingdome that goes by Inheritance. Both in the one and in the other, there be diuers inconueniences, and reasons enow both to commend them, and to difcommend them,

The hearts of kings are in the hand of God.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Education or bringing vp of a Prince.

Lycurgus the Law-maker of Lacedemon, being desirous to make his countriemen to loue vertue, and intending to shew them to the eye, as it were with his finger, that nature and custome be the means to atteinetherto; vpon a time when they were assembled altogether in a place, to consult of the affaires of the citie, brought forth before all the companie a couple of dogges, of one litter, of one dam, and of one syre; the which he had kept vp so diuersly, that the one of thē being altogether giuen to hunting, was extremely sharp set vpon the prey, and the other being accustomed to the kitchen, and to licke the dishes, had no desire at all to hunt. For prooffe wherof, when he had set befor thē a platter of porrage,

and

and a quicke Hare, by and by the one of them ran after the Hare, and the other stept to the porrage. Whereupon he said, Ye see here, O ye Lacedemonians, how these two dogges being both of one dam, & yet diuersly brought vp, do resemble their bringing vp: euen so trainment and custome are means of great importance, to engender vertue in mens hearts. Which thing we cannot but rightly say of the education of princes, which ought to be better learned than other men, and to beleue that they cannot be vertuous, if they be not learned; but are like to a peece of ground, which being neuer so good, becommeth barren if it be not husbandred; and contrariwise doth bring forth good fruit, being well tilled and composted, though of it selfe it be very bad. The bodie that is strong forgoeth his strength for want of exercise; and contrariwise, the man that is feeble and of weake complexion, becommeth strong by continuance of exercise and trauell. *Plutarke* in his booke of the bringing vp of children, saith; That to make a man perfect in vertue, there behoueth three things to concur, namely; Nature, Reason, (that is to say, instruction or teaching) and Custome or Exercise. It is no wonder therefore though such as haue treated of the qualities that are requisit in Princes, hauing begun at their very cradle, & trained them vp from their first infancie. For the time most fit and conuenient for the doing thereof, is while they be yet tender & easie to bend; & of that first Education of theirs, wil they haue a tast euer after. For (as *Horace* saith) The bottle that hath licour of good sent put into it at the first, wil keepe the tang thereof a long time. Among the authors of our time, *Francis Petrarch* hath written very largely thereof, teaching of the nursing of a prince, of his keeping of company, of his tutors and teachers; of the maner how to make him a good horseman, and consequently of good horses; of running, of wrestling, and of other exercises of the body; of shooting, of hunting, of hawking, and consequently of the nature of hawkes; of playing at tennis, and other pastimes; of husbandry, of Geographie, and of Cosmographie. But my intent is not to traine

Princes cannot be vertuous unlessse they be learned.

The dutie of Magistrats.

vp a prince from his cradle to his tombe ; but to gather such doings of theirs, as may serue them for good example, to the well gouerning of their people . Therefore as touching their bringing vp, I referre me to the things which are written by the said *Petrarke*, and afore him by *Zenophon*, *Isocrates*, *Plutarch*, and many others. Only thus much I say, That the prince which hath children ought to be carefull to bring them vp well in lerning and vertue . For (as *Plutarch* affirmeth in the comparifon of *Agis* and *Gracchus*) good Education moderateth and stayeth a mans mind , not only in things of pleasure, by keeping him from passing the bounds of honesty and honor, in word or deede, but also in matters of anger ; and in the greatest heats of ambition and of desire of honor. *Philip* king of Macedon vowed his sonne vnto *Aristotle* as soon as he was borne, and afterward did put him happily into his hands ; and he trained him vp in Philosophie . For good Education not only fashioneth a man, but also altereth his nature, as we read of *Socrates*, whom a professor of Phisnomie deemed to be full of all vices : and when the man was blamed for his misdeeming ; *Socrates* answered, that he had not failed in his Art, for by nature he said he was such a one as he reported him to be, but diligent heed and good Education had made him altogether another man. The schoolemaister of *Themistocles* beholding his ready and quicke wit, told him aforehand, that he should one day doe either some great good or some great harme to his common-weale. And in very deede , at the first he was of a wauering mind, troublesome, and fleeting . But afterward there was such a change in him, that when men asked him the cause of it, he answered, That fierce & rough horses become good if they be well taught & wel and orderly handled in the breaking . Therefore the man that should be a princes tutor, ought to be a man of skill , and in any wise very honest, to keepe from him all flatterers , and to restraine him in his youth, from haunting the company of any other children, than of such as are honest and feare God ; in which case men commonly faile. For they teach them to haue a good

Good bringing vp moderateth mens affections.

Good Education altereth a mans euill disposition.

Wild horses become good by well handling.

grace,

grace, to entertaine strangers courteously, to daunce well and to ride well: but after this geere there must be no speech of learning. I say not that tutors of sufficient skill to instruct, are not giuen vnto them: but that they stand them in no steed. And yet most commonly tutors are giuen them at the pleasure of such as sue for it to the Prince, who graunteth it vnto his minions, without respecting the sufficiencie of the person: wherein, as saith *Plutarch*, they deale in like sort, as if a sicke man to gratifie his friend, should leaue the good and skilfull Phisition that could heale him, and take one whose ignorance would rid him out of his life. Now then, it behoueth a prince to make his choise of the greatest personage, and of best estimation in his realme. For it is no small matter to draw youth to a custome, when it is tender. For as saith *Plutarch*, Good Education and instruction in youth, is the fountaine and roote of all goodnesse. And like as Gardeners do sticke vp proppes by their young grassettes, to hold them vpright; euen so doe wise teachers plant good instructions and wholsome precepts about yoong princes, to direct their maners vnto vertue. Therefore *Salomon* in his Prouerbs, commandeth vs to traine vp a child at the first entrance of his way, that he may not goe backe from it when hee is growne old. And in the seuenth chapter of Ecclesiasticus, If thou haue children, saith he, bring them vp in learning, and bow them while they be young. Again, in the thirteeth chapter, Bow downe his necke, saith he, in his youth, and smite him on the side while he is a child, least he wax stubborne and herken not vnto thee: for he that nutureth his child, shall haue ioy of him, yea and be commended for him among his household folke. For how good nature so euer a young prince be of, yet shall he hardly do any thing of valour, if he haue not bene trained and inured to vertue: as a horse that is not well broken, how good soeuer he be otherwise, becommeth stubborne and cumberfome, and contrariwise a iudish and restie colt becommeth a good horse, by well handling. My meaning is not to giue him such a tutor of skill and vertue, as darest not giue him a crosse word,

Good Education in youth is the roote of all goodnesse.

A young prince of neuer so good a nature shall hardly doe any great thing, being not trained vp in vertue.

nor make him to stand in aw of him, and to obey him in all friendly maner. For it were as good to haue none at all, as to haue a tutor that is vnprofitable, that shall sing to one that is deafe, and point vnto one that is blind, which yeeldeth not his heart to his teachers intent, and his eares to the words of wisdom, as *salomon* saith in his Prouerbs. One demaunded of a Philosopher, What was the cause that yoong men were vndone? Because (saith he) their teachers forbore to compell them to doe well. *Plutarch* in his booke of the Education of princes, saith; That kings learne to doe nothing well, but onely to ride: and that is, because their schoolemasters which teach them, doe flatter them, and not correct them: whereas the horse discerning not who it is that sitteth on his backe, and therefore making no difference betweene a prince and a priuat person, spareth him not, but inforceth him to performe his charge, if he will not be in danger to be cast vpon the ground. But as for the schoolemaster that teacheth a prince, he neither can nor will compell him to any thing, but letteth him doe what he listeth; by reason whereof, a prince cannot be so well taught, as a man of meaner degree, that submitteth himselfe to correction. Neuerthelesse my meaning is not that the schoolemaister should vse the rod towards him, otherwise than as a searing-iron is vsed in surgerie, namely in cases of extreame necessitie, when all other remedies faile; but that he should deale with the yoong prince by all kind of gentlenesse, & assay to draw him by fauor, rather than by force; as by praising him when he doth well, & by dispraising him when he doth euil, which are more auailable means towards childre that are borne in fredome, as wel the one to draw them to wel doing, as the other to withdraw them from doing ill, than all the whipping and scourging that can be. Neuerthelesse, when being yet yoong, he is wilfull and stubborne, the schoolemaster is to be dispensed withall, to vse that remedie. For as *salomon* saith in his prouerbs, Folly is commonly tied to the heart of a child, but the chastisement of the rod riddeth him thereof; for the rod and correction giue wisdom. Correct thy child,

(saith

By what means a yoong prince is to be drawne to learning and vertue.

The rod, and correction giue wisdom.

(saith *Salomon*) and he will giue thee rest, yea and pleasure to thy heart. And in another place, Withhold not chastisement from thy child, (saith he) for if thou smite him with the rod, he shall not die: if thou smite him with the rod, thou deliuerest his soule from hell. Therefore it behoueth to giue him good instruction in his youth, that his nature may be reformed if it bee euill, or maintained if it be good. A certaine Philosopher being asked vpon a time, What was the cause that many princes begin well, and end ill? Princes, quoth he, begin well, because they bee of good disposition by nature; and they end ill, because no man gainsaith them. Whereof we cannot haue a better record than *Nero*, who behaued himselfe like a good prince so long as *Seneca* was about him: but as soone as *Seneca* was sequestred from him, by and by he gaue himselfe ouer to all vice, for no man gainsaied him, and his flatterers soothed him in all things that he said; which kind of people, princes ought to shun as the plague. And as *Plutarch* saith, Children must be kept farre from the company of euill persons, and especially of flatterers, for there is not a more pestilent kind of men, or that more corrupteth youth, marring and vndoing both the fathers and the children, making the old age of the one, and the young age of the other, most miserable, by offering to them in their wicked counsels, a bait that cannot be auoided, namely, Voluptuousnesse; wherwith they allure them. When the flatterers are driuen away from the young prince, the tutor must haue a carefull eye, that those which are giuen him to be his playfellowes, be well borne. For with the good thou shalt be good, and with the euill thou shalt be peruered. And aboue all things let young princes be accustomed to speake truth, and to hate lying, be it in earnest or in iest. For as *Plutarch* sayth, Lying is a flauish vice worthie to be hated of all men, and not to be pardoned euen in bondflaues, who haue least honestie. Ye see then that the profit which a young child that is a prince by birth, reapeth, by being vnder a tutor that flattereth him not, is, that by keeping company with young children that are vertuous, he shall learne to

Why many
princes begin
well and end
ill.

Children are
to be kept
from the
company of
flatterers.

The hating of
lies.

doe as they doe; and by his masters instruction he shall learne vertue, and therefore hauing chastisement and good bringing vp, and continuall exercise vnto vertue; it cannot be but he must hold himselfe to that education all his life after, and be worthie to commaund. But let him further assure himselfe, that nothing doth so much teach him, both to doe well and to rule well, as to haue obeyed. And surely the thing that troubleth most princes, and maketh them loath to take in good worth the good counsell that is giuen vnto them, is, that whereas their schoolmasters ought to commaund them, they haue obeyed them, and haue left them to do what they list at their pleasure. It is reported, that the thing which made *Agessilau* a perfect gouernor, was, that from his infancie he had learned to obey. By reason wherof, he could better skill than any other king, to apply himselfe to his subiects, & to beare himselfe vp-right among them, forso much as vnto the royall maiesty and stately behavior of a prince, (which he had learned of nature) he had added courtesie and familiaritie, which he had gotten by Education.

The best way
to learne rule
is first to obey

CHAP. VII.

*Of the end wherat a good Prince ought to aime
in this life.*



L men in this world doe chuse in this life some certaine vocation, some to earne their liuing, (as Tailors by making apparell, Shoomakers, by making Shoes, Maçons by building, and so forth of other handicrafts;) some for delight that they haue to do some seruice to the common-weale, and therby to purchase praise, as the Orators, Iudges, and Lawyers did in old time, and some for both together; as Phisitions. Some giue themselues to matters of state, and some to Chiuallrie, and euery man is desirous to excell in his own trade, that he may receiue the gaine thereof, which is, to see, say, and esteeme himselfe to be the cheefe of his profession.

Euery man is
desirous to be
the cheefe of
his professi-
on.

There

There is not so simple a painter, ingrauer, or caruer, which is not desirous to match *Polycletus, Lisippus, Appelles, Protogenes, Zeuxis, Phidias, Praxitiles*, and such others, because they see that such men haue bin esteemed in the world, and haue purchased fame by their cunning. This maketh them to take as great paines as they can, to find the means to attaine to the sayd perfection, and not to spare either labour or cost to learn. The Physition looketh incontinently to his marke, which is to heale the sicke man; the Surgion looketh to the well launcing of a wound; and as for to know the anotomie of a mans body, there is not that thing which he doth not: he vndertaketh to touch a dead corse, and to handle it, and to cut it in peeces, to see the cheefe parts, and to behold the veins, the muscles, the flesh-strings, and the knitters, to the end he may attaine to the full knowledge of his science. The end of the Orator is to plead well, and all his doings tend therevnto. He exerciseth himselfe in well pronouncing, and laboreth to haue a good gesture and countenance, as we read of *Gracchus* and other Orators, and especially of *Demosthenes*, who to frame himselfe to a good gesture, would resort into a Cabinet which he had purposely made in the ground to that end, where he abode two or three whole months, causing the one halfe of his head to be shauen off, that he might not for shame goe abroad in that plight. And to abate the impediment of his toung which was thicke, he amended it by putting little stones in his mouth, and by pronouncing some orations so with his mouth full. And to strengthen his voice, which was small and feeble, he vsed to run vp against rough hills, pronouncing some verses which he could by hearte. In old time wrestlers and sword-players tooke no care, but how they might harden themselues to indure trauell, dietting themselues thereafter, and absteyning from delicate fare, that they might obtaine the honor of one day. Euen so after their example, a good prince ought not to spare himselfe a whit, for the obteyning of a greater commendation than theirs, by making himselfe worthie of his charge. For it is a strange sight to see such a one com-

The pains
that *Demosthe-*
nes tooke to
become an
Orator.

maund, as ought to be commaunded, and can no skill how to gouerne folke; for it is all one, as if a man should see one made a Pilot of a ship, which can no skill at all of sayling. And therefore *David* willeth kings to learne, seing they be iudges of the earth,

The way to learning is to descend into a mans selfe.

Now to learne wel, a man must first descend into himselfe, as saith *Persius*, that is to say, he must examine and trie himselfe, that he may know himselfe. And of knowing a mans selfe, there are two sorts; the first consisteth in contemplation, when a man beholdeth his owne being as in a mirrour, that is to say; when he considereth what he is in very deed, that hee fall not into ignorance the mother of all euill. Now the very being of a man indeede, is his soule, whereunto the bodie belongeth, as a garment that is made for the bodie. Hardly therefore shall we discern what is ours, vnlesse we first know our selues. And most requisite is this contemplation for kings, who haue their soueraine authoritie from God. For it will make them both fortunat and wise in government, as well of houshold, as of publike state, as I will declare more at large hereafter.

The other kind of knowing a mans selfe, (as *Plato* in his *Philebus* hath right well noted) is, when hauing first considered the very man it selfe, which is the soule, we afterward also behold the shadow and figure thereof, that is to say, the bodie, with the goods and abilities which God hath distributed vnto vs in this world. For we cannot vndertake any goodly or great things, vnlesse the goods both of the body and of fortune, be aunswerable vnto the goods of the mind. And (as saith *Menander*) Thou knowest thy selfe if thou take heede to thy dealings, so as thou doest what thou oughtest to doe.

A prince ought to consider his owne abilitie.

Therefore it behoueth a prince to know his owne abilitie, and what he hath wherewith to make warre, whether it be in assailing or in defending. For whosoever should enterprise a warre without monie, might haue this saying veriefied of him, which *Quintius* the Romane captaine said of *Philopomen*,

men,

men, namely, that he had arms and legs, but wanted a bellie; meaning that he had store of men both on foot and on horsebacke, but he wanted money. And as it is to no purpose to haue men, without money, which is the sinewes of warre; so is it nothing worth to haue money, without men of warre.

Also we may say, that a king knowes himselfe, when he behaueth himselfe according to his degree, yeelding himselfe gentle and affable to all men, howbeit retaining that which belongeth to the maiesty of a king, least his ouer-great familiaritie ingender contempt. That was the cause why *Alexander* refused to runne at the gamings of *olimpus*, though he was esteemed one of the best runners in that assembly; answering his father (who had moued him to put forth himselfe into the lists to obtaine the honor of winning the reward of so honorable a wager) I would willingly doe your commandement, if I had kings or kings sons to run and wrestle with me: esteeming it an vnseemly thing for him, being the sonne of a great king, to meddle with such as were not his matches. For the king that abaseth himselfe too much, is counted to dishonour himselfe as much as he that is proud; like *Nero* who plaied the Wagoner, the Minstrel, and the Iester; for doing wherof he was so far off from being loued or esteemed, that he was rather hated and despised for it of all men.

Now then, after that a prince hath throughly viewed himselfe both within and without; he cannot but vnderstand what his charge is, the which consisteth in two things, namely in matters of peace, and in matters of warre; both which parts are so necessarie for him, that he cannot seperate the one from the other. For (as saith *Thucidides*) Peace is established by warre; neither is a man sure to be out of danger, when he is at rest and without warre. It is not inough then to haue good order for the gouerning of his country, vnlesse he also haue forces in a readinesse to succour his friends, to resist his enemies, and to subdue rebels. As touching ciuil gouernment, I will speake inough of it throughout all this discourse; and as touching the case of warre, I say that a prince ought to

A prince must be affable, retaining the maiestie of his person and state.

A prince ought to be a Warriour.

giue himselfe to chivalrie, as much as possibly he can, and that if he doe not so, he shall be subiect to contempt of his neighbours, and consequently be constrained to haue warre whether he will or no. Therefore it standeth him on hand to be a warrior himselfe, and to haue his people trained to the warres, and sometimes also to make warre that he may haue peace; and contrariwise in warre to mind peace. For as the Emperor *Traiane* said, God suffereth none to be vanquished in battell, but such as are enemies of peace. And we see by experience, that those which are eage in seeking warre, doe commonly worke their own ouerthrow, as *Pirrhus* did in old time, and as *Charles* duke of Burgoine did a little while ago. But if a prince be compelled to enter into warre, it behoueth him to let the world vnderstand, what skill and cunning he hath in feats of armes, and what delight he hath in repulsing wrongfull warre, whereinto hee must enter with a braue courage, vnastonied; as *Plutarch* writeth of *Sertorius*, whom he reporteth to haue beene meeld and gentle in matters of peace, and dreadfull in preparatiue of warre against his enemies. Wherefore a prince ought to demeane himselfe in such sort, that knowing the means how to carrie himselfe vpright in both the times, he may be disposed to warre if need require, and yet vse it but to the attainment of peace, which ought alwaies to be preferred, as rest is to be preferred before trauell. For some loue warre too much, and some againe doe shun it too much. In the one point *Marius* made default, and in the other *Persens*. For *Marius* being vnfit to liue in peace, as one that could no skill of ciuill affaires; sowed dissention the seed of warre without purpose. Inso much that when he was at Rome in peace, he had not the grace to entertaine men amiably, and to gather them to him by courtesie, for want of gifts and qualities requisit for ciuill affaires. By reason whereof, men made no further account of him, than of an old harnessse, or of a toole that was good for nothing else but only for warre. On the contrarie part, *Persens* suffered his state to goe to wracke for want of intending to

warre.

The enemies
of peace are
ouercome by
warre.

Warre must
not be made
but for to
establishe
peace.

warre-matters, and for that he loued better to keepe his money for the Romans, than to lay it out in waging men of war for his own defence. For he loued not war, nor defended himselfe but very sleightly; and therefore was he bereft of his kingdom, and vtterly spoiled of all his treasures.

Many other Princes haue falne from their estate, for want of giuing themselves to the warres; among which number, *Sardanapalus* and *Childerike* may serue vs for example. The thing that made *Vindex* and *Galba* to conspire against *Nero*, was the contempt which they had of him, for his giuing of himselfe wholly ouer vnto voluptuousnesse, and for his despising of the exercise of warre.

Pepin durst not to haue set his princes diademe vpon his owne head, if *Childerike* had loued armes as well as he. But for as much as *Pepin* had weapon in hand, and men of warre at his deuotion, and whatsoeuer else was requisit for a good captain,

it was an easie matter for him to bring his enterprise to passe. *Francis Sfortia* by his valiancie in armes, rose from a simple souldier to be duke of Millan; and the children of princes and dukes, haue become meane gentlemen. Men of warre do ordinarily follow those whome they loue and esteeme, admiring good and valeant captains, and contrariwise despising those that loue not chiuallrie. And therevpon it commeth to passe, that the prince which knoweth his neighbour to be vnfit for warre, and vnprouided of sufficient force to withstand him, doth easily set forth into the field to ouercome him, and commonly he carrieth away the victorie. For it is no reason that the man which is well armed, should obey him that is vnarmed. My intent is not to inferre hereupon, that a prince should make warre without cause, or imagine that he ought not to enter, but by force of arms. For as *Cicero* sayth in his booke of Duties, a prince ought neuer to resort to weapon, but when no reason can otherwise be had, or when he is to defend himself, which is the law of nature.

For as for him that maketh warre vnder pretence of some smal profit, he is like to him, who (as *Augustus* sauid) doth angle with

Kings haue
lost their
states, for
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plying them-
selues to the
warres.

Captains des-
pise them
that loue not
chiuallrie.

It is no rea-
son that the
man that is
well armed
should yeeld
to him that is
vnarmed.

with a hooke of gold, the losse whereof is greater than the gaine of the fish that is to be caught, can be woorth. Therefore a prince ought, not to make war without aduisement; but yet must he put himselfe alwaies in a readinesse, if hee should chauce to be enforced thereto. For if war be not foreseene and well provided for, with men and armour, it worketh small effect in time of need.

The things that are to be done in war, are to be learned afore-hād at leisure.

Princes must inure themselves & their subjects to the exercise of arms,

A man of warre (saith *Cassiodorus*) must learne aforehand the things which he hath to do when war commeth. And as *Xenophon* saith in his Education of king *Cyrus*, It is no time for a prince to make his prouision, when necessitie is come vpon him; but he must lay for his matters afore-hand, afore necessitie come. Now, that he may be the readier in all things, and especially in men of warre; it behoueth him to haue a good number of men well trained aforehand, after the manner that the Macedonians had their Siluer-shields, the Romans their Legionaries, the Souldans of *Ægypt* their Manielukes, the Turks their Ianillaries, *Francis* and *Henrie*, kings of France, the old bands of Piemount, and the emperor *Charles* the fift the Spaniards. Besides this, a prince ought to inure himselfe and his subiects together, to all exercises of armes; as to run well with a lawnce, to mount on horseback handsomly, and to manage him cunningly, to traile the pike, to shoote in long-bow, crosse-bow, and gun, to vault, to leape, to wrestle, and to handle all manner of weapons, so as they may serue their turne in time and place.

For such things do not only procure skilfulnesse, but also make mens bodies the more strong and nimble, and the better able to endure trauell. And therefore the Romanes could well skill to practise them in a certaine place which was called Mars his field, where all such exercises were put in vre.

Whether the common people be to bee trained to the wars, or no.

I know well, that among them that haue the managing of the state in France, it is held for an heresie to say, that the common people are to be trained to the warres; but I find the reasons of *Seijsell*, and *William Bellay* to bee of more force,

then

than the reasons that are commonly alleaged to the contrarie; specially in France, where the king behaving himselfe as a king, is honoured, feared, and beloved.

And we may see plainly, that this people, as vnttrained as they be, are so well fleshed one against another, that they forbear not to enter into armes, to their owne destruction, and call in strangers to finish this worke, and that with so great losse, that it were much more for the behoofe of the realme, that they themselues were better trained to warre, and more inured to it long afore-hand, that they might forbear the strangers.

For if it should happen the king to loose one battell in his realme, he should find what a hinderance it would bee vnto him, that he were not able to make vp his army againe, otherwise than of strangers.

It is well knowne in what danger the Carthaginenses fell oftentimes, by reason of strangers, who meant to haue overthrowne their state, by rebelling against them; and that if the Carthaginenses themselues had bene trained to the warres, *Scipio* had not defeated them so easily as hee did, no more than it lay in the power of *Pyrrhus* to defeat the Romanes. For when hee had overcome them in two battells, hee sayd, he had bene vndone, if he had had one other battell more to win of the like price; considering that his men were so greatly diminished by those battails, that hee grew vveake, cuen to the view of the eye, because he had no meane to make vp his armie againe with other men; whereas on the contrarie part, the Romanes did easily supplie their armie with new souldiers, whome they caused to come from their citie when need was, as from a quicke spring, whereof they had the head in their own house.

The Switzers & Almaines being called into Italy, one while by the Pope and Italians, and otherwhile by the Frenchmen, ouermastred those that waged thē, & through their wilfulness made them to lose the whole cuntry in short space, by their

returning home, or by their fighting; against the will of the Generall of the host.

There is yet one other kind of exercise which serueth greatly to the state of souldierfare; for it inureth the body to paine, and therewithall acquainteth men with the natures and scituations of places, which is profitable two waies: first, men learn thereby to know their own countrie, and by that mean to discern the platforme of any other place that differeth not from it; for the knowledge of one countrie, is a great furtherance to the practise of another. *Plutarch* writeth, that when *Sertorius* found any leisure, he rode continually a hunting, and coursed vp and downe the fields, whereby he got great experience and furtherance in skill, to shift himselfe handsomly and readily from shrewd passages, when he was pressed by his enemies: and on the other side, to enclose them when hee had the advantage of them, and to discern where a man might passe away, and where not.

A profitable
discourse con-
cerning *Phi-*
lopaemen.

Philopemen prince of Athens, during the times that he had peace, did set his mind wholly vpon such means as it behoued him to vse in time of war, propounding to his friends as hee trauelled on the way, by what means he might assaile his enemies if they were incamped neere hand thereabouts, and in what order he were to pursue or to retyre. And in deuising after this manner, he heard their opinion, and told them his, setting downe all the accidents that could happen in a campe; by means whereof, he attained to a certaine resolutnesse and readinesse in feats of warre. Likewise Bookes doe woonderfull seruice to a prince in that behalfe, as shall be sayd in another place.

And in any wise he must propose to himselfe some excellent personage, as a paterne to follow; after which maner *Alexander* proposed *Achilles* for his paterne; *Iulius Caesar* proposed *Alexander*; and *Scipio* proposed *Cyrus*. To conclude, a prince must vnderstand ciuil affairs, that he may doe euery man right, and keepe the weaker fort from being troden vnder foot by the mightier. And he must haue skill in martiall deeds,

that

that he may defend his people from strangers, and maintaine his own estate.

CHAP. VIII.

What is requisit in a Prince to make him happie.



Or as much as I haue begun to shew the end whereat a Prince should aime, it behoueth me to prosecute this end to perfection, and to make the Prince happie whom we treat of. For commonly all our actions tend vnto blessednesse and felicitie, which is the ground and foundation of all good things, and is set afore vs for a crowne and reward of our hope, as saith *S. Iohn Chrysostome* vpon the first Psalm of *Dauid*. Neuertheless, in seeking this happinesse we be often beguiled, taking those to be happie, which indeed are unhappie, for want of knowing wherein that blessed felicitie consisteth. Wherein I mind not to follow the Diuines, which place the soueraigne good, and likewise the cheefe euill, without the compasse of this life; because this life is turmoiled with so many mischiefs, that it is not possible to find the soueraigne good in this world, and to attaine vnto the true felicitie by our own industrie and diligence. For, as the Psalmist sayth, The thoughts of men are vaine; and so doth also *S. Austine* teach vs, in his 19 booke of the citie of God, where he disputeth against all the Philosophers of old time, which placed the soueraigne good either in the soule, or in the body, or in both together; in pleasure, or in vertue, or in both together; concluding, That the euerlasting life is the soueraigne good, and the euerlasting death the soueraigne euill; for the auoiding of the one whereof, and for the obtaining of the other, it behoueth vs to liue wel, and by faith to seeke the soueraigne Good, which we cannot see now, but we liue in hope to see it hereafter.

What the soueraigne good is.

Now

Wherin the
happinesse of
princes may
consist.

Now then, for the present time we will omit the true and only perfect blessednesse, and rest vpon the worldly happinesse, seeking that which is most beautifull, most acceptable, and most happie in this world, which thing some doe place in pleasure, some in profit, and some in both together. For as the Poet saith, That man hath attained to full perfection, which matcheth pleasure with profit. But the matter is to know, what is pleasure and what is profit, and by what means a man may attaine to it, that it may become sound, substantiall, and durable. So soone as a kingdome is false to a prince by Succession or Election, by and by he is counted happie, because he is honored and followed of all men, and may doe his pleasure with his seruants, and take his pleasure of them as much as he can wish.

In old time, *Cressus* seing himselfe peaceably possessed of a goodly rich kingdome, plentifully stored with gold and siluer, which he tooke out of *Pactolus*, a riuer of *Lidia*, gazed vpon himselfe in his fortunatenesse and great riches; and hauing inuited thither *Solon*, one of the seuen sages of *Greece*, demanded of him, if euer he had seene a more happie prince. But *Solon* making no reckoning of his riches, preferred before him an Athenian named, *Tellus*; and in the end told him, That no man could be esteemed happy in deed afore he were dead; because that in this life many mishaps come vpon vs, which disturb our ease, welfare, and quietnesse. And so befell it to that king, for he was taken by *Cyrus*, and lost his kingdome, and was put in danger of being burned quicke.

To become
happy, we
must seeke
perfection.

This sheweth vs sufficiently, that we cannot stay our selues vpon such maner of blessednesse, seing it accompanieth vs not any longer than while we be in this life. And therefore we must seeke it further off. All such as haue writtē of blessednesse, say, That to be happie we must seeke perfection. For no man can be termed happy, vnlesse he haue thoroughly attained to the full measure of all good fortune & blessednesse. And perfection as saith *Aristotle* is the thing that is taken & chose for the good that is therein, & not for any other thing; for albeit that
the

the desire which we haue to be honored, and to be of a good mind, and to haue vertue it selfe, be things worthie to be desired without any other stay, yet our wishing of them is chiefly for that we thinke we shall by means of them become happy. And so blessednesse and felicitie lie in all actions that are vertuous. Therefore to attaine therunto, it behoueth a man to be vertuous. Moreouer I say, that in this world there are three kinds of goods, which make vs well contented and happy: The one sort commeth of fortune, as to be rich or honorable; another sort is of those which we terme the goods of the body, as beautie, strength, health, and actiuitie. And the third sort is of those which we call the goods of the mind, as sciences and vertues. As touching the goods of fortune; for as much as they easily admit change, and we see ordinarilie how rich men become poore, and poore men rich; the happy and blessed state cannot be in them. Besides that, it falleth out oftentimes, that the richest and greatest lords are neither well contented, nor well at ease. Likewise the goods of the body cannot make vs happy. For what is a man the better for being faire and in good health, if he be a beggar or a vicious person? Therefore it is to be concluded, that forasmuch as the mind is more excellent than the body and all worldly goods, the blessed state consisteth in the goods of the mind: that is to wit, in knowledge and vertue; which neuer forsaking vs, doe yeeld vs continuall pleasure and contentment. In respect wherof, *Aristophanes* said, That riches without vertue, yeelded as much pleasure, as a banquet without any body at it. *Demetrius* hauing taken *Megara*, demaunded of *Scilpon* the Philosopher, whether his men of warre had taken any thing of his away or no? and *Scilpon* answered him no: for no man hath bereft me of my knowledg. *Bias* one of the sages of Greece, made the like answere when he was demaunded, Why he carried not away his goods, as other of his citizens did at their fleeing out of the citie then newlie taken? I carrie all my goods with me, quoth he, meaning his knowledg and vertue, wherein he thought all his welfare to consist. *Aristippus* hauing lost

Felicitie lieth
in all vertuous
actions.

Riches without
vertue be
like a feast
without any
man to eat it.

all that he had by ship-wrackle, and being cast vpon the coast of the Rhodes by a tempest, after he had disputed with- in the schooles of Philosophie there, was forthwith plentifully rewarded with great store of presents by the Rhodians, and set againe in very good furniture. And because he determined to abide among them, he said vnto his friends that returned home, that he could not tell how to doe better, than to bestow such things vpon their children, as might purchase them possessions that might be saued with their persons, if they escaped shipwracke. Meaning, to gather therevpon, that the true riches of this life; are those which neither the contrarie blasts of fortune, nor the change of estate, nor warres can appaire. Also *Socrates* being asked by *Gorgius*, what opinion he had of the great-king, (that was a title which they gaue to the king of Persia) and whether he thought him not to be very happie: answered, I know not how he is provided of knowledge and vertue; meaning, that the true felicitie consisteth in those two things, and not in the sightfull goods of fortune. Hereby ye may vnderstand, that that prince is right happie, which hath his mind well instructed and well giuen to al vertue. For of knowledge and vertue, spring sobrietie and wisdom; and wisdom findeth the way to gouerne well his kingdome, of which government ensueth both pleasure and profit, as shall easily appaire hereafter.

Which are
the true ri-
ches.

Of profit.

And first of all I will speake of Profit as of the lesser; and afterward I will come to Pleasure. Many doe deeme this profit to consist in the enlarging of a mans lordship or dominion, by seazing vpon the next cities, or by laying an impost by the prince vpon all sorts of impostes. But the things that are gotten by euill means cannot be called Profit. As touching the incroching vpon neighbours, it is not easily to be done, if they be of any power; and oftentimes the sauce costeth more than the meat is worth. And to take more than ordinarie of the subiects, or more than the agreement made by oath betweene him and his people will beare, cannot be done with honor. Besides that the impouertising of his subiects is the
impouertising

impouerishing of himfelfe, becaufe his treasure is in their goods ; yea, and in the end, for all his exacting, he findeth himfelfe no more eafed, than thofe that content themfelues with the meane. *Nero, Domitian, Caligula*, and other wicked Emperors, found not themfelues any whit the richer for all the charges that they laid vpon their people, neither gained they any thing by it but infamie, with losse both of life and Empire. On the contrarie part, *Traian, Antonine*, and other good emperors, liued in honor and loue of their fubieets, left behind them immortall praife, and got more reputation than thofe monfters of mankind. Thofe good princes loued their people, and kept themfelues well from incroching vpon their neighbours ; and yet they could well skill how to chaftife them, when they durft enterprife any warre againft them. Albeit that *Augustus* was the happieft prince of all the world ; yet would he not make any warre, or put his fortune in triall all his life long. For after he had once obtained to fit in peace, he bufied not his head about the getting of one foot of land more, mocking at great *Alexander*, whom it greued to confider what he fhould doe, when he had conquered the whole world ; as who would fay, there were not as much paine or more in the well keeping of things, as is in the getting of them. King *Pirrhus* got inough, but he loft as faft as got ; and his couetoufneffe was not fo ftrong and gaping after the things that he hoped for, as he was forgetfull to fet fure guard vpon that which he had gotten. In refpect whereof, *Antigonus* likened him to a plaiet at dice, whom the dice fauored verie much, but he could no skill to make his hand of his good chauce.

The good husbandric that *Augustus* and other good emperors vied, was to entertaine men of warre, to pay them well their wages, to make them obferue the law of arms, to doe iuftice to the people, to eafe them of their fubfidies & impositions, and to beautifie the citie of Rome with temples & goodly buildings. The wife king of France did the like, amog whom by the common voice of the people, *Lewis* the eleuenth did

beare away the bel, as who by the common consent of al men was called, The father of the people. The great warres which he had in Italy for his duchie of Millan, could not make him to ouercharge his people; he demaunded not any subsidies of them, to enrich perticular persons; he encreaced not his tallages for all the warres he had; to be short, he esteemed not any riches, or any conquest to be greater, than to win the good will of his subiects, and to see them rich: whereby he left a wonderfull treasure to his successor, wherwith he could wel helpe himselfe in his affairs. Thus ye see wherein consisteth a princes profit, namely, in keeping and defending well his lands and subiects, and sometime in enlarging his bounds, when hee is driuent to enter into armes for his owne defence. Wherein if there be profit, surely there is also no lesse pleasure. For the commendation that is gotten by well gouerning, doth wonderfully content a noble-minded prince; whereof I am now to speake, as of the thing that most rauisheth our minds, and draweth vs most vnto it. I wil not speake here after the maner of the Stoiks, who hauing no regard to our maner of speech, vphold by many good reasons, that the thing which is good, is faire; and that the thing which is euill, is foule; and that there is not any other good, or any other pleasure, than vertue, which of it selfe alone sufficeth to the making of a happie life, as *Cicero* hath proued in his Paradoxes. But I will speake after the maner of the Academiks, who vnto the goods of the mind haue added the goods of the body and of fortune, as helpes to lead a happie life.

But all the difficultie is to find this pleasure. For the couetous man deemeth it a great pleasure, to be shut vp alone in a chamber with a great heape of monie. The ambitious esteemeth it a great pleasure, to haue a great traine of men following him. Another thinks it a pleasure to sit at banquets, laughing incessantly, and making good cheare. To be short, euery man measureth this pleasure after his owne fancie; howbeit that that vvhich is pleasure to some, is displeasure to other some.

And that is, because this pleasure proceedeth not from the fountaine of vertue, but from the well of voluptuousnesse, which ingendrèth deceitfull lusts in vs, after the manner of such as haue the hungry disease, and the consumption, who are alwaies hungry by reason of a certaine sharpe and biting humour, which causeth hunger, and an vnordinate appetite. And like as some women, when they be with child, delight to eat naughtie meats, euen so the diseased mind, by reason of the voluptuous humour that is therein, seeketh the things that are noisome to it, and whereof they be soone wearie. Insomuch that whosoever looketh neerly into the matter, shall find that the things which are commonly esteemed for pleasure, doe oftentimes turne to displeasure. This caused *Plato* to say, that we must behold pleasure, not at hir comming towards vs, but at hir going away from vs. For when we looke vpon hir at hir first comming in sight, nothing is so beautifull; but at hir going away, shee is as foule and loathsome to behold as is possible.

Pleasure is to be considered by hir going away.

And as *Varia Mefa* said vnto the emperor *Heliogabalus*, Naturally vice delighteth the body when it is in committing; but by and by after ensueth repentance in the necke of it. But as for vertue, besides that it displeaseth not the bodie, it leaueth alwaies a good tast and contentment behind it, which endureth perpetually. And how much soever a prince would plunge himselfe in all manner of worldly pleasure, he could not haue the aduantage thereof, so much as a subiect of his that were of some meane wealth. For such a one may haue as great pleasure as a king, in eating and drinking, in apparell and lodging for his owne person, in hunting at his pleasure, in musicke, and in all other delights.

Againe, because a prince hath greater conceits than a common person, hee taketh no great pleasure in such things, but serueth his turne with them as we doe with sleepe, to refresh and recreat his spirits, that haue bene ouerstrained in matters of state, and for that cause hee laugheth, hee plaieth, he daunceth. But if he should bee demaunded vwherein

The dutie of Magistrats.

he taketh most pleasure; I belecue he would answer with *Alexander*, That he could not find a finer song or a pleasanter musicke, than to heare the singing of his owne praises; nor haue a more goodly exercise or a more delightfull pastime, than to gouerne his kingdome well: and as *Plutarke* sayth in histreatise intituled, Whether an old foreworne man ought to deale in matters of a common-weale: let vs graunt to *Xenophon* that there is not a sweeter thing, than to heare a mans owne praises.

The pleasure that commeth of the beholding of the things that are done in a Common-weale.

A good name is a sweet sent or fauor.

But in my iudgement, there is no present sight, no memorie of things past, no delightfull conceit, that yeeldeth so great pleasure, as the contemplation of the things that are done in a publick-weale, as in an open spectacle. The pleasure then of euery gentlemanly heart, and especially of a prince, tēdeth to honor, to glory, to reputation, that his name may be spread abroad with renoune ouer all the earth, and that he may be esteemed wise and vertuous. And to shew that the pleasure of a good renoune passeth all other things, *Salomon* saith, That a good name excelleth all the precious ointments in the world. And in other places, the holy scriptures termeth a good name a sweet sent or fauor; as who would say, there were not a sweeter or pleasanter thing in the world than that.

The wise saying of king Ferdinand.

As touching the report to be a good warrior, it cannot be common to all, because it dependeth vpon fortune, and is gotten oft times by doing wrong. But as for the renoune of being vertuous, the more certaine and rare it is, the more also is it to be sought. Euery man cannot haue the good fortune of *Sylla* and of *Augustus*, nor be a conqueror as was *Alexander*, but euery man may be vertuous, that will take paine to attaine vnto it. *Ferdinand* king of Naples, was wont to say, That to be a king, is a thing that most commonly dependeth vpon Fortune; but to be such a king as may be reported in all respects to be the welfare and felicitie of his people, that dependeth alonly vpon himselfe, and vpon his owne vertue. *Plutarch* saith, that *Lucullus* did more esteeme & desire the praises that proceeded of goodnesse, iustice, and clemēcie, than the praises that sprang and

and proceeded of hault and great deeds of chiuallrie; because that in these, his armie had one part, and fortune had another part, as well as he; but the other were peculiar to himselfe alone.

Againe, in them he receiued the fruit he had deserued, so winning the hearts of his enemies by his behauior, that many of them did willingly put themselves and all their goods into his hands. We see how *Alexander* was curious in procuring himselfe that report; and that all princes both good and bad without exception, couet the reputation of good and vertuous men; but the euill princes cannot obtaine it, because they be not the same that they would be taken to be, whereas the meane to attaine to perfect praise, is (as *Socrates* saith) to be such a one in deed, as a man would be esteemed to be. And *Antisthenes* saith, there is but one way to attaine to immortal fame, and that is to liue vprightly and religiously. For how faire a face soeuer a man setteth vpon the matter; in the end he is discouered, and nothing is so hidden which shall not be laid open. And like as a Phisition is not the more esteemed for being a doctor in phisicke, if he haue no skill in phisicke, nor an Aduocate for his doctorship in the law, if he want knowledge, experience, and practise in the law: euen so it is not to be thought, that a prince can be had in estimation if he be not a good man, and such a one as endeuoreth to rule his people well. For if a prince be not the same that he would seeme to be, it is all one (as *Cirus* said to *Cambyses* his sonne) as if one being no good Tilman, no good Phisition, no good Musition, nor skilfull in any other art or trade, will neuertheless needs seeme to be such a one. For besides the paine that he shall procure to himselfe, in practising with his friends to giue him commendation and renoune, and in prouiding the instruments fit for euerie of these Arts; he may perchance deceiue the world for a time; but in the end when he commeth to the prooffe of his skill, he shall be laughed to skorne as an ignorant boaster. *Nero* and *Tiberius* were counted vertuous princes in the beginning of their raigns: but in the end, they were

All princes are zealous of their honor.

Men must be such as they would seeme to be.

taken for vnkindly monsters, wicked, and vnworthie to be had in remembrance among men. Wherefore if a prince will haue pleasure, it behoueth him to be vertuous; for otherwise he will loose his pleasure, that is to say, his honor, wherof he is so zealous, and which is preferred by *Salomon* before all the things in the world. There is store inough of euill princes, which haue intituled themselues Fathers of the people, good, vertuous, and such other like, and which haue caused those stiles of theirs to be grauen in stone and brasse, against whom their people taking iust displeasure, haue neuerthelesse defaced those titles of theirs: but the memorie of their wicked dealings haue abidden ingraued in the hearts of their posteritie. On the contrarie part, such as were good men, haue not only bene esteemed, but also worshipped as Gods, as *The few*, *Hercules* and others. In somuch that *Plinie* saith, That the God of men is a helper of men, and that to doe good vnto men, is the way to attaine to endlesse glorie, the which way the greatest personages of Rome walked; and that the name of the other Gods came of the deserts of men. And afore him, *Cicero* in his first booke of the nature of Gods saith, that because much good and much hurt commeth of man vnto man; and it is the propertie of God to doe good: therefore if a man doe vs any good, or rid vs out of any great danger; because in so doing he resembleth God, he is commonly said to haue bene a God vnto him whom he hath so gratified: and he concludeth, that the very beasts were canonised for the pleasures that they had done vnto men; as for example, the *Ægyptians* worshipped the Storke, and diuers other birds and beasts. And *Iuuenall* esteemeth a benefactor as a God, saying; If some God, or some like vnto God, or some man better than the Gods, should giue thee a thing. Likewise the Shepheard in the Eglogues of *Virgil*, maketh *Augustus* a God, because he gaue him leaue to feed his cattell where he would. In the same respect, the oath which the Scythians made by the wind and the sword, was as great among them, as if they had sworne by God; because the wind giueth breath to liue by, and the sword

A doer of
good to o-
thers, is este-
med as a God.

sword cutteth off life. And to shew that nothing pleaseth a gentlemanly heart so much as praise. Let vs consider what *Themistocles* did to attaine therunto. Aforetime he had bin vicious, and had no care either of vertue or of feats of arms. But when once he had heard the praise that was giuen to *Miltiades* for the battell of Marathon; he neuer ceased after vntill he became the chiefe of all Athens. And one day, when his companions asked him, What had so altered him, and what had made him so vigilant? he answered, That the Ensignes of *Miltiades* victorie, suffered him not to sleepe or take rest. Afterward being himselfe at the gamings of *olimpus*, when all the standers by did cast their looks vpon him, without regarding to behold the companions, and pointed him out with their fingers vnto strangers; he was so glad of it, that he confessed to his friends, that at that time he receiued the fruit of all the great trauels which hee had endured for Greece. *Iulius Caesar* wept at the image of *Alexander*, finding fault with himselfe that he had not done any thing worthie of memorie, being come to the age wherein *Alexander* had conquered the whole world. And *Alexander* deemed *Achilles* right happie, in that he had such a Poet as *Homer* to register his praises.

Thus you see how the pleasure of princes consisteth wholly in honor and reputation; the which cannot be acquired, whether it be in ciuil matters, or in matters of warre, but only by vertue. Which thing *Marcellus* intending to make knowne to posterities, builded in Rome a temple to Honour, hard by the temple of Vertue; and he made it in such sort, as men could not come into it, but through the temple of Vertue; doing men to vnderstand, that honour and reputation cannot be acquired, but by vertue.

The pleasure of princes consisteth in honor.

Therefore we must conclude that a prince can haue no sound and substantiall pleasure, if he be not vertuous. And (as saith *Philo* the Jew in his Allegories) Paradise is (by a figure) called Vertue, and the place proper to Paradise, is called Eden; which signifieth pleasure. For

ioy and peace, being the things wherein the true pleasure consisteth, agree very well vnto vertue.

CHAP. IX.

Of Vertue.



Et vs speake now of Vertue, as of the thing that is most fit and befeeming for a prince, and wherein he becommeth most like vnto God. For as for those foolish emperors, which to resemble *Iupiter*, made themselves to be painted with thunder & lightning in their hands: they were not esteemed for all that, but rather mocked of the world, and made abhominable vnto God.

For as saith *Plutarch* in his booke of the Education of princes, God is angrie with those that imitate and counterfeit him, in following his lightnings and thunders; but he loveth well such as conforme themselves to his likenesse in humanitie and honest dealing, by imitating his Vertue. And such are his elect, to whom he imparteth of his vprightnesse, of his iustice, of his truth, and of his meeknesse, than the which there is not any thing more diuine. For God is not so much happie for his immortalitie, as for that he is the prince of all Vertue.

Aristotle in his Morals saith, That Vertue is an habit of the mind, wherby a man becommeth good, and doth his dutie; the contrarie whereunto is vice. So that to eschew vice, is to be vertuous; or els we may say, that Vertue is an habit or hauing of the thing that is befeeming and of dutie to be done. *Cicero* saith in his Tusculane questions, That Vertue is a certaine constant affection or disposition of mind, which maketh the possessors thereof to be praised, from whence proceed all honest deeds, and determinations. And in his booke of lawes, he

hee saith, That Vertue is the very perfection of nature. With him also accordeth S. *Ambrose*, in his third chapter concerning faith, following a principle of the Pithagorians, who hold opinion that all things are perfect by the vertue of their owne nature: as for example, the vertue of a horse is that which setteth him in his perfection; the vertue of eyes, is the good sight of them; the vertue or perfection of the nature of feet, is to go well and lightly. There are three things whereby vertue is perfected, Skill, Power, and Will. Skill serueth for contēplation and iudgement, out of the which springeth discretion; Power is a strength whereby we stand fast in our purpose of well-doing. And Will is as it were, the hand of the soule, whereby we take in hand the thing that we intend to doe.

Some diuide vertue into two parts, that is to wit, Contemplatiue, and Morall; we call that vertue Contemplatiue, which consisteth in well vnderstanding, and well considering, that is to say, in the inward minding and reasoning, whereout springeth discretion and wisdom. And we call those vertues morall, which belong to manners, and not alonely to vnderstanding. As for example, when we speake of the manners of some man, we say not that he is wise, but that he is meeld, liberall, and kind-hearted.

A diuision of
Vertue.

For Wisdom is a certaine hauior of vertue, which consisteth in the wit and vnderstanding; but Temperance belongeth to a mans actions and manners, and in respect thereof wee terme it Morall. *Philo* the Jew saith in his Allegories, that vertue is Contemplatiue, and Actiue; because it vseth contemplation by the discourse of reason, and therewithall hath actions also. For Vertue is the Art of our whole life, containing all actions.

Vertue is the
Art of al our
whole life.

That is the cause why *Moses* sayth, that the Tree of life which betokeneth the generall Vertue, which we call Goodnesse, is faire to see too; whereby is signified, the Contemplation: and that the fruit thereof is good to eat, whereby is betokened the vse, and action.

Others

Two sorts of
Appetites.

Others make foure principal vertues, the which they terme Cardinall, vnder which, all other vertues are comprehended: namely, Wisedome, which teacheth what is to be done; Hardinesse, or Valeantnesse, which teacheth what is to be indured; Temperance, which teacheth what is to be chosen; and Iustice, which teacheth what is to be yeelded vnto euery man. Other some do lodge wisdome in the vnderstanding and the wit; Iustice, in the will; Hardines in that part of the mind which conceiueth anger; and Temperance, in the lust of the sensitiue appetite. And for the better vnderstanding hereof, ye must consider that we haue two sorts of appetits, the one, of the mind, the other of the sence. The mindly appetite followeth the conceit of the vnderstanding; the sensitiue followeth the conceit of the sence. This sensitiue is diuided againe into two, that is to say, Lustfull, and Irefull. We call that the Lustfull, whereby we shun the things that mislike vs, and follow the things that are delectable. And by the Irefull we assaile the things that may disappoint vs of the foresayd good, and of the foresaid pleasure. As for example, a lion by his lustfull appetit, runneth after his prey, as a thing pleasaunt vnto him; and by his Irefull appetit, he assaileth such as go about to disappoint him thereof. So that the lustfull appetit tendeth to rest and pleasure; and the yrefull tendeth to a harder point, namely, to resist euill, and whatsoeuer else annoieth vs. There are others which diuide all vertues into three. For Vertue doth either direct reason aright, and is altogether grounded therupon, and that we call Wisedome: or else it is the effecter and bringer to passe of good reason, and is grounded in willingnesse, to doe that which is wisely set downe in conceit, and that is it which we call Iustice: or else it maintaineth the good vpon good reason, and that is the vertue which we affirme to consist in the sensitiue appetite. And out of this vertue proceed Hardinesse, and Temperance, two cardinall & principal vertues; & moreouer, Magnanimitie, Liberalitie, Magnificence, Soothfastnes, Mildnes, Meeknes, & Affabilitie. *Philo* the Jew doth likewise diuide Vertue into three parts, according to the three parts of

Of the reasonable, Irefull, and Lustful parts of the soule.

our soule ; namely, Reasonable, Irefull, and Lustfull. The first Vertue is that which sheweth it selfe in the chiefe part of the soule, that is to say, in the reasonable part, which Vertue we call wisdom. The second is, the force or strength that lodgeth in the second part of the soule, namely in the Irefull. The third is Temperance or Staiednesse, which is imployed about the Lustfull power. And when these three are of one accord, then doth Iustice or Rightfulnesse shew it selfe. For when the Irefull and the Lustfull obey the commaundement of the Reasonable ; then doth Rightfulnesse vtter the fruit of that accord & harmonic. *Aristotle* saith, that Vertue is a meane, & as a white in the middest of a butte, wherat all men ought to leuel, and whosoever swarueth neuer so little from it one way or other, misseth his mark. And as it is far more hard to hit the white, than to goe round about it, so is it more hard to be vertuous, than to be vitious. Vice is infinit, and therefore hath not any meane. Contrariwise, Vertue hath hir bounds, which cannot be passed, but into vice. Let vs for example take Hardines, which is a meane betweene Fearfulnesse & Ouer-boldnesse, of which two this latter is the excesse of boldnesse, in offering a mans selfe to danger, and the other is the default or want of boldnesse in the same case, when Boldnesse is requisit or expedient. And therefore he that through ouer-great Boldnesse thrusteth himselfe into dangers vnadvisedly, and rusheth into them like a wild Boare, cannot be deemed hardie or valiant, but rather rash ; and he that through Fearfulnesse dareth not shew his head before his enemy, is accounted a Coward. The measurable meane in giuing & taking, is called Liberalitie, the excesse wherof in taking is Couetousnesse, and the excesse in giuing is Prodigalitie, & the meane between them cannot be in the vice. For too much or too little cannot make vice to be Vertue. As for example, a theefe or a murderer faile not to sin, for stealing or murdering too much or too little. Whosoever is a theefe, a murderer, or an adulterer, in what sort soeuer it be, he doth alwaies sin ; and because a man may sin many waies, it is easier to sin than to doe well.

Vertue hath
hir bounds:
but vice is in-
finit.

Why the way
of Vertue is
not fo large as
the way of
Vice.

God felleth
his benefits
vnto men for
trauell.

Let vs ad that which *Philo* fayth in his Allegories, that the thing which is good, is rare, and the things which are euill, be rife; in fo much that for one wife man, you shall find an infinit multitude of fooles. Furthermore, to attain vnto Vertue, there needeth but reason: but to the compassing of vice, men apply mind, sence, and body: and we see that the way of vice is the larger and easier. And in that respect, doth *Hesiodus* say, that the first enterance into the way whereby men ascend vnto vertue, is rough, comberfom, and steepe, but very smooth and easie, when a man hath ouerpast the little crabbednesse that was at the first entrie of the way. But the hardnesse thereof must not discourage a man; for it is a generall rule, that (as the Greeke Prouerbe sayth) The attainment of all goodly things is painfull; because (as *Epicharmus* sayth) God felleth his benefits vnto vs for pains and trauell, according to the first curse that God gaue vnto man, namely, that he should eat his bread in the sweat of his browes.

And as *Synesius* saith, It is peculiar to the Godhead to compass any great matter without pains-taking. But among men, not only the vertues, but also euery other excellent thing, is gotten with the sweat of the body. Truth it is, that in all great things nature hath purposed a certaine difficultie, so as the partie that will liue happily, must needs take pains. For as *Sophocles* sayth, a man cannot haue the thing that is great and excellent, without paine; for without that, the noble captains had neuer obtained the fame which is dispersed of them through the whole world. To attaine vnto that, *Hannibal* forwent an eye, lay oft vpon the hard ground, watched infinit times when others slept, and endured hunger and thirst with great cheerefulness. *Pyrrhus*, *Alexander*, *Iulius Caesar*, *Epaminondas*, *Themistocles*, *Alcibiades*, and all the noble captains that euer were, haue done the like.

A Poet maketh not a good verse, nor an Orator a good oration, without paine. And seeing it is so, that God hath made all goodly things rare, we should not spare our pains to acquire the thing which of all others is most beautifull. Surely a prince ought:

ought most specially to doe it; assuring himselfe that it is the thing wherein he most resembleth God. For as touching a princes strength and power, it is nothing in comparifon of the power of fire, or of the sea, or of a streame, against the which nothing is able to stand. And although he haue all our liues in his hand; yet doe we not esteeme him so much for that, as for his righteousnes and goodnes, after the maner of the men of old time, which called God first, most Gracious, and secondly most High and most mightie. For Gods gracious goodnesse is the cause that men loue him, honor him, and worship him: and his power is the cause that men feare him; and so they made vertue to goe alwaies before might and power. And this word, Good, was in so great estimatiō with our Lord Iesus Christ, that he would not haue so glorious a title vsurped of men, affirming that there was none good but the one only God.

Men esteeme
not princes
but for their
goodnesse.

Plutarch saith in the life of *Aristides*, that God surmounteth all other things, chiefly in three points, that is to wit, immortallitie, mightinesse, and goodnesse: of which three, goodnesse or vertue, is the most honorable, and most peculiar to the Godhead. For incorruption and immortallitie (at least wise according to the opinion of the auntient Philosophers) is as well in the elements, and in the wast Chaos, as in God; and as for might or power, there is very much and great in the winds, in thunder and lightnings, in streams, and in water-floods. But as for iustice, vprightnesse, and equitie, nothing can be partaker of them, but that which is diuine, by means of reason and vnderstanding. And therefore that men deeme the Gods to be happie, it is in respect of their goodnesse; that they feare them, it is because of their almightinesse; and that they loue, worship, and reuerence them, it is for their iustice sake. And if we will beleue *Aristotle* in the first booke of his Morals, we shall say, that what king soeuer will become worthie of immortallitie, must inure himselfe, as much as is possible, vnto vertue, because it is his charge to make his subjects honest and obedient vnto lawes.

For

A Governour ought to be skilfull in things belonging to the mind or soule.

Plutarch in the life of Pericles.

A good prince is desirous to resemble such as haue done vertuous deeds.

Plutarch in the life of Cato.

For like as to him that will heale an eye, it is behoofull that he know the nature both of the eye and of the whole body; so he that will gouerne aright must know what belongeth to the mind. For the skill of gouernment is a thing of more worthinesse than the art of healing mens bodies. For as much therefore as Phisitions and Surgions, take so great pains to know the constitution of the body: surely he that will be cunning and well skilled in gouerning of pople, ought to take paine to get knowledge of the soule, that is to say, of vertue, which springeth from the soule; and hath this propertie, that the knowing thereof maketh a man in loue with it, so that therewithall he findeth therein right goodly actions, and is desirous to become like vnto those that doe them. For as touching the goods of fortune, we haue of them a possession; and as touching vertue, we haue thereof an inworking or action. By means whereof, we be glad to haue those goods of other men: but yet therewithall we would also that other men shuld haue them of vs. For vertue is of such force, that it quickeneth vp the man that considereth it, to be desirous to put it in execution by and by, and engendreth in his heart a certaine longing to vtter it by his deeds; framing and fashioning the manners of him that beholdeth it, not by way of imitation, but by the only vnderstanding of the vertuous deed, which out of hand bringeth him a determinate purpose to doe the like. And as Cicero saith in his booke of Friendship, Nothing is so auailable as vertue, ne draweth men more to be in loue therewith: insomuch that we loue those whom we neuer saw, vpon an opinion which we conceiue of their goodnesse and vertue. For the true loue of vertue (that is to say the affection to imitate it) is not imprinted in mens hearts, without a singular good will and reuerence towards the person that giueth the impression thereof. Insomuch that euen enemies doe praise their enemies that haue vertue, and euen robbers and outlaws haue it in admiration. Whereof we haue a notable example in *Scipio*, who being all alone in his house in the countrie, was beset with a great number of robbers, and when he prepared him-
selfe

selfe to resist them, they threw down their weapons, and praised him to open them the gate, saying they were come of purpose to obtaine the fauor to see so vertuous a noble man as he was. The thing that procureth loue, (saith *Cicero* in his booke intituled *Laluis*) is the consideration of the goodnesse and liberalitie of him to whome a man resorteth; so that vertue causeth him to be beloued and esteemed. And as the same *Cicero* saith in his booke of Duties, We highly commend and make great reckoning of those whom we take to be vertuous, and we despise those that haue neither power nor vertue. And in his *Tusculane* questions he saith, That there is not any thing comparable to vertue, and that vertue dispising all things, regardeth not the chaunces of the world, but is sufficient of hirselfe to lead a good and happie life, without the aid of any other thing. Furthermore, praise and honor doth necessarily follow vertue, as a mans shadow followeth him by the light of the sun or of a candle, and for that cause *Marcellus* made his temple of Honor in such wise, as no man could enter into it but by the dore of the temple of Vertue, as I haue declared afore. Our Lord Iesus likeneth the kingdome of heauen, vnto one that sold all that he had to buy a goodly pearle withall; as who would say, A man would not sticke to spend his mony & his goods to purchase a thing that is beautiful and rare, and wherein there is great gaine. Therefore he that will purchase vertue, the fairest and greatest thing of price that can be (as whereby we mount vp to heauen) ought not to spare any thing. *Antisthenes* said, That Vertue is a good and sure wal, & a kind of armor that cannot be taken away: be a man neuer so valiant, he may haue his sword taken from him, and he may be disarmed; but a wise man being armed with vertue, cannot be disarmed or ouercome. Also he affirmeth, that the wise man liueth not by law, but by the rule of vertue. As who should say, no good man ought so much to respect the commaundement of the law, as the direction of reason, which wil haue vs to follow the thing that is good and honest, and to eschew whatsoeuer is shamefull and vn honest.

men make account of those whom they take to be vertuous.

A wise man being armed with vertue cannot be disarmed.

The

The which reason caused the emperor *Theodosius* to say, that it most highly becomed the maiestie of a king, to bind himselfe to law; and that the authoritie of the empire depended vpon lawes, vnto the which he also submitted himselfe. Contrariwise, *Heliogabalus* the peerelesse patterne of all wickednesse, said it belonged to none but to himselfe alone to stablish lawes at his pleasure, without being bound to maintaine them longer than he listed.

One demanded of *Aristotle*, what profit Philosophie brought with it? Very great (quoth he) for it teacheth me to doe the things vncommaunded, which other folkes doe for feare of lawes. The same is it that makes a king conform himselfe to the law. For the prince being the defender, maintainer and vpholder of the law, cannot doe any thing against law, without doing wrong to the state, and without giuing an euill example to his people. And for as much as hee hath none aboue him but onely God, and therefore may transgresse the law without punishment, and without feare of man, hee ought to haue the bridle of reason and vertue before his eies, as well to keepe the lawes himselfe, as to make them to be kept of his people.

The priuat person is to do well by constraint of laws, but the prince by the directiō of Vertue.

And as it is a great shame for a scholemaster, when his scholar knoweth more than he: so is it a great dishonor to a prince, when his subiect is better than he. And therefore vertue is much more needful in a prince, than in a priuat person. For the priuat person doth good of force, by constraint and rigor of the lawes: but the prince can haue none other constraints than vertue, religion, and hope of reward at Gods hand. According whereunto, *Chilo* the Lacedemonian being asked, Wherein vertuous men passed other men? In good hope (quoth hee.) Whereby he meant, the reward that we looke for after this life. And therefore I say for a conclusion, that Vertue is the law and rule of princes, according whereunto, they ought to direct all their actions and doings, for the well gouerning of their people, and that they may haue a happie reigne.

CHAP. X.

Of the Passions of the mind.

Or as much as I haue alredie spoken of vertue in generall; it will not be amisse for the vnderstanding of this discourse, to speake a word or twaine by the way, concerning the passions that are in the mind, (which *Mercurie* the great teimeth the tormentors of man) to the end that vertue may be the better knowne by his contrarie. For whereas *Phisicke* discusseth what is sicknesse, *Plutarck* in the and *Musicke*, what is a discord; that is but casually and by accident, for the better doing of the contrarie; that is to wit, for the preseruing or recouering of health, and for the making of good harmonie. Euen so temperance, iustice, and wisdom, being the perfectest of all vertues, do giue vs knowledge not on-ly of the thing that is iust, honest, and profitable: but also of that which is vn honest, vniust, and hurtfull. For it is a brutishnesse not to know what is euill, and to be ignorant of the things that are most principally requisit, in such as intend to liue vprightly among good and honest men. The passions therefore, are Ignorance, against which, *Mercurie* opposeth the knowledge of God; Slothfulnesse, against the which he opposeth Cheerefulnesse, exempted from all voluptuous delectation; Inconstancie or vnstedfastnesse, wherevnto he opposeth Constancie, or Stedfastnesse; Vnrightheousnesse, whereagainst he setteth Rightheousnes; Incontinencie or vnchastnesse, against the which he matcheth Continencie or chastnesse; which is the vertue that ouermaistreteth lusts, and is the first degree and foundation of all rightheousnes: Riottousnes, or excesse, against the which he opposeth Sparingnesse; Deceitfulnesse, which he countermatcheth with Soothfastnesse; and consequently Enue, Frawd, Rashnesse, & Malice. *Virgil* following the ma-

It is Ignorance
not to know
euill.

ner of the Stoicks, setteth downe foure passions of the mind, saying thus, Hence proceed the restraints of their longings, dislikings, ioyes, and feares, which are as the wellsprings of all the residue. For enuiousnesse, slanderousnesse, sorrowfulnesse, rufulnesse, carke, and despaire, come of disliking or discontentment. Slothfulnesse, bashfulnesse, and amazednesse of mind, come of fearefulnesse: Iollitie, boasting, and skorning, come of vnmeasured gladnesse or ouer-ioifulnes. Wrath, rancor, suspition, and such other, come of longing or desirousnesse. Other some diuide the passions of the mind into Loue and Hatred, Longing and Loathing, Gladnes and Sadnes, Hope and Despaire, Fearfulnesse and Foolehardinesse, Choleriknesse and Coldnesse, which coldnesse is a vice proceeding of a fillie mind and feeble courage, that is not touched with any thing, nor can be prouoked to anger, and is a counterfeiter of the vertue Meeldnesse, which doth so well moderat the affection and passion of the mind, that it keepeth a man from being angrie out of measure. All these passions haue their being in the sensitiue appetite; the which I diuide into Lustfull, and into Irefull or Wrathfull. Six of the Passions, namely Loue and Hatred, Longing and Loathing, Gladnesse and Sadnesse, do follow the Lustfull appetite. The other six, that is to say Hope and Despaire, Fearfulnesse and Foolehardinesse, Choleriknesse and Coldnesse, doe follow the Irefull part. I place Loue foremost, because the hating of one thing presupposeth the loue of another: as for example, a man would neuer hate vice, vnlesse he loued vertue.

The one halfe of the Passions follow the Lustfull appetite, and the other the Irefull

This going before and coming after, is not in respect of time and place, but of order, reason, and dignitie.

Likewise Longing, which is an appendant of Loue, goeth before Loathing, which ensueth Hatred. Also Hope goes before Despaire, for if we haue a mind to any good thing, it is a greater matter to obtaine it, than to go without it. Therefore Hope (which tendeth to the good) goeth before Despaire which letteth the good go. Again, feare goeth before foolehardines, because the good goeth alwaies before the euill, and we shun the euill to obtaine the good. In like case is it with gladnesse, which goeth alwaies before sadnesse, because that sadnesse

tendeth

tendeth to the euill. As touching choleriknesse, some put it before coldnesse, & some after. They that put it after do follow the generall rule, saying that the good is alwaies formost, because the euil presupposeth a good, as I haue said afore. They that put it afore, say, that coldnesse is not properly a passion, but rather a default or want of passion: and therefore that in the matter of passion choleriknesse, anger, or wrath, ought to goe before coldnesse, which is a disposition void of passion and feeling of choller. Neuerthelesse it seemeth that this want of passion, may be deemed a passion and an euill thing in man, for as much as through such vndisposednesse of the soule, a man is so sheepish, that he cannot be angry when need is. For where both the extreame be faultie, they cannot be without passion, that is to say, without euill affection of the mind. Now in order of passions, loue and hatred doe hold the first place, as passions of most strength, vpon whom all the rest depend. Next vnto them do follow longing & loathing, as appendants to loue and hatred. For of loue cometh longing, and of hating loathing, when as we be loath to see the thing that we hate. Then ensue hope and dispaire, & so forth of the rest. Now it is to be seene after what sort a man is to rule himselfe in these passions, and by what means profit may be drawne of them. First as touching loue & hatred, it seemeth that both the one & the other may be in the mind of a prince, & generally in all gentlemanly minds, without blame. For we say that loue is a desire of the thing that is faire, goodly, or beautifull. Therefore hatred being the contrarie, must needs be a lothing of the thing that is foule and ilfaured. Many haue misliked of loue as though it were a hinderer of vertuous deeds. But they that haue waded deeply into the matter, haue not rested vpon that kind of loue, which is ingendred in our hearts by the beholding of a faire & beautifull countenance, or of some excellēt beautie, but mounting vp higher & seeking to the very wels head, they haue found, that all that is in this word, is conceiued and ingendred by loue, as *Plato* teacheth vs, hauing perhaps drawne that doctrine out of the bible, as we may see

That the passions being well taken are not euill.

Of loue.

by *Salomons* song, which discouereth Gods loue towards men, vnder the persons of two louers, the which song is learnedly interpreted by *Origen*. This loue is not alwaies a well liking of the body; It is of another sort, liking wel of nothing but of the soule that is clad with innocencie, chastitie, righteoufnesse, and temperance. *S. Austin* in his xiiij. booke of the citie of God, saith that the will which is rightly disposed, is good loue, and ill disposed will is euil loue, The loue then which is desirous to haue the thing that is beloued, is called longing; possessing and enioieng it, it is called gladnesse. The fleeing or shunning of the contrarie vnto it, is feare; and the feeling thereof when it is come, is called sadnesse. And therefore these things be euill, if the loue be euill, and good if the loue be good. In consideration whereof, we say that loue respecteth the good. By which reason, a prince ought to loue that which is most beautifull, that is to say, God; the which thing he shall do by being religious, and by being afraid to displease him. Secondly after the example of God our soueraine monarke, he must loue the common-weale, as God loueth the world: yea, and by very natural reason, the publike case is to be preferred afore the priuat. And this only way made the Romans, Athenians, and Lacedemonians great, who feared not any danger, so it were for the cōmon-weale. Accordingly as we read that *Codrus* king of Athens, vowed his life for the safetic of his countrie, and likewise the Romane *Deciusses*. *Lacena*, in steed of mourning for hir dead sonne, reioiced when she heard he was slaine in the wars, in defence of his countrie. *Leonidas* a king of the Lacedemonians, holding it for certaintie that himselfe and all his souldiers should be slaine, because they were not of sufficient number to withstand the power of the Persians, sayd vnto his men, Let vs dine my good fellowes, as those which shall this day go suppe with them that are deceassed. In so much that the prince that hath the loue of God and of the cōmon-weale afore his eies, cannot faile but haue the vertues wherof I hope to speake hereafter. But if he neglect the common-weale, and haue regard but onely to his owne peculiar profit;

then

A prince must
loue the pub-
like-weale.

then in steed of hauing some vertues, he shall be replenished with all vice, so as he shall doe nothing but pill his people, and be catching of all things as well holie as vnholie. Wherby a man may know him that is a louer of men, from him that is not so; and a tyrant from a king. For a king aimeth wholly at the common profit, and a tyrant at his owne peculiar profit.

Againe, the king in doing for the publike weale, doth for himselfe: for that is the thing that vpholdeth him. On the contrarie part, the tyrant in doing all things for himselfe, doth by that means ouerthrow himselfe. And euen as loue is very requisit in a prince, so say I also that hatred doth well besee me him. I meane not the hating of any perticular person, or of all in generall, after the maner of *Timon* of Athens, who naturally did hate all men, or of *Mison*, who neuer laughed but when he was alone: for such kind of hatred is dangerous in a prince, by reason of his ouergreat power, which would be the cause of the destruction of infinit men. For so soone as he commaundeth a thing, so soone is it done, as I will declare hereafter when I speake of anger. But I speake of the hatred which is the countermatch to loue. For if the louer loue the thing that is beautifull, the hater hateth the thing that is ouglie. Vertue is the beautifullest thing that we haue; therefore must vice needs be the ougliest; and so must a good prince needs hate both the vice and the vicious. Which thing *Salomon* perceiuing very well, saith in the twelfth chapter of his Prouerbs, That a wise prince scattereth the wicked, and maketh the wheele to turne ouer them. And in the same chapter he saith, That the king with his only looke driueth away all euill. As if he would say, that a king (who ought to be an example of vertue) is a terror to the wicked. For as the sun disperseth the clowdes and mists; so doth the countenance of a veruous king driue away all vice and all naughtinesse. For the wicked dare not come neere him, for feare of punishment. By speaking thus of loue & hatred, we see what a king ought to desire, and what he ought to eschew: wherwith he ought to be pleased, and wherwith he ought to be displeased: name-

What hatred
becommes
a prince.

ly that he ought to desire the good, as the end wherto he treadeth, and to abhorre the euill, after the example of *S. Paul*, who in his Epistle to the Philippians, desireth to be let loose and to be with Christ. And *Dauid* in the Psalme 118, My soule longeth for thy iudgements. Likewise a prince ought to reioice and take pleasure in the welfare of his subiects, and to be sorie when they fare amisse. For it is permitted vnto him to be merry, so it be in things vertuous, accordingly as we be commaunded to reioice in the Lord, and to be sorie for the misery and aduersitie of our neighbours. Reioyce ye righteous (saith *Dauid*) yea leape ye for ioy. And againe, Ye haue made my heart merry. And in the ninth Psalme, I will confesse thee and praise thee O Lord, and my heart shall reioyce in thee. But the beastly and voluptuous mirth is reprobued, such as belongeth (as *Dauid* saith) to the horse and mule, which haue no vnderstanding, but giue themselues ouer to their owne sensuall lust. As for sorrow or sadnesse, it ought to be farre from vs, because that (as *Salomon* saith) A sorrowfull heart drieth vp a mans bones; except it be so that we sorrow for our misdeeds, according to this saying in *S. Mathew*, Blessed are they that weepe and mourne: his meaning is, for their sinnes. For as saith *S. Paul* to the Corinthians, The godlie sorrow ingendreth repentance vnto saluation, whereof a man shall neuer repent him. But the worldly sorrow ingendreth death. And in his Epistle to *Timothie*, he findeth fault with such as are affectionlesse. And in the three score and eight Psalme, I looked (quoth *Dauid*) if there were any that would be sad with me, but there was none. For as *Cicero* saith in his *Tusculanes*, It is an vnaturall and vnkindly thing, for a man to abide in such vnagreuednesse. *Socrates* made *Alcibiades* to weepe, for that he shewed him by liuely reasons, that he was of lesse estimation than a torch-bearer, if he had not vertue: and that sorrowing was behooffull to him. To rid vs of the worldly heauinesse, we haue two remedies; the one is vertue, and discretion. For a vertuous and discreet man, is not dismayed for any losse, neither is he out of quiet

In what manner a prince may be merrie and glad.

Psal. 15.
Psal. 22.

Of sadnesse, sorrow, and heauinesse.

for any thing, but for his misdeeds. The other remedie is Friendship. For as *Chilo* said, The sorrowes and incommo-
dities of this life, must be ouercome by stoutnesse of cou-
rage, and by communicating them with our friends. And in
truth there is not any thing that doth so greatly assuage hea-
uinesse, as to haue a friend into whose bosome a man may dis-
charge the grieffe that lies vpon his heart. For that cause doth
Homer giue *Achilles* a *Patroclus*: and *Virgil*, an *Achates* vnto
Aeneas: *Alexander* had his *Ephestion*: *Darius* his *Zopyrus*: *Scipio*
his *Laelius*: and generally all good princes haue had some spe-
ciall friend, vnto whom they might vnburden themselues
of their griefes. My meaning is not, that I would a prince
should haue a friend, but to serue his delights: for such friend-
ships last not. As for example, if a prince loue some pleasant
conceited person, because he taketh pleasure in him; the
friendship that is so sought for pleasure or for profit, is but
counterfait, and is easie to be broken, as *Aristotle* saith in his
eight booke of Morals, The perfect friendship is among good
men that loue vertue: and that friendship is durable. And such
men ought a prince to be carefull to find out, for feare it be
said vnto him, as *Aristippus* vpbraided some saying, When
we buy a thing at a porter, we looke neerly vnto it, but when
we be to chuse a friend, we be carelesse in examining his life;
notwithstanding that there is no comparison betweene moua-
ble goods and a friend. For a friend may helpe a prince both
with counsell and comfort, and also greatly aduance his pro-
fit, as *Zopyrus* did vnto king *Darius*, vnto whom he recouered
Babilon. And therefore *Darius* said, That he had leuer haue
one *Zopyrus*, than to take tenne Babilons; and that he wi-
shed hee had as many *Megabisusses*, as there be kernels in a
Pomgarnet.

A prince
ought to be
very precise
in chusing his
friend.

For this cause were *Pilades* and *Orestes*, exalted to
the skies by the Poets; and *Damon* and *Pithias*, *Pi-*
thagorians, by the Historiographers. And among others,
we must not let passe the friendship of *Seruius Terentius*,
towards *Erutus*. For when *Erutus* should haue beene put

Many exam-
ples of faith-
full friends.

The dutie of Magistrats.

to death, this *Terentius* affirmed himselfe to be he, and would haue bin killed for him in the darkenesse of the place, neuerthelesse being discerned who he was, he was suffered to liue whether he would or no. Neither is the wisely loue of one *Hoftes* the wife of a Moore, to be passed ouer in silence; who seing hir husband dead, abstained from food nine daies together, that she might be buried with him. *Timagenides* seing the citie of Thebes besieged for his sake, chose rather to yeeld himselfe to the rest of the Greeks who were desirous of him, than to abide the burning, spoiling, and sacking of his country. Also there were a couple of Lacedemonians, which offered to goe to the king of Persia, to be put to torture for the rest of their countriemen, who had killed the kings Embassadors. But yet the loue of certaine Frenchmen towards their country, shall put to silence the fables of *Orestes* and *Pilades*, and whatsoeuer is reported of the *Curtinusses* and *Deciusses* of Rome. When the king of England refused to take Callis to mercie, except they would deliuer him six Burgesses of the towne, with halters about their necks, to doe his pleasure with them; the people being assembled into one place, and hearing this sentence, fell to weeping. Then stept vp among them one *Eustace* of *S. Peters*, one of the richest men of all the town, and told them that he would not suffer such a number of people to perish, but would rather giue himselfe to the death for their safety, than see them die for hunger, or be slaine with the sword. After him followed another named *Iohn Daire*, and foure mo of the richest in Calis, who vowed themselues euerichone to the death, for the safegard of their people.

S. Ambrose in his second booke of *Virgins*, reporteth a notable storie of a maid and a young souldier, who offered themselues to die either for the other. The maid was condemned either to doe sacrifice to the idols, or else to be made a brothel in the stewes. She vterly refusing to doe sacrifice to the idols, was led forthwith to the stewes, where after she had made hir praiers vnto God, there was brought vnto hir a young souldiour, who altering his former purpose which he had

had to haue defiled her, praied her to take his apparell, and he would put on hers, that by that means shee might go hir waies vnknowne, and so be saued. When she was departed out of the brothel-house, there came in other yoong men in hope to haue had their pleasure of that faire damsel. But in hir stead they found the man, and thought shee had bene turned into that shape by miracle. In the end, when the conueiance was discovered, the yoong man was carried to be punished; whereof the mayd hearing, presented hirselfe to baile him, body for body, that he might escape: but the yoong man would in no wise heare of that, affirming that iudgement was giuen against him, and not against hir. The maid replied, that he was there but as a pledge, and that the sentence which was giuen against him, ought to be executed vpon hirselfe. To conclude, they disputed so wel the one against the other, that with their consents, they were both put to death. Let this be spoken as by the way, because occasion thereof was offered. He that is desirous to see more, let him read *Aristotles Morals*, *Lucians Toxaris*, and *Ciceros Lelius*.

Now let vs proceed to Hope, which is an affection wel be- Of Hope and
seeming a Prince. When *Alexander* hauing of a bountifull Despaire;
mind giuen all to his friends, was asked what should remaine to himselfe; Hope (quoth he) because he hoped to get much more. And this Hope is grounded vpon a certaine noblenesse of courage.

I know well inough that some Hope is but the dreaming of a man when he is awake: for commonly we misse of the thing that we behight our selues. Neuerthelesse, I say that the valiant and well aduised prince sildome sayleth of his hope, when it is grounded vpon reason and good fortune. *Philo* sayth, that Hope is the fountaine of all sorts and trades of life. The merchant traffiqueth in hope of gaine, the marener in hope to benefit himselfe by his sayling; the ambitious in hope of glorie and honour: and to attaine to these ends, euery of them doth take marvellous pains. The hope of the happie state draweth men to vertue. But indeed the true and only hope, is

to hope in God, as in him that is our Creator, and is sufficient of himselfe alone to keepe vs safe and sound.

Despaire, or
Distrust.

Afterward commeth Despaire, or Distrust, the contrary to Hope, which may bee taken doublewise, either as when a prince hauing lost a battell and broken his force, letteth all go without consulting or taking aduice what to do, & through Despaire seeketh no remedie, which oft befalleth for want of courage; to maintaine the which, nothing is comparable to stoutnesse of mind. The other sort is not properly Despaire, but a behavior proceeding of humilitie, which maketh vs that we be not ouer-hastie in hoping for great and high things, the which is conuenient enough for a prince, for it restraineth him from hazarding himselfe, and from vndertaking too great and hard things, after the maner of *Dauid*, who reioiceth that hee had not enterprised things ouer-great, and exceeding his power. In this case, both Hope and Distrust are well besitting a king. For the one maketh him to enterprise great things, & the other to moderat them in such sort, as he vndertake not any thing aboute his abilitie, or aboute that which he ought; for to do so, proceedeth either of vndiscreetnes, or of rage, or of some other inordinat passion. Fearfulnesse, and Foole-hardinesse, are the two faultie extremities which inclose Prowes, or valeantnesse of courage, wherof I will speake more largely hereafter. For whosoeuer through the greatnes of his courage doth put himselfe in perill, yea euen of certaine death for a good cause, he is to be esteined hardie, valeant, and manly-minded. And surely, the Fearefull is worse than the Foole-hardie. For as *Thucidides* saith, Feare doth not only bereaue a man of his memorie, but also of his strength, and impeacheth the execution of the thing that he had determined. Neuerthelesse, the feare to do euil is euermore wel-beseeming, according to this saying of *Solomon* in his Prouerbs, Blessed is the man that alwaies standeth in feare: but he that hardeneth his heart, shall fall into mischief. *S. Paul* willeth vs to go through with our saluation, with feare and terror, and he would not haue vs to be too skilful. And in the xj. of *Esaie* it is written, that the spirit of the feare

Of Fearfulnes
and Foolechar-
dinesse.

of

of God shall rest vpon the blossome of the roote of *Iesse*. And in the lxxvj. chapter, Whom shall I regard (saith the Lord) but him that is meeld and gentle, and standeth in feare of my words. And in the xxvj, At the feare of thee we haue conceiued and brought forth the spirit of saluation. And in the xxxiiij Psalme, Ye righteous feare ye the Lord. And in the xviii Psalme, The feare of the Lord endureth for euer. And as *S. Ierome* saith, Feare is the keeper of al vertues, and the true way is, to feare the power of God.

The true way is to feare the power of God.

Homer in his *Iliads* bringeth in *Helen*, vsing these termes to king *Priam*, Surely deare Lord and father in law, I doe both feare you and honor you, because we ordinarily reuerence those whom we feare. And therefore neere to the common hall of the Ephores in Sparta, there was a chappell dedicated to Feare; for feare doth alwaies accompany shame. Also it is a very commendable thing to be affraid of vn honesty, and yet not to be afraid to be counted vn honest. As for example, when one vpon a time vpbraided *Xenophanes* the son of *Lagus*, that he was fearefull and durst not play at dice; I confesse (quoth he) that I am not only fearefull, but also exceeding fearefull, but that is but in things vn honest. For honourable is that feare that restraineth a man from doing euill.

As touching meekenesse or meeldnesse, it beseemeth a prince very well. For it maketh him gentle, courteous, and affable. And it is one of the three vertues which *David* would haue in a king. For in the xliiiij Psalme, Ride on (saith he) and raigne, because of thy meekenesse, iustice, and truth. And this vertue is contrarie to choleriknesse, hastinesse, or fumesinesse, which ought to be far off from a prince, as the which doth too much blind him, and bereaue him of reason and iudgement. But to be angrie with leaudnesse and leaud persons, is very well done, provided that it be not in such fort as it extend to sinne; according to this saying of the Psalmist, Be angrie, but sinne not in your hearts.

A man ought to be angrie at sinne.

And for as much as I will treat hereof more largely when I come to speake of anger or wrath, and of meeldnesse,
or

The dutie of Magistrates.

or meekenesse, I will content my selfe for the present, to haue shewed the passions of the mind, as it were at a glance, which though they seeme at the first blush to encounter against vertue, be such neuertheless, as a well-disposed mind may greatly helpe it selfe by them, and make them to serue to very good end, and so alter the shape of them, as that the thing which seemed euill, shall fall out to be good and commendable.

C H A P. X I.

*Whether Vertue and Honestie be to be seperated from profit,
in matters of government or state.*



BVt I feare least by standing too long vpon matter of Manners, I forslow the matters of State, and that in going about to make a prince vertuous, I make him a prince misaduised. For oftentimes the managing of publike affairs is such, that he must rather haue regard of the present case, how to wind himselfe out of the briers, and to get out of some shrewd pinch, than to stand musing vpon vertue, because that they which do so busie their heads, doe often times suffer their state to be lost.

If *Brutus* that conspired against *Cesar*, had not bene too spice-conscienst, saying it was not lawfull to kill any other than a tyrant, but had beleueed the counsell of *Cassius*, he had not left *Antonie* the tyrants friend behind, by whose death, the common-weale had bene discharged of al danger. In so much that one little sparke of conscience, procured vnto *Brutus* the losse both of his owne life, and of the libertie of his countrie. The first *Brutus* did not so, for it liked him better to vse crueltie, in putting his own childre to death, than to leaue any little match of conspiracie against the state: and this barbarous crueltie and vnkindnesse of his, saued the common-weale. When *Cabades* king of Persia was cast in prison by his subiects that had

Sometimes a
State is pre-
serued by
Crueltie.

had rebelled against him and chosen one *Blases* in his steede : this *Blases* entered into counsell, what was to be done with *Cabades*. The most part were of opinion, that he should not be put to death, but that he should be kept in prison. Othersome gaue counsell that he should be dispatched, among whom *Gusanafcades* one of the greatest lords, deliuering his opinion, shewed them a little pen-knife wherewith he was wont to pare his nailes, and said vnto them, Ye see this little cuttle; this same may now without any paine and without any danger, doe that which twentie thousand men cannot doe hereafter. And euen so it came to passe in deed. For *Cabades* getting out of prison recovered his kingdome, and putting out *Blases* eies with scalding oyle, laid him in prison, and put *Gusanafcades* to death. *Theodatw* (king of the Gothes) was loath to kill *Amalafont*, being an honourable and vertuous princeesse, and wife of *Theoderik*, and mother of *Athalarik*; but in the end he dispatched hir at the persuation of such as told him that his life could not else bee in safetie. *Theophrast* reporteth of *Aristides* that in priuate cases betweene man and man, he was a perfect, vpright, and iust-dealing man; but in matters of government concerning the common-weale, he did many things, according to the necessitie of the time.

In state of government things must oft be done according to the necessitie of the time.

The Athenians in the conference which they had with the Melians, said that the Lacedemonians vsed much vertue among themselves, and in the things that concerned their lawes and customes at home: but in their behauior towards strangers, they were a people that esteemed that to be most honest and reasonable, which was most for their profit. *Euphemus* an Athenian, said to the Camerins, that the man which raigneth by tyrannie, and a citie that hath an empire, deeme nothing vn honest that may be for their profit, nor account any thing theirs which is not safe guarded; and in all cases they esteeme others to be their friends or foes, according to the occasion of time and dealings.

Plutarck speaking of *Marius*, saith he made reckoning of iustice when it was for his owne behoofe, and tooke profit.

both

The skin of a
fox must be
matched with
the skin of a
lion.

both for iustice and honor, not considering that truth is more strong and mightie than falshood, but measuring the valew of them both by the profit that might rise thereof, and saying that when a lions skin will not sted a mans turne, he must take vnto it the skin of a fox. This hath bin the cause, that the best aduised which haue written of government, and they also which haue practised it, haue not stood so much vpon vertue, as vpon the occurrence of matters; insomuch that they haue said, That a prince oftentimes for the compassing of his affaires, must be faine to behaue himselfe contrarie to faith, contrarie to charitie, contrarie to humanitie, and contrarie to religion. But this opinion, notwithstanding that it be followed of the most part of the world; yet doe I find it farre distant from our religion, and from all that an honest man ought to doe. For God putteth no difference betweene a prince and a priuat person, in cases concerning vertue or vice. *Antigonus* the great, whom men would haue made to beleue that all things are lawful for kings; Ye say truth (quoth he) for barbarous kings; but vnto vs, that which is iust of it selfe, is alwaies iust; and that which is euill is alway euill. And to say trnth, we see not that writers doe make two kinds of vertue, the one peculiar to princes, the other to priuat persons. For were it lawfull for a prince or for a common weale, to doe euill for profits sake; it ought as well to be permitted also to the priuat person: for at least wise by the example of his prince, he will dispence with himselfe for doing good. But God will not haue vs to doe euill, for any good that may come thereof, no not euen though it be for the benefit of a whole reahn. Therefore the foresaid proposition cannot be avowed of a churitian with a safe conscience, seeing it is disallowed by the heathen. And to root it out of the hearts of princes, I am faine to set downe word for word (howbeit briefly) the same things that *Cicero* in his third booke of dueties setteth downe at large, leauing the rest to diuines, who match their reasons with the word of God, the only thing that is able to captiue a louely and right meaning mind.

Now then, it is not only by our religion, that we be warned thereof, but also by the wise Infidels, according to this saying of *Socrates*, the wisest of them all, namely, That those haue done amisse, which haue seperated honesty and vertue from profit; seeing they ought of nature to goe jointly together. For a man can not bee said to profit himselfe, when he offendeth against nature. And there is not any thing more against nature, and against the lawe of man, than to take from another man, wherewith to profit a mans selfe: for nature can-not abide, that we should increase our wealth by the spoiling and robbing of other men. So that the man which obeyeth nature, and followeth kindlie inclination, cannot find in his heart to hurt his like, but will rather chuse to be poore and to endure hardnesse, than to do another man. harme, especially considering that the hurt of the soule, (which is vice or sinne.) is an hundred fold worse than the hurt of the body.

It is better to be poore than to doe wrong.

By the law of nature we should doe good one to another, and they that doe otherwise, doe take away societie from among men, the taking away whereof maketh goodnesse, iustice, and liberalitie to belaid a-water. And therefore wheresoever profit steppeth before our face; it is hard for vs to escape prouocation: but when we haue be thought vs of it at leisure, then if we find that the profit is intermedled with vice, we must let the profit goe, and persuaade our selues, that wheresoever sinne is, there can be no profit indeed. And seeing that there is not any thing more contrarie to nature, than sinne is; because nature requireth nothing but that which is good, neither is any thing more agreeable to nature than profit; it is very hard for vice & profit to match together in one ground. And for as much as vertue surmounteth and surpasseth all things; it is very behooffull and neediull that the soueraigne good should consist in vertue. Now as that which is good is behooffull & profitable; so that which is honest is profitable also. The wicked beholding an outward shew of profit, doe run after it, not perceiuing into what inconuenience they fall.

If profit be mingled with sinne, we must let profit goe.

fall.

A case where-
in the out-
ward appea-
rance of pro-
fit is followed.

fall by doing euill : by reason whereof they peruert the lawes both of God and man, which thing he that liueth after the law of nature doth not. Yet notwithstanding oftentimes there happen cases which put euen the best to their shifts, by reason of the profit that offereth it selfe vnto them. Not that they consult whether honesty and vertue be to be left; but whether the thing that is profitable may be done without sinne. As for example, To the intent to wipe the name of the *Tarquins* cleane out of Rome, *Brutus* caused *Tarquinius Collatinus* the husband of *Lucrece*, to bee discharged of the dignitie of Consulship, and to be put out of the citie. This seemed a peece of wrong, because this *Collatinus* himselfe had helped to expulse the kings. But for so much as it was found vpon good aduise, that the very remembrance of that so odious name, was to be vtterly abolished : the thing being profitable for the common-weale, imported also so much honestie, that *Collatinus* himselfe ought also to thinke well thereof; and so profit preuailed for honesties sake, without the which it had bin no profit in deed.

There is another case, wherein profit and honestie seeme to encounter one another, by reason of the rigour, and yet notwithstanding, the chiefe regard is to be had of the profit, because it fighteth not against nature. As for example, It is permitted you by the law of nature, to repulse the iniurie that is done vnto you, and for performance thereof, some-times a prince is driuen to doe rigorous executions, and such as may seeme too too cruell; as *Thomiris* queene of the *Massagets* did, who hauing vanquished king *Cirus* in battel, slew him and two hundred thousand men with him; so as not any one escaped the sword.

This or the like execution were euill in a captaine, that should doe it vpon cold blood, or quiet deliberation, as *Silla* did at Rome. But when a prince, whom God hath armed to defend himselfe, repelleth iniurie by force, and putteth his enemies to the sword; although it seeme a cruell deed, yet is it not altogether against honestie and honor. For the death

Crueltie in
defending, is
not vn honest.

of

of the enemies is the welfare of the common-weale, against whom as a prince ought not to vse any treason or treachery wherby to kill them: so if in assailing the prince, they chance to fall into his hands, it is at his pleasure to do what he findeth behooffull for his owne safety, according to the law of arms, for it is not vnmeet that they should fall into the same net which they had laid for him. Had the Samnits vsed the way of extreame crueltie against the Romanes, when gentleness would not serue their turne, they had done the better for themselues, and they should haue learned by the effect, that the counsell of *Herennius Pontius* was verie good. For his son being captaine generall of the Samnits, sent vnto him to haue his aduise, what he should do to the Romans, whom he held enclosed betwixt two mou'tains. *Herennius* sent him word, that he should send them home to Rome, without doing them any displeasure; thinking that for so notable a benefit, they would of enemies become thensfoorth good and faithfull friends. And when he saw that this counsell liked not the Samnits, he counselled them to put them all to the sword, without sparing any one of them, for he thought that so great a losse would so greatly weaken the Romans, as they should not be able to recouer themselues a long time after.

This opinion seemed also ouer-cruell, and so they chose a meane way, which was to saue the Romanes liues, and to bereaue them of their armour and weapon, and of their stufte, with some other conditions: which afterward was the confusion of the Samnits. Likewise the Euthalibians committed a great ouersight, in that they dispatched not the Persians, when they had them shut vp almost after the afore-said maner; or sent them not home in friendly sort, but did neither of both. For they sent them away without hurt; but they compelled *Perofas* the king of Persia, to adore their king, and to promise them vpon his oath, neuer to make war on them afterward. Neuertheless, as soone as *Perofas* was deliuered of the danger, he made sharper warre vpon them, than he had done afore, in reuenge of the iniurie and disho-

Enemies must either be won by some singular courtesie, or dispatched with rigorous crueltie.

nour that they had done vnto him. For in matter of state a prince must either deserue well of his enemies, by some singular courtesie, or make cleane riddance of them, if it lie in his hand to doe it. I would alway counsell him to follow courtesie.

But yet he may haue to doe with such kind of men, that it shall stand him on hand, to vse rigour rather than gentlenes, as is to be seene in the deed of queene *Thomiris*, where albeit that the reuenge of hir sonnes death prouoked hir to kill *Cirus*: yet was it moreouer expedient also for hir state, to doe it in such sort as she did. For a prince that commeth out of a farre countrie, to conquer a realme, whereunto hee cannot pretend any right, will not lightly be paied with such elemencie. For his intent is to possesse himselfe of it by some means or other, and oftentimes for the bringing thereof to passe, to make vtter slaughter and destruction of the inhabitants thereof, as the children of Israell did, when they came into the land of Promise.

Well might *Charles Martell* haue done all the courtesies that could be vnto the *Sarines*; but yet would not that haue made them forbearé to inuade the realme of France. And therefore the best way was to fight it out with them, and to ouerthrow them vtterly. If *Aetius* being aided by the Frenchmen, had not fought with *Attila* to the vtterance in France, it had bene vnpossible for him to haue got him thence by faire means; and yet because he made not cleane riddance of him, a man may see what mischiefe came of it.

It is noted as a fault in *Constantine*, that when he had vanquished the Vandales, Sweuians, and Alanes, he pursued not his victorie in putting them all to the sword, but gaue them respit to resemble themselues againe, whereby they became as strong as he. *Darius* offered *Alexander* his daughter, a very beautifull Lady, with six millions of monie, and the one halfe of Asia; but *Alexander* would not admit that honourable offer, because his couetous-
nesse

Crueltie is to be vsed against strangers that come to make conquest.

neffe was vnmeasurable . By reason whereof, had good fortune gon on *Darius* fide, he had plaied an vnwife part, if he had not flaine *Alexander* and all his armie without mercie.

Manfred king of Naples, was willing to haue made peace with *Charles* duke of Aniou; but *Charles* would neuer hearken vnto it, because he grounded his right vpon the fword, and was bent to be king of Naples whatfoeuer it did cost him. Courtesie and clemencie are to be vsed among neighbours that strue but for their bounds, for hatred, or for honour. For they that are so vanquished, are alwaies mindful of the courtesie that hath bene done vnto them, and of the means to requite it, whereof in the fourth booke of Kings, the sixt chapter, we haue a notable example in the king of Israel, who by the aduise of the prophet *Eliſeus*, in steed of putting the Afsyrians his enemies to death, which were come to seeke him, caused them to be entertained with all kind of good cheere, and sent them home without doing them any harme; by means whereof, wheras they had bin his sworne enemies, he made them his good friends. So also did *Ptolomie*, who hauing ouercome *Demetrius*, and put his host to flight at the citie Gaza, restored him his treasure and all his stufte, with eight thousand prisoners, saying that he stroue not with him, but for honour and empire. And *Demetrius* receiuing those things at his hand, prayed God he might not continue long his debter for that courtesie; and euen so it came to passe. For anon after *Demetrius* ouercame *Ptolomie*, and hauing taken his treasure, & also seuen thousand prisoners, sent all home againe to him, and moreouer gaue presents to euerie of the prisoners whom he sent backe. The case standeth otherwise with him that commeth a farre off, to make conquest of a cuntry. For his intent is to dispossesse them against whom he maketh warre, and to make cleane riddance of them, as we haue seene in the Saxons, Englishmen, Burgonions, Frenchmen, Turks, Gothes, and Lumbards, who haue continued owners of the lands which they inuaded. And if they had not

With whom courtesie and gentlenesse is to be vsed.

Wicked coun-
sell giuen by
the pope.

had the vpper hand of fortune, doubtlesse not so much as one had bin suffered to escape. That is the cause why the pope, after that *Charles* of Aniou, had gotten the vpper hand of *Conradine* and the Sweuians, councelled him to cut off *Conradines* head, sending him word in a word or twaine of latin, That the life of *Conradine* was the death of *Charles*, and the death of *Conradine* was *Charles* his life. But sauing the reuerence of the pope and of duke *Charles*, albeit this way seemed most profitable, yet ought it not to haue bin followed, because it was scarce honorable, seeing that *Conradine* had escaped the furie of the battell, and his quarrell was iust, in recouery of his kingdome, which his base brother *Manfred* had first vsurped from him, and *Charles* had woone away from *Manfred*.

Man-slaugh-
ters commir-
red vpon qui-
et deliberati-
on, are disal-
lowed.

Such man-slaughters done vpon quiet determination, and out of the heat of conflict in battell, are disallowed both of God and man. In confirmation whereof, I must needs alleage a certaine text out of the third chapter of the second booke of *Samuel*. There were in Iury two braue captaines, named *Abner* and *Amasa*, which had borne arms for king *Saul* against *David*, and *David* after *Sauls* death had pardoned them. But *Ioab*, *Dauids* constable, being ouer-zealous of his maisters honour, forbare not for all that to kill them both; which doing of his, *David* so greatly misliked, that he protested before God and the people, that he was guiltlesse of their blood. And to shew that he was so vnfaignedly, although he punished it not during his life, yet did he take order for the punishing thereof afore his decease, saying thus vnto *Salomon* his sonne, Thou knowest what *Ioab* did vnto the captaines of the host of Israell, namely vnto *Abner* and *Amasa*, whom he slew and shed their blood in peace as it had bene inwarre, and put the blood of battell vpon his girdle that was vpon his reins: looke therefore that thou deale with him according to thy wisdom, and suffer not his hoare head to goe downe to his graue in peace. *David* beeing persecuted by *Saul*, had him at an aduantage,

- when

Dauids iudge-
ment vpon
Ioab for mur-
thering *Abner*
and *Amasa*.

when he found him in the caue, and might very well haue done him displeasure, but would not. But had that good poli-
tike fellow *Ioab* bin there, he would no more haue suffered *Saul* to escape than he suffered *Absolon*.

Now to come againe to our matter, like as God gaue the victorie at that time to the aforefaid duke *Charles*; so at another time he made his heire the prince of Salerne to loose the field, and to be taken and condemned to haue his head stricken off, as the said *Conradine* had had afore. And when this sentence was pronounced vpon him, which was on a Friday; he answered he was contented to take his death with patience, for the loue of him which suffered death on the like day. But when *Constance* the queene heard of this his answer, she said, that for the loue of him which had suffered death for vs, she was determined to shew mercy to the prince; and without doing him any further harme, she sent him to Cataloigne to the king hir husband, full sore against the peoples will, who would haue had him put to death. In which action we haue to consider one notable thing; namely, that *Charles* who had slaine *Manfred* in battell, and put to death both *Conradine*, and his cosen the duke of Austrich, vnder forme of iustice, could not keepe his kingdome so long time to his posteritie, as the heire femall of *Manfred* did by vsing fauor and mercie. But when a stranger hauing no former quarrell, comes with a great number of men to inuade a countrie; I beleeeue it shalbe well done of him that getteth the victorie, to let none of his enemies escape, least their enlargement prouoke them to set a new voyage abroche, as the Frenchmen did in Gallia, and the Gothes in Italy.

Againe, there is no loue or kindnesse to be hoped for at such folks hands. But out of that case, I see not that crueltie ought to be vsed for the maintaining of any state; and as for to leaue vertue for profit, it ought not to be so much as once thought. *Augustus* for the better assuring of his state, caused *Cesarion* the sonne of *Iulius* and *Cleopatra* to be slaine. It may be perchance that in so doing, he delt for his profit, but surelie

The mercifull
dealing of
queene *Con-
stance*.

Crueltie is
not to be vsed
for the main-
teinance of a
state.

he delt not vertuously. Contrariwise, *Sextus Pompeius* who had the staffe in his owne hand, to haue killed *Augustus* and *Antonie*, his enemies, delt honorably in letting them goe, but to his owne destruction, which thing he chose rather to doe, than to falsifie his faith, as I will declare anon more at large, I could alleage many mo examples of euill princes, which haue finished their daies in wretchednesse, and lost their kingdoms, or at the leastwise their children after them, whom I will omit for briefnesse sake, speaking but only of *Cesar Borgia*; that we may see whether such a prince can be had in estimation. I am well assured that to lay the foundation of his principallitie, (which came to him but by fortune as they say) he had many things to do, the which he brought al to passe by his wit. But yet can I not allow that maner of dealing. For he caused the *Columnians* to be destroyed by the *Vrsines*, and afterward dispatched the *Vrsines* too, for feare least they should take part against him. He vsed the helpe of the Frenchmen, to get possession of Romania, and afterward draue them out when he was peaceably setled in it. To purchase the peoples fauour, he executed rigorous iustice vpon theeues, robbers, and extortionors; and for the doing thereof, he set vp a very good and seuerer Iusticer, named *Remy Orke*. Afterward perceiuing that his ouer-rigorous iustice procured him some hatred; to root that conceit out of their imaginations, and to shew that that came not of him, but of his officer; he made maister *Remy Orke* to be cut in two pieces, and to be laid in an open place with a bloodie knife by him. I see not wherein this duke *Valentine* is to be allowed; I belecue he was well aduised what he did, and assaied all the means he could to make his owne profit; but that profit was vtterly seperated from vertue.

What policie was it to kill folke by trecherous sleights and treason, which had neuer trespassed him either in word or deed? What a reward was that for a iudge to receiue, for doing his duetie, and for seruing him faithfullie? If such princes may bee allowed, then shall murder and fraude be

Of *Cesar Borgia*.

be no vice, so it bring profit. And then let vs take *Socrates* his saying the contrary way, and say that vertue ought to attend vpon profit. And so should it follow of consequence, that whosoeuer could deale most for his owne profit, should be the best and honestest man. But all the paine that this wretched prince tooke to stablish his state, stood him in small steed. For he vterly forwent it, and was deceiued himselfe, as he had deceiued others.

Thucidides in his historie, interlaceth a notable saying of the Corinthians, which was spoken to the counsell of the Athenians, If a man will say (saith he) that that which we say is very reasonable, but that the opinion of the other side is the more profitable, if there be warre; we answer, that the more vprightly men walke in all things, the more is it commonly for their profit. Therefore it is most expedient for a prince that wil not faile of his purpose, to fix his eye continually vpon vertue, and to set it before him as his marke to shoot at, and to assure himselfe that he cannot haue profit without vertue.

There is no
profit with-
out vertue.

Vpon a time *Themistocles* told the Athenians, that he had a way to make them great, yea and lords of all Greece, but that the same was not to be imparted to any mo than one, least it should be knowne. Hereupon the Athenians chose *Aristides* to take notice of his deuce. Vnto whom *Themistocles* declared, that the nauie of the Lacedemonians might easily be set on fire, whereby it would be an easie matter to vanquish them. When *Aristides* had heard the counsell of *Themistocles*, he went vp into the pulpit with great expectation of the Athenians, and told them that *Themistocles* had giuen a woonderous behooffull and profitable counsell, but it was not honest, whereupon the Athenians, without hearing any further what it was, disallowed the counsell of *Themistocles*, as not good.

At such time as *Pirrhus* made warre with the Romans, one of his people came to *Fabritius*, being then Consul at Rome, &c.

proffered him to poison the king. *Fabritius* without taking any further counsell, sent backe the traitor vnto *Pirrhus*: and this his deed was allowed and commended of the senat.

If soueraignie be sought for honors sake, then must trecherie be banished; for trecherie is not accompanied with honor. If for goods, neither can goods doe a prince good, being matched with infamie and dishonour. And as touching that which *Theophrast* saith of *Aristides*, That hee did many thinges acording vnto the necessitie of the time; we find not so much as any one deed of his that may bee accounted vniust, sauing that when the citie of Athens wanted money, he propounded in counsell whether they should take away the gold that had bin laid vp in store in the temple of *Apollo*, at *Delphos* in the isle of *Delos*, contrarie to an article of the league that was concluded by oath, among all the Greeks; and therevpon gaue his aduise, that it was behoofful, but not rightfull. As much said he of the counsell of *Themistocles*, which I haue declared already. Neuerthelesse, in the first, the Athenians followed vprightnesse, and in the later they followed their profit, or rather necessitie, which hath no law. But to say the truth, neither the one nor the other was to be imputed vnto *Aristides*, but to the Athenians themselues, in that they resolued themselues vpon the counsell that was giuen them, without following any other opinion, than that which liked them best. But as for *Marius*, there is no reckoning at all to be made of him, no more than of a man that was ambitious, without law and without conscience, as he shewed in many things, and specially in this fact following; namely that being at Rome about his affaries, whereas he ought to haue spoken well of *Metellus* his captaine generall, he gaue him very euill reports to the people, as though he had prolonged the warre of purpose, saying that if he himselve were made consul, he would dispatch the matter out of hand, and bring them *Iugurth* either quick or dead. To be short, he sped to well by playing the courtier, that he was made Consul; but in the meane while he falsified his faith, and wrongfully

Wickednesse
is not ac-
companied
with honor.

The blame of
Marius.

fully flandered a man of great honour. But *Silla* paid him with the like measure; for he challenged to himselfe the honour of the taking of *Iugurth* prisoner, wherevpon sprang all the bloodie quarrels that ensued afterwards betwixt them. Thus yee see how the wicked are oftentimes paid with the same coine which they gaue vnto others. And I maruell how there should be any that would loose their reputation for the gain of a little profit. For what profit can be comparable to dishonour? Soothly there is no difference whether a man be changed into a beast, or whether hee play the mad beast in the shape of man. Wherefore seeing the thing cannot be esteemed profitable, which is full of villanie and wickednesse; we ought to beleue most certainly that nothing is behooffull and profitable, but that which is honest and vertuous.

CHAP. XII.

That a Prince ought not to falsifie his faith, for the maintainance of his state.



F this proposition hold stedfast & sure, the case is fully resolved by vs, concerning this doubt vpon faith in matters of state, Whether a prince ought to keepe his promise or no. Faith (saith *Cicero*) is the foundation of iustice and right, and is a constant and soothfast opinion (or settled determination of mind) to keepe and performe that which is once spoken and agreed vpon.

The definition
of Faith, or
Faithfulnesse.

Vnto this Faith, *Numa Pompilius* dedicated a temple, to the intent that by that point of superstition, the people of Rome should learne to esteeme faithfulnessse as a godly and pretious thing;

thing, and afterward the Romans placed the image thereof in the Capitol, nere vnto the image of the great God *Jupiter*, to the end that no man should be so bold and presumptuous, as to violat so sacred and holy a thing. In so much that the holiest and greatest oath that they could skill to make, was to sweare by their Faith, as the thing which they accounted most diuine, and (as *Cassiodorus* saith) most beloued of God, and most reuerenced of men. For how could mans frailtie be vpheld among so many waues and storms, if there were no firmenesse in the doings and saiengs of princes? Among fellowes, faithfulnessse maintaineth friendship. It maketh seruants to obey their maisters with all integritie. It maketh vs to serue God, and to worship his diuine maiestie with deuout beleefe: and to conclude in one word, whatsoeuer we see to be well done, commeth of vnchangeable faithfulnessse. And yet for all that, we see that those which are best able to keepe it, doe make least account of it, specially in matters of state, because (say they) a prince is faine to promise many things for the maintainance of his estate, which he being once out of those dealings, is not bound to performe. And as *Plutarch* saith in the life of *Pirrhus*, Princes vse the two termes of Peace and War, as they do their coine; namely, as it may best serue their owne turne, not for duties sake, or for iustice sake, but for their owne profit: and they be better men when they confesse roundly that they make war, than when they cloke the surceasing or intermitting of their wicked intent, with the holy names of Iustice and Friendship. And as saith *Paulus Iouius*, the Faith of some kings is such, that they stick not to violat and breake the most sacred couenants of accord, at their pleasure; specially when they haue once resolved themselues to intend to nothing but their owne present profit, and to applie themselues only to the time. *Archidamus* being desirous to make the Athenians to breake the league of peace, that had bin made with *Antigonus*, and perceiuing they stuck at it for their promise sake; told the there was difference between a man and a sheepe, for a sheepe had but all one kind of voice, but a man had diuerse sorts, so as he might change his

voice.

Princes vse
the termes of
Peace & War,
as they doe
monie.

voice continually, vntill he had brought to passe what he would. As who would say, Faithfulnesse was but for fooles that could no skill to dissemble, as hauing but one maner of speech for all turns; but men of wit altered their maner of doing and speaking, according as occasion or need required.

When *Lisander* was blamed for breaking the peace that had bin with the *Milesians*, he answered, That children were to be beguiled with little bones, & men with othes. The tyrants *Denis* and *Policrates*, said as much in that behalfe. *Marius* esteemed it a point of vertue and high courage, to be skilfull in cosenage, as *Plutarch* reporteth of him in his life. There is an Italian author, who in his booke of a Prince, saith that in his time the princes that haue made none account of their faith, haue become great, and haue passed those that haue grounded themselues vpon faithfulnessse. And he will haue a prince to be of two natures, the one of beast, the other of man; and that when the nature of man will not preuaile, he should haue recourse to that of the beast. And that of the beasts, he should chuse the fox his nature, to discern snares; and the lions, to put the woolues in feare. And therefore (saith he) a wise prince cannot keepe his faith, if this obseruation be turned the contrarie way. And because there be wicked men which keepe not their promise, neither ought he also to keepe touch with them. Among the examples of the princes of his time, he alleageth pope *Alexander* the sixt, who made no bones or conscience at al to deceiue men. Neuer was there any man (quoth he) that assured things with greater force of words, or affirmed them with greater othes, and that meant lesse good faith, or lesse perfourmed them: & yet notwithstanding his packings came alwaies to passe as he would wish, because he gaue his mind to it. I cōfesse that the cosener, the hypocrit, & the dissembler, do cōmonly sooner dispatch his businessse, than he that is open, plaine, honest, and faithfull: But it were better for a man not to haue so great successe, than to be deceitfull and wicked. And it were better for him to follow the counsell of *Cicero* in his books of Duties, who saith,

Men be de-
ceiued by
oathes.

Machiauel,

No good
man will euer
lie for any
profit or ad-
uantage.

sayth, That no good man will euer lie for his owne aduantage. For if he that dealeth altogether by frawd, be had in estimation; I see not in comparing the lesser with the greater, why either a shamelesse person or a theefe should be blamed, of whom neuertheless the one is hanged, and the other is pointed at with folks fingers, and baited out of all good mens companies. For their doing so, is but to auoid pouertie, and to find the means to liue vpon other mens purses, as the prince that is a deceiuer, is desirous to doe his affairs at the cost of his neighbour. True it is, that because he is a great lord, men say of him as a certain pyrat said of great *Alexander*, namely that because he himselfe roued but with one gallic, he was counted a robber, and because *Alexander* went with a great number of ships, therefore he was counted a king, but in effect they were both of one trade, sauing that the one of them was rich, pissaunt, and well attended; and the other was poore and meanly accompanied.

And as *Plutarch* saith in the life of *Pyrrhus*, kings and princes must not blame priuat persons, though now and then they step aside, as opportunitie fitteth them for their profit; for in so doing, they doe but imitate their souereigns examples, and follow the footsteps of them that are their ringleaders, in all vntrustinesse, trecherie, and vnfaithfulnessse: as who would say, that he dispatcheth his businesse best, which least listeth to obserue law and vprightnesse. But although some vnfaithfull prince doe happen to prosper, it dooth not therefore follow, that a faithfull prince cannot prosper. *Titus*, *Traian*, *Antonine* the meeke, *M. rcus Aurelius*, and other good emperors of Rome, haue obtained as many victories, yea, and haue also far better maintained their estate, than *Tiberius*, *Nero*, *Caligula*, *Domitian*, and such others.

A prince should have skill of subtleties, to saue himselfe from them, but not to intangle others.

Philip grew great by subtiltie, and *Alexander* his son conquered the whole world by loialtie and magnanimitie. I beleeue well that a prince ought to be sage and wel aduised, and to be skilfull both in playing the lion to encounter such as will assault him, and in playing the fox to saue himselfe from the trains

trains and snares that are layd for him, but not to intangle and intrap others.

After the battell of Cannas, which the Romanes lost vnto *Hannibal*, there were ten prisoners, who vpon safe conduct giuenthem by *Hannibal*, carried still at Rome contrarie to their promise giuen vnto him, but they were all denounced infamous, and one of them was sent backe againe vnto *Hannibal*, to doe what he would with him. The consul *Regulus* did not so, for he perfourming his promise, returned at the time which he had set, notwithstanding that he was sure to go to exquisite torments, that were prepared for him. The Carthaginenses hauing lost a battell vpon the sea against the Romanes, sent *Amilcar* & *Hanno* to treat with them for peace. *Amilcar* would not put himtelfe into the Romanes hands, because he had a little afore taken *Cornelius Asina* the consull prisoner, whome the Romanes had sent embassador thither. But *Hanno* sticked not to proceed forth; and when he had begun to declare his message, a certaine Romane captaine sayd threatningly vnto him, that as much might befall him as had bene done to *Cornelius*. But the consuls putting the captaine to silence, told *Hanno* that the Faith of the empire of Rome, should deliuer them from that feare.

The noble answer of the Romane Consuls.

At such time as *Tissaphernes* brake the truce which hee had made with the Lacedemonians, *Agessilaus* sayd, he thanked the gods that *Tissaphernes* had angered them and offended them, and thereby made them gracious and fauourable to the Lacedemonians; esteeming it a thing very displeasent vnto God for a man to falsifie his faith. And therefore *Mimus Publianus* sayd, That he which hath lost his credit, hath no more to lose, because the whole welfare and honour of a man dependeth thereupon.

Bias said there was no excuse for a man that brake his promise, because he that looseth the credit of his word, looseth more than hee that looseth the thing that was promised him. *Cinna* hauing sent for *Marius*, made it a matter of consultation whether he should receiue him or no. *Sertorius* was of opinion

He sustains greater losse which looseth his credit, than he that loseth the thing that was promised him.

that

that he should not send for him; but *Cinna* told him, he could not with his honour refuse him, hauing sent for him. When *Sertorius* heard him say so, he told him he did amisse to make it a matter debateable whether he should receiue him or no, seeing he was come at his commaundement. For the binding of your faith (quoth he) suffereth not the matter to be debated or consulted of any more.

Sextus Pompeius was aduertised by his admirall *Menodorus*, that now it was in his hand to be reuenged of the death of his father, and of his brethren, hauing both *Augustus* and *Antonie* at supper with him in his gallie: and that if *Pompei* would giue him leaue, he would vndertake to cause them to be drowned, and it should neuer be perceiued how. But *Pompei* sauouring of the antient honour of the Romans, answered the messenger thus, Tell *Menodorus* that he might well haue done it without me, seeing he maketh none account of periurie: but it cannot beseeme me to giue my consent vnto it, seeing I haue not bene woont to falsifie my faith. This faithfulness of the Romanes, was the cause that *Ptolomei* king of Aegypt committed his yoong sonne in wardship to the people of Rome, who performed the charge with all integritie, and surrendered the kingdome againe into his hands, when he came to age. *Archadius* leauing his sonne *Theodosius* in his minoritie, and being at his wits end whome he might leaue to be his protector, and aboute all others fearing the Persians; determined with himselfe vpon aduice, to comit the charge thereof by his last Will in writing, vnto *Indisgertes* king of Persia, and to set his Faith as a shield against his force, and to tie his hands with the holy band of Protectorship, praieng him to keepe and preferue the empire for his sonne. *Indisgertes* taking the protectorship vpon him, executed it so faithfully, that he preferued both the life and empire of *Theodosius*.

Faith tieth the hands euen of enemies.

The faithfulness of king *Lewis* the xii.

Don Philip of Austrich, king of Castile, and lord of the Low countries, considering how he left his sonne *Charles* not aboue eleuen yeres old, & that afore he should be of full age, the king of France might inuest himselfe in the Low-countries: to prevent

uent this inconuenience, did by his testament ordaine king *Leuis* the twelfth to be his protector. Wherupon the king by consent of the country, appointed the lord of Chieures to be gouernor there, and neuer made any warre vpon him, notwithstanding that *Maximilian* gaue him sufficient causes to haue done it. *Licurgus* being counsell'd therto by his countrymen, and also by his sister in law the queene, to take vpon him the kingdome of Lacedemon, after the death of his brother: would not hearken vnto it, but kept it faithfullie for his nephew *Charilaw*, who was borne after his fathers decease; chusing rather to be a faithfull protector, than an vnfaithfull king; cleane contrarie to *Leuis Sfortia*, who of a Gardian, made himselfe duke of Millan, dispossessing his nephew *Iohn Galeas* and his posteritie thereof; But he kept it not any long time. In all the doings of these good princes, there was neither oth nor promise, but only a good and sincere will, to keep touch with such as had relied vpon the trust of their faithfulness. For whersoever there hath passed either oath, or single promise, good men haue neuer doubt but it was to be kept, as the forealleaged examples may witness vnto vs. And *Cicero* in one of his orations saith, That the Gods immortall do punish a periured person and a liar both with one punishment, because they be offended at the trecherie and malice wherby men be beguiled, rather than at the prescript forme of words and couenants, wherin the oth is comprised. But whersoever an oth was added vnto it, they held it and kept it, whatsoeuer it cost them: as we see in the Poets, concerning the vow of *Agamemnon*, the which is like inough to haue bene counterfai't out of the historie of *Ieptha*. In the xxij and xxx of *Deut.* it is written thus, If a man be bound by oth, he shall performe whatsoeuer he hath promised. And *Cicero* in his bookes of Duties, saith, That we ought in any wise to keepe the promise wherein we call God to witness. And as *Sophocles* saith, He that that sweareth, ought to be sore afraid that he sinne not against God. The *Aegyptians* did punish periured persons with death, because they sinned

A periured person and a liar are very nigh all one.

Of Oths...

double,

double, as well in violating religion towards God, as in taking away faithfulness from among men, the greatest and straightest bond of humane societie.

The reuerēce
of an oath.

After the battell of Cannas, *Scipio* being aduertised that certaine senators held a counsell in secret, how to forsake the citie of Rome; went suddenly in among them with his naked sword in his hand, and made them to sweare that they should not for any cause forsake the citie; which thing they durst not but performe, for feare of their oath. As likewise did a certaine Tribune, who for feare of death, had promised *Torquatus* to withdraw his accusation which he had exhibited against his father; for hee withdrew it indeed for his oath sake, notwithstanding that *Torquatus* had compelled him thereto by force, in holding his sword's point to his throat. So great reuerence did the men of old time yeeld vnto an oath.

The Samnits hauing warred long time with the Romans, and being almost vtterly destroyed, would needs for their last refuge put theselues once more to the trial of fortune (whome they had found so contrarie vnto them) and hazard all in one battell. And for the better executing of their determination, they sware by great oathes euerichone of them, that they would neuer retire out of the battel, but follow their captaine whether soeuer he led them, and if any of them all recoiled, they sware all to kill him. This oath had such force, that neuer any people were seene to fight so desperatly and valeantly, as they fought at that time. Neuerthelesse, the valiancie & good government of the Romanes was of more force than their stoutnesse.

The oath of
Proculus.

The thing that made the people of Rome beleue that *Romulus* was not slaine, but conueied vp into heaven, vvas the great oth that *Proculus* sware vnto them that he saw him deified, and had spoken vvith him. For the people were of opinion, that *Proculus* whom they esteemed to be a good man, and a friend to *Romulus*, would not haue taken such an oth, except he had bene sure that the thing was as he affirmed.

Lycurgus, to the intent his cuntrymen should not disanull
the

the lawes which he had newly stablished among them: although he had gotten them ratified by the oracle of *Apollo*, yet would needs take an oth of the people, and caused them to sweare, that they should not infringe them vntill his return, to the end that the reuerence of the oth which they had taken, might restrain them from altering any thing. After the example of whome, christian princes ought to bee well ware, that they violat not their faith, nor set light by the oth which they take for performance of their promises. Wherof we haue a notable example in the fourteenth chapter of the first booke of *Samuel*, where God is very sore angrie, for that *Ionathas* the sonne of king *Saul*, in chasing his enemies, had tasted a little hony; which was in respect of the oath which *Saul* had made, that neither he nor any of his people should eat any thing before night, and afore hee had bene fully reuenged of his enemies. In so much that although *Ionathas* was not present at the making of the vow, yet had *Saul* put him to death, if the people had not saued him.

An example of the despising of oths and vowes.

And in the one and twentieth of the second booke of *Samuel*, because *saul* being moued with a good zeale had slaine certaine of the Amorrhits, contrarie to the promise made vnto them by the Israelits of old time, that they would not hurt them; God sent a famine among the Israelits, which ceased not vntill they had deliuered seuen of *sauls* children to the Amorrhits, to take vengeance of them.

These examples shew how greatly our God abhorreth periurie, to the intent no man should excuse himselfe vnder pretence that no touch is to be kept with him that breaketh his promise; or, that one cōpanion is to keepe touch with another, but not the master with his seruant, nor the christian with the infidel. For an oath ought to be so holy, and so had in reuerence, that it should not be falsified for all the goods in the world. For as saint *Ambrose* sayth in his third booke of *Du-*

Promise is to be kept euen with the infidels.

H that

that did put all to the sword, pretended to be strangers come from a farre countrie, of purpose to ioine in league with them: and *Ioshua* beleeuing them to haue said truth, made a league with them. And by and by after, when their frawd was detected, the people would haue serued them as they serued the rest: but *Ioshua* would not for his oths sake, but chose rather to keepe promise with the fraudulent, & to let the mis-beleeuing infidels liue, notwithstanding that God had commanded him to root them out, than to violat his promise giuen, in reuenge of their frawd. Whosoever deceiueth his brother (saith the sonne of *Syrach*) his sin shall be vpon him: and if he dissemble, he sinneth double; and if he sweare in vaine, he shall not be iustified, but his house shall be full of tribulation. And in another place, Cursed (saith he) is he that is double-minded. And in the 59 Psalme, *Dauid* praieth God to shew no mercie or fauour, to such as deale maliciously of deceitfull purpose. Also the best reputation that a Prince can haue, and best be- seeming his maiestie, is to keepe his promise, yea though hee haue not sworne vnto it. For good princes (said *Trasian*) are more bound to performe their promises, than to accomplish the things that they themselues desire.

And therefore a prince ought not to falsifie his promise vnder pretence of profit, nor to say that his counsell willeth it, or his estate requireth it. For he ought not to do any euill for the maintainance of his state. And hee that hath so discredited himselfe, shall not often recouer it, because he shall be taken and esteemed as a faithlesse prince; and if hee fortune to bee driuen to make any accord or league, it will be hard for him to be admitted into it, for the opinion that shall go of him: for as sayth *Cicero*, When a man is once periured, he may sweare by all the Gods, and no man will beleue him.

And *Guichardine* sayth, there is little sinceritie and faithfull dealing to be hoped for at that Princes hand, of whome men haue conceiued opinion, that he is a double and deceitfull person. Whereby it may come to passe, that hee shall lose more by shewing himselfe to be a periurer, than he can gaine by

Good princes
ought to keep
well their pro-
mises.

The dutie of Magistrats.

99

by any profit what soeuer it seeme to be. Besides that, it falleth out that oftentimes the deceiuer himselfe is deceiued, and that (as saith *Hesiodus*) euill counsell turneth to the hurt of him that giueth it. *Lewis* the eleuenth was a deepe dissembler, and of great forecast; but his dissimulation was like to haue cost him his life. For the Duke of Burgoine detecting his trains, tooke him prisoner at Perone, and compelled him to graunt him whatsoeuer he required. *Charles* the seuenth who draue the Englishmen victoriously out of France, auailed more by his plaine dealing, than his sonne did by all his sleights and subtilties. Therefore whosoever will leaue a good and commendable remembrance of himselfe to posteritie, will rather forgoe some piece of wealth, than willinglie be counted a notable deceiuer, periurer, and liar. And yet such doth *Machiavell* tearme the princes of his time, that compassed their affaires well. But yet for all that, he shall find the foundations which this cunning cosener and wilie beguiler laid of his house, by his subtile sleights, were such as ouerthrew it immediately after his death. Neither is it for a man (when he hath sworne or promised a thing) to excuse himselfe, or to shift it off with captiousnesse of words, whereby he may seeme to haue accomplished his promise, when he hath not; For (as *Cicero* saith) Not what a man saith, but what he intendeth and pretendeth to doe, is to bee regarded. As for example, when a prisoner that is let goe vpon promise to returne againe, faineth himselfe by and by to haue forgotten somewhat behind him, and thereupon comes backe againe, and after being cleane gone, returneth no more to his maister; saying that he had performed his promise, in that he had returned afore. Or as he that hauing made a truce with his enemies for eight daies, did war vpon them in the nights.

Euill counsell
turneth to
the hurt of
him that
counselleth
it.

Not what
men say, but
what they pre-
tend, is to
be regarded.

Herodotus reporteth a foule & shameful kind of dealing of one *Amasis* the colonel of king *Darius* footmē against the Barceans, who perceiuing himselfe vnable to ouercome them by force, caused a great pit to be made in the night, the which he

ouerlayd with timber well seasoned, and couered it ouer with earth in such sort, as no man could suspect any trench vnderneath it. The next day hee came to treat with the Barceans vpon the sayd pit, where the Barceans on their part promised to pay tribute to *Darius*, and *Amasis* promised on the other part to vse them as friends, and not to make any warre vpon them, so long as the earth whereupon they then stood, continued.

Vpon the concluding of the league in this maner, the Barceans came to the campe of the Persians, and the Persians went into the citie, the gates wherof were set open vnto them. But suddenly he caused the timber to be pulled away, and so the earth sunke downe to the bottome of the pit, wherupon the Persians fell immediatly to sacking of the citie; as who would say, they were discharged of their promise, because the earth there was not in like case as it was at the time that the peace was sworne.

The Flemings vsed the like cautell to couer their periurie; for at such time as the king of England dealt with *Iaques* of *Artenil*, to get the Flemings to take his part, whereunto they would haue condescended, but for the oth which they had made to the king of France. To shift off this oath, and to cloke their periurie, *Iaques* aduised the king of England to proclaime himselfe king of France, and to beare the arms of France quartered with the arms of England, to the intent it might be said, that their bearing of armes was in the behalfe of the king of France. Which thing when the king of England had done, they turned to his side, without making any stay.

And wee must not thinke it strange, that some to main-
 raine their error, doe very vnaduisedly alleage this Pro-
 uerbe spoken in Latine by *Lewis* the eleuenth, That he which
 can no skill to dissemble, can no skill to reigne; as who
 would say, that all dissimulation were deceit; but there is
 a great deale of difference betwixt them; for dissimula-
 tion commeth of Wisedome, but deceit sauiourth of Rei-
 nard the Fox. To dissemble in time and place, is great
 wisdom.

There is great
 difference be-
 twixt dissimu-
 lation and de-
 ceitfuinesse or
 guile.

wisdome. It is as much to say, as that a man must strike saile, and apply himselfe to the wind like a good pilot, & take good heed to the seasons. For sometimes it behooueth a man to be sterne, and somtimes to be meeld, and after a sort to abay the people, (at least wise so it be with some maiesty) to heare and see disorders, & to put vp wrongs, without saying any thing to them, and to say as *Antigonus* said to his sonne; Art thou ignorant my son, that our raigning is nothing else than a certaine glorious bondage?

To raigne is but a kind of honourable bondage.

Among the sumptuous he must be bountiful, and with the moderat hee must vse moderation, as *Alcibiades* could well skill to doe, who by applying himselfe vnto the behaiors of all men, and to the customes of all nations, did purchase to himselfe their friendship. *Brutus* plaied the disard, to the intent that men should haue no mistrust of him, nor be priuie to the greatnesse of his courage. *Clowis* in not punishing a certaine souldier out of hand, that had denied him the vessell of *S. Remy*, did wisely, for feare of a mutinie among the men of warre; but yet he punished him afterward, howbeit after a barbarous fashion, in that he slew him with his owne hand. *Lewis* the eleuenth did now and then heare himselfe il spoken of, and wisely dissembled it. Such dissimulation is needfull for a king, and is expressed in the first booke of the *Iliads* of *Homer*, vnder the person of *Chalcas* the soothsayer, who durst not tell the truth before king *Agamemnon*, nor from whence the plague proceeded that was as then in the campe of the Greeks, vntill *Achilles* had vndertaken to warrant him. For when a king (quoth he) is angrie, although hee make no outward countenance thereof, but dissemble it for the present time, yet will he not faile to be auenged afterward.

When any great and princely personage,
Is stir'd to choler be it nere so small,
Though for the present he suppress his rage,

Ronsard.

The dutie of Magistrats.

*Yet in his heart the heat therof at all
Abateth not; no winke of sleepe can fall
Within his eies, vntill he doe espie
Conuenient means to be reuenged by.*

A prince is
not to keepe
his promise
made by oth,
if it be against
the dutie be-
tweene man-
and man.

It is another maner of thing to pretend to be a man of honestie, and to promise that which he intendeth not to performe, for that is called guile or deceit, and not dissimulation. I know well that a prince for want of aduisement and consideration, may make some oth which it weré much better for him to breake than to keepe. As for example, *Herod* at the feast of his birth-day, sware that he would giue his daughter whatsoeuer she would aske: and she by hir mothers counsell, asked the head of *S. Iohn Bapstist*. The king being sory that he' had sworne, but yet daring not falsifie his oth, caused his head to be smitten off. But had he bin a good man, he would in that case haue broken his oth. For in swea- ring to giue her any thing of how great value soeuer it were, he meant not to giue hir the life of any good man. And although he had so' said, yet was not the oth to haue bin of any value or effect, being made against good behavior. For the vow that is made against vpright and iust dealing, is no vow at all, neither ought it in any wise to be kept or performed. In all cases where two incoueniencies offer theselues, alway the least is to be chosen. And therefore he should haue answered the faire lady, as *Agesslaus* answered a friend of his, that charged him with his promise in an vnreasonable thing that he demanded; who refusing to graunt his request, said, If the thing that you require be rightful, I promised it; if it be vnrightful, I promised it not. And when it was replied that a prince ought to performe whatsoeuer he promiseth; no more (quoth he) than the subiect ought to demand any thing that is vnreasonable. *Herod* therefore was no more bound by his generall promise, to deliuer *Iohn Bapstist*'s head, than *Agetus* was to deliuer his wife to his friend *Ariston*, vnder pretence of his oth. For *Ari-*

A subiect
ought not to
require any
thing that is
vnreasonable.

ston being in loue with the wife of *Agetus*, a woman of excellent beautie, found this fraud to get hir out of hir husbands hands: He promised *Agetus* to giue him any one thing that he would chuse of all that euer he had, praying him to doe the like for him againe. *Agetus* not mistrusting that *Ariston* being a married man, would haue left his owne wife to take another mans, agreed to his request and sware it. *Ariston* discharged his owne promise out of hand; and when it came to his turne to make his demaund, he required the wife of *Agetus*; who therupon' affirmed, that his meaning was to giue him any thing sauing hir. Neuerthelesse, although he was thus circumvented, yet deliuered he hir for his othis sake, making more account of his oth, than did a certaine Romane in the like case; who hauing sworne that he would neuer put away his wife, did put hir away afterward being taken in adultrie; howbeit not afore he had obtained a dispensation of his oth, at the hands of the emperor *Vespasian*. Which things serue well to shew, in what estimation an oth was had in time past, seeing that men would performe it, notwithstanding that they were beguiled in the making therof. Much lesse then is he to be excused, which hauing aduisedly and vpon good deliberatiō, granted a thing, doth falsifie his promise, vnder colour that it is against the benefit of his realme. True it is that (as *Cicero* saith in his books of duties) if a man be drawne by deceit, or driuen by feare, to make any promise, he is discharged therof; but otherwise he ought to keepe it. And he shall find that his affaires shal prosper better by keeping touch, than by vsing deceit; which ill-beseemeth all men, and chiefly those that are of greatest calling. For (as saith *Thucydides*) deceit is alwaies more foule and shamefull, than violence; because violence is wrought by a kind of vertue, and by authoritie; but deceit proceedeth of very malice and mischieuousnesse.

The man that granterth aduisedly and vpon leisurely deliberation, ought not to breake his promise.

CHAP. XIII.

Of Truth.



Or as much as I haue spoken of falshood and deceit, against the which *Mercurie* the great opposeth truth; to the intent we may be the more prouoked to keepe our faith, and to performe our promises: This place inuitteth me to speake a word or twaine by the way in commendation of Truth, the which *Plato* termeth, The wel-spring of all good things. For as *Plato* saith in his *Timæus*, Like as without being, there is no generation; so without Truth, there is no faithfulness. And therefore *Dauid* doth ordinarily take Truth for that same stedfastnesse which we haue in keeping our promise, which wee call Faithfulness. My meaning is not to speake here of the original truth, for that resteth alonly in God, accordingly as our Lord told the Iews, That he was the light and the truth. And this truth cannot be known of any, but only of the father of Truth, who is the euerlasting God, as saith *origen*. For none but the father knoweth the son, neither doth any but the sonne know the father. And *Mercurie* in his chapter of Generation, saith, That the truth is a thing vncumbered, vnwithered, vnpainted, vndisguised, vnmovable, vnueiled, apparant, comprehensible of it selfe, vchangeably good, and spiritual. Wherin the antient Philosophers agree with vs, saying that we haue but a shadow of the Truth, & that the pure Truth is in heauen. Truth (saith *Menander*) is an inhabitant of heauen, and dwelleth with the gods. And the Persians worshipped a great God, which in body resembled the light, and in soule the Truth, as who would say, that God was light and Truth. Therefore of all the things that are on earth, none (as saith *Mercurie* in the xv. of his *Pimander*) can be called truth, but only an imi-
tation

tation of the truth. And whē the wit receiueth influence from aboue, then doth it imitate the truth : for without inworking from aboue, it abideth in vntruth ; like as the shape of a man in a painted table, representeth a very bodie, but is not a body indeed as the eye imagineth it to be, in so much that although it seeme verily to haue eyes and eares, yet it neither seeth nor heareth at all : euen so the things that men behold with their eies are but leasings. Men beare themselues on hand that they see the truth, but in very deed they be but lies. For truth cannot be vpon earth ; but yet it may be, that some men to whom God hath giuen power to see diuine things, do vnderstand the truth: howbeit, that is not the truth of speaking and vnderstanding things as they be indeed . For the very truth is the soueraigne Good, and true things are the effects thereof, which are the off-springs or imps of truth. In so much that the truth which remaineth with vs in this world , is but a countershape and shadow of the very truth, the which we follow when wee forbear frawd, lying, and deceit, and proceed in good & faithfull dealing, truth, and loialtie; according to this saying of the Psalmist, The works of Gods hands are truth and vprightnes, that is to say, Faithfulnesse ; his commandements are made in truth, that is to say, in substantiall Faithfulnesse : which kepeth truth euermore, that is to say, which alwaies keepeth promise. The beginning of his word is Truth, that is to say, his word is a grounded stablenesse . And in another place, All thy commandements (sayth he) be Truth. For (as sayth *Pindar*) to be true of heart is the ground and foundation of all vertue . And therefore *Dauid* praieth God, not to take the word of Truth out of his mouth. And in the fourteenth Psalm he sayth thus, Lord who shall dwell on thy holy hill ? he that dealeth iustly with his neighbour, and speaketh the truth from his heart, and beareth true witnesse. Wherein we haue to consider, that hee matcheth Righteousnesse and Truth together, as who would say, he esteemeth a soothfast man to be a righteous man, and a righteous man to be a soothfast man ; and hardly indeed can they be seuered, according to this saying of *Dauid*, in the

To be true, is
the beginning
of all Vertue.

119 Psalme, Thou hast commaunded vprightnesse and truth about all things. Thou shalt haue folke at thy commaundement, because of thy meekenesse, vprightnesse, and truth. The kings throne that iudgeth folke with truth, shall be stablished for euer. And *Salomon* in his *Prouerbs* sayth, That he which speaketh the truth, vttereth righteousnesse. And in another place he saith, That meeldnesse and truth, vphold and maintaine a king. When *Iethro* counselled *Moses* to disburden himselfe of the paine of iudging perticular cases, he aduised him to chuse such men as were wise, true of their word, and fearing God; as who would say, that the maintenance of iustice depended vpon truth. After which maner, *Marcus Aurelius* said, That in an honest woman, truth & chastitie ought to be matched together; and it was neuer seene but the woman that was true of word, was also chaste; and that the liar was sildome chaste. And as *Varia Mesa* was wont to say, It is no lesse shame for women that are come of good houses to be liars, than to be vnchaste. *Socrates* would that a prince should about all things be true of his word, to the end that his bare word might be more esteemed than another mans oths. And *Cicero* in one of his orations saith, That he which shrinketh from the truth, will passe as little to forswear himselfe, as to make a lie. And in another place he saith, that truth is of so great might, that it cannot be vanquished by any subtiltie or wilnesse whatsoeuer: and that it is a sufficient defence to it selfe, though it haue no man of law to plead for it. *Euripides* saith, That the word of truth is plaine, and needeth no interpreter. And *Salomon* saith, that the lip of truth is euer steadie, but the toung of falshood is euer variable. In all thy works let the word of truth goe before thee (saith the son of *Sirach*, in his third chapter) *Pithagoras* said, That when we exercise truth, we follow the foot-steps of God. *Plato* in his fift booke of *Laws*, saith, That truth is the guid to all goodnesse, be it towards God, or towards man; & that whosoever wil be happie, must be partaker therof; and that by that means, he shall be worthie to be beleued; and contrariwise, that he shal be vn-

worthie

The maintenance of iustice dependeth vpon truth.

The woman that is true of word, is also chaste.

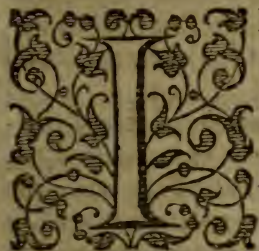
Truth is a sufficient defence to himselfe.

worthie of credit, which loueth to lie. He that bare the office of lord chiefe iustice in *Ægypt*, did weare an image of truth hanging at his brest; which image of truth, was had in singular estimation of the *Druides* also. The men of old time painted their God *Pan* with two faces, meaning thereby that he had skill both of good and euill, of truth and falshood, taking the face on the forpart to represent truth, the which they painted faire, beautiful, and amiable; and the face on the backpart to betoken falshood, the which they portraied soule, illfaouored, and ouglie, like vnto a Goar, or some other brute beast, of purpose to shew the difference that is betweene truth and vnto truth.

The estimation that men of old time had vnto truth.

CHAP. XIII.

Of Religion, and Superstition.



IN handling the fore-said question so well discussed by *Cicero* in his books of Duties, and well debated among such as haue to deale with matters of state. I haue told you heretofore that *Machiauell* held this cronious opinion, That a prince was of necessity to deale contrarie to faithfulness and Religion, for the maintenance of his estate. Of Faithfulness I haue spoken sufficiēt alreadie: now remaineth to enquire of Religion, because in some respects it is an appendant of our discourse, or to say truly, all that euer we haue treated of hitherto, and all that euer we shall treat of hereafter, depēdeth vpon that. For it is the ring-leader of al vertues, & as the but wherat al they do shoot, without the which, neither prince nor any other person whatsoeuer, can be wise, vertuous, or happy, or do any thing that shalbe ought-worth; but religion is of it selfe beofful & profitable to al thing, as faith

Nothing can
continue in
his state with-
out calling
vpon God.

S. Paul in his epistle to *Timothie*. For it is vnpossible that any of the things which are in nature, should continue in their being and state, without calling vpon God, considering that it is through his fauour and goodnesse that all things abide in their perfection, as *Philo* saith in his third booke of the life of *Moses*. In so much that a gouernour of people, cannot haue a greater good thing in this world, nor a thing more befeeming his maiestie, than Religion; and that it is the greatest honour that can be for him, to stand in aw of God: the which dutie vttereth it selfe in godlinesse and religion. For thereby he honoreth God, and is honored of God, and hath an entrance into all vertues.

The same author expounding *Genesis*, saith, that by the tree of life is betokened the greatest of all vertues, namely Godlinesse, the which maketh the soule immortall. Wherevnto accordeth *S. Ambrose*, in the sixt of his Epistles, where he sayth, that the tree of life is the root of godlinesse, and that to doe due honour and seruice to our Lord and God, is the verie substance of our life. And *Mercurie* saith, that by Religion, man is replenished with all good things, and made to abound in heauenly vnderstanding.

The emperor *Theodosius* was wont to say, that by Religion, peace is maintained, and enemies in war time put to flight. Whosoever then will attaine to vertue, and to the soueraigne good, cannot come to it but by Religion, and by seeking it at Gods hand, who hath promised to graunt vs whatsoeuer wee aske with a good heart, so it be rightfull. For God liketh well of such as call vpon him with a true heart, (saith *David* in the hundred and foure and forteeth Psalm) bringeth to passe the desires of them that feare and loue him, heareth their cries, faueth them, and keepeth them. Hee that loueth God (sayth *Ecclesiasticus*) shall be heard when he praieth for his sinnes, so as he shall abstaine from them, and he shall be heard in his daily praier.

And as *Plato* sayth in his fourth booke of Lawes, A good man ought that man to bee, which shall offer sacrifice vnto God,

God is nere
vnto them
that call vpon
him with a
true heart.

God, and be present at the diuine ceremonies, and there is not any thing more beautifull, more expedient, more behoof-ful to a happie life, nor more befeeming a man, than to giue himselfe to the seruing of God, and to the making of oblati-
 ons, praiers, and supplications vnto God, And the same *Plato* Mans welfare
 saith in his *Theetetus*, That mans felicitie consisteth in consisteth in
 Religion.
 Religion to Godward, which is the greatest vertue that can be
 among men. And as saith *xenophon* in his first booke of the
 trainment of *Cirus*, It is easier to obtaine any thing at the
 hand either of God or of man, by honouring them in our
 prosperitie, than by praying and suing vnto them in our ad-
 uerfitie. Now then, in treating of vertues, it behoueth vs (as
 saith *Iamblichus* in speaking of mysteries) to begin at the best
 and most pretious, which is Religion and the seruice of God,
 a naturall propertie (as saith *Proclus*) that is incident to al men,
 and is essentiall in man. Religion and godlinesse are wel neere
 both one. For godlines, as saith *Mercurie* the great, is nothing
 els but the knowledge of God; and Religion is the knowledge
 of the ceremonies belonging to the worship of God. *Plutarch*
 saith in the life of *Paulus Aemilius*, That Religion is the skill
 how to serue God. And *Cicero* in his Rhetorike saith, That it
 is the bringer of the ceremonies concerning the things that
 belong to the God-head; so as there is no great difference be-
 twixt the one and the other. According to *Festus Pompeius*,
 We call those Religious, which can skill what is to be done,
 and what is to be left vndone. Godlinesse then or Religion, is
 the seruice which we do vnto God in worshipping him as al-
 togither good; almightie, and the author and creator of all
 things. In this acknowledgement did *Abel* make his offerings,
 and *Enos* begin to call vpon God. Afterward *Moses* brought
 the law of God to the children of Israel, written in two tables,
 wherof the first concerneth Religion & the honor that ought
 to be yeilded vnto God; and the other concerneth our dutie
 towards our neighbour, commaunding vs to beleue in God
 only, to loue him with all our heart, to worship him only and
 none other, to giue no honour to any thing wrought by mens
 hands

A definition
 of Religion.

hands; nor to any other creature, but only to the living God; to forbear to take his name in vaine by swearing by it, and much more by forswearing; and to take one day of rest in the weeke to dedicate the same vnto God, and to cease from all worke, and to intend to the seruing of him. And secondly he commaundeth vs to honor our father and mother, to abstaine from murder, theft, fals-witnessing, whoredome, and the co-ueting of any thing whatsoever. Now we find that not only the Israelits, (who had the law written) but also the heathen which had it not, did wholly obserue it, as we shall see by this discourse, chiefly in the case of Religion. We see what is written therof, by such as had not the knowledge of God reuealed vnto them, as namely how diuinely the great *Mercurie* hath written thereof, and how his *Pimander* reuealeth wonderfull secrets vnto him, which are so conformable to our misteries, that they seeme to be drawne out of the same fountaine. And the thing that is most wonderfull, is that he speaketh of the three persons, as if he had bin instructed thereof, by the writings of the gospell, and specially of the wisdom, whom he calleth the sonne of God, to whom he attributeth the creating of all things, according to that which *S. Iohn* saith therof in the beginning of his Gospell. Next vnto *Mercurie*, followeth *Plato*, who for that cause is called the diuine. And after them haue followed many other Philosophers, as is to be seen by their writings, & by the things which *S. Austin* of *Eugubie* hath painfully gathered into his books which he hath made of continuall Philosophie. The Sabines worshipped God in three persons, naming the one Holie, the other *Fidius*, and the third *Semipater*. And in their oths they did commonly put *Fidius* in the midst, as who would say, that vnder that name they cōprehended all the three persons, wherof came their great oth of *Medius fidius*. *Numa Pompilius* king of Romanes, was not of opinion that there were so many gods as he himselfe forged, after the example of others: For he wrote against such vngodlinesse, which books being found

The Heathen kept the ten commaundements.

The Trinitie was knowne of *Mercurie* the great.

Numa Pompilius wrote against the multitude of Gods.

found after his death were burned by commaundement of the Senate, as contrarie to the worshipping of many gods, which follie there was no way as then to put out of their heads; wherein *Numa* did verie ill, in that he had leuer to sticke to the Superstition of the multitude, than to tell them his mind without dissimulation, how he made idols, neuertheless the people were forbidden to beleue that God had the shape of beast or man; insomuch that in those first times, there was not in Rome any image of God, either painted, carued, or cast in mould. And for the space of the first six hundred threescore and ten yeares, they builded vp temples and chapels to their gods, but there was not in them any image or figure of God; as who would say, they thought it sacriledge to haue the mind to resemble or liken the Godhead to earthly things, considering that it is not in any wise possible to attaine to the knowledge of the Godhead, otherwise than by means of the vnderstanding. And that was agreeable to the doctrine of *Pitthagoras*, who was of opinion, that the first cause was after a sort conceivable in vnderstanding, but yet vtterly invisible and vncorruptible.

As touching an oth, I haue already shewed in what estimation it was among the infidels, and how they abhorred perurie, to our great shame. For surely to take God to witnesse in a lie, is a verie great wickednesse.

Of Swearing
and of Oths.

And as touching the taking of one day in the weeke, to respit both men and beasts from worke and trauell, *Hesiodus* the antient Poet commaundeth it in his booke of Workes and Daies; and *Plato* saith in his booke of Lawes, that the gods pittying men, least they should ouer-worke themselves, haue giuen them a release of their labor, by leauing them holi-daies ordained in their honor. Thus ye see how many of the men of old time, at the beginning of the law of nature, did well enough practise the law of God; had not the deuill thrown them into the wretched & abhominable sin of idolatrie, and that some certaine persons had not turned all vpside downe by the inuention of idols, as is written in the xiiij and

Of the sabbat
day.

xiiij chapters of the booke of Wisdome. For that hath caused men to be wholly giuen to earthly things, bearing themselues on hand, that an image made by mans hand was their God, and therefore worshipping it as God, by offering sacrifices of beasts vnto it, as though it tooke pleasure in the smokie sent of the multitude of burnt offerings, and had need of oxen, goats, and sheep. But in the end, God sending his owne son into the world, hath made vs to know that which many prophets, and especially *David* in his fifteteenth and three and fifteteenth Psalms hath said, namely, That the true sacrifice is to praise the true and inuisible God, to yeeld him thanks for all his benefits, to lift vp our minds vnto him, to pray vnto him with all deuotion and humilitie, and to offer vnto him in sacrifice, a pure and cleane heart, adorned with feare and obedience, according to this saying of *S. Paul*, That we must offer vnto him a living host; that is to say, our bodies without blemish, and as *Philo* saith, Can there be found a goodlier sacrifice, than the soule that is well minded towards God? Who shall goe vp into the Lords hill, but he that is of pure and cleane heart, considering that not he which saith Lord, Lord, but he that doth the Lords will, shal enter into the kingdome of heauen? For, as *Persus* saith, When we bring vnto God from the closet of our soule, holinesse, and from the bottome of our heart, a pure and obedient mind, and a meeke affection seasoned with goodnesse, vertue, and honestie, then may we boldly offer yp our praiers and sacrifices vnto him; but otherwise it behoueth vs to be well ware that we presume not vnto him. For the sacrifice of the wicked is lothsome vnto God, saith *Salomon*. And *Plato* in his fourth booke of Lawes, saith, That God accepteth not, ne regardeth not the gifts of the wicked, and that their pains in that behalfe, are in vaine; but that on the contrarie part, he doth willinglie receiue the gifts of the holie. And as *Philo* saith in his third booke of the life of *Moses*, If the person that offereth be euill and vnrighteous, his sacrifices are no sacrifices, his halowed things are vnholie, and his prayers turne to the contrarie, procuring him misfortune in stead

God accepteth not the offerings of the wicked.

stead of good. This honouring of God with heart and mind, we call Godlines, and Religion, which is the meane betweene vngodlinesse (wherof alonly we ought not to make mention) and Superstition. Of Religion and Superstition, *Cicero* in his third booke of the Nature of the gods, speaketh in this wise: Our worshipping (saith he) with a pure, cleane, sound, and vncorrupted mind and voice. For not only the Philosophers, but also our ancestors haue seperated religion from superstitiō. For such as praied all the day, that their children might outliue them, were called superstitious; and they that were diligent in doing the things that pertaine vnto the worshipping of the gods, were called Religious. Of the word *Religio* (which signifieth to bind-ouer, because Religion bindeth men to the performance of their dutie towards God.) And so of the ij. things betokened by the two words of Religion & Superstition, men haue made the one a vice, and the other a vertue. So then, we call those superstitious, which are ouer-religious, and leauing the true vse of the praiers that are to be made vnto God, doe busie themselues in babling, and in requiring vaine things at his hand, as those sillie soules did, which ceased not to be importunat vnto God, that their children might suruiue them, whose so doing, hath giuen vnto their faultie religiō the name of Superstition; whereto full many do giue themselues at this day, pratling vncessantly vnto God, not knowing what they aske, notwithstanding that our Lord hath commaunded vs to seeke Gods kingdome and righteousnesse, promising that all temporall things shal be added as an income to our praier, and inioining vs as a pattern of praieing, to say the praier that euery man hath in his mouth, namely, the Lords praier; wherein our only speech is of the honoring of God, and our praieing is for the forgiuenes of our sins, for strength to withstand them, and for our ordinarie food. Generally we terme all those superstitious, which of a misbelcefe, are astonished at euery extraordinary thing that they see. For as *Plutarch* sayth in the life of *Alexander*, Superstition droppeth downe continually into the hearts of them that are cast down and ouerwhelmed of feare,

Of Supersti-
tion.

Superstition
slippeth down
into the hearts
of such as are
ouerwhelmed
with feare.

as for example, those that are afrighted at the eclipse of the sun or the moone, at the howling of woolues, at the noise of the Screech-owle, or of the night-rauen, or at the flying of certaine birds, and such other like things. In all the which the Romanes were too too superstitious, as is to be seene by a procession of theirs, wherein they caused the Reliks of their gods to bee borne vpon barrowes on horse-backe through the citie; wherein because the Carter had taken the horse by the reine with his left hand, they appointed the procession to be begun new againe. And sometimes for one poore flie, that is to say, for a thing of nothing, they made some one sacrifice to be begun twentie or thirtie times. Some of the men of old time termed this maner of dealing an exact Righteousnesse, and we call it a fond and foolish Superstitiousnesse; howbeit that wee must needs confesse, that together with those ceremonies of theirs, (such as they were) they had Religion also in singular reuerence and estimation; insomuch that they would rather doe against their lawes, than falsifie their oth, because they deemed it a hainouser matter to offend God, than to offend man. So deeply had they Religion, (that is to say, The loue and feare of God) imprinted in their hearts, without which, a prince or a common-weale can neuer prosper. For (as *Machiauel* saith in the first booke of his discourse, a little better than he speaks in his booke of a Prince) whēsoeuer the feare of God once faileth, needs must the kingdom decay. *Paul* cōmandeth vs to honor the king, because he hath his power of God. Now if we ought to honor the king in respect of the power which he hath from God, what ought the king himselve to doe, to whom God is so gracious, as to place him in that dignitie, and to make so many men obedient vnto him? Certes seeing he is the image of God, the least that he can doe is to lift vp the eies of his mind to behold him whom he representeth, & to worship that heauenly mirror, wherein by looking on himselve, he must needs behold the goodnesse and maiestie of God. *S. Iohn Chriostome* writing vpon these words of Genesis; *God made man after his owne image*
and

Where the
feare of God
wanteth, the
realme must
needs decay.

and likenesse, saith, it is meant of the image of soueraignie. For like as God commaundeth all men, so man commaundeth all the liuing things that God hath put into this world. A prince commaundeth all inferior persons, and God commaundeth the prince.

Princes commaund men, and God princes.

Which thing *David* acknowledging in the 118 Psalm, saith that he praised the Lord seuen times a day. He had good store of businesse to doe, but yet could they not turne him from the seruing of God. As proud and high minded a prince as great *Alexander* was, yet the first thing that he did euerie day after he was vp, was to doe sacrifice to the gods. There haue bin few princes, which haue not at least wise pretended to be religious, or bin religious indeed. But there is as much difference betweene the one and the other, as there is betweene truth and vntruth, or betweene the soule and the body. Yet notwithstanding seeing that they which haue not any zeale of religion, cannot forbear the pretence therof; it declareth vnto vs, that religion is a thing most requisit for the maintenance of a state, because men are of opinion, that the prince which is religious, is so guided by Gods hand, that he cannot do amisse; which causeth them to reuerence him & obay him the more easily. And to say truth, we see, not only that kings haue bin maintained & vpheld by religion, but also that princes haue obtained kingdomes and empires by religion. As for example, *Numa* the second king of Romanes, being a Sabine borne, was sought and sent for by the citie of Rome, to be made king of Romans, because they saw him wholly giuen to religion, perswading theselues that they could not speed amis, if they were gouerned by a deuout and religious prince. And in very deed, it fell out according to their hope. For he did so much, that that people being then barbarous, & altogither giuen to the wars, without law & without religion, attained to that greatnesse of state which we haue seen since, wheras it had bin vnpossible for a warlik nation as that was, to haue escaped frō vndoing theselues, had they not bin bridled by religiō, the only means to hold the cruellest people of the world in peace, and

A prince can not forbear Religion.

Religion maketh princes to be obayed.

Alexander called himselfe the sonne of *Jupiter*, to keepe men vnder the yoke of obedience.

in obedience to the Magistrate. That was the cause which moued *Alexander* to name himselfe the sonne of *Jupiter*. For as *Plutarch* saith, he was not so presumptuous to imagine that he was begotten of a god; but he serued his owne turne with it, to hold men vnder the yoke of obedience by the opinion of such diuine nature, which hee by that means imprinted in them, like as in his ceremonies also, he had the feat to reuiue the foretellings of his soothsaiers: which thing he shewed specielle at the siege of *Tyre*. For whereas his soothsaier had assured him that he should take the citie before the end of that present month, and euery man laughed at it, because it was the last day of the month, and the citie was impregnable: he putting all his forces in a readines for the assault, made proclamation that that day should be reckoned but for the 28 day of the moneth, & yet notwithstanding gaue present assault to the citie, and wan it out of hand, contrarie to his hope. The emperor *Charles* the fift, vsed the like feat, whē he arriued at *S. Laurencis* in Prouince. For he considered that it was the 25 of *Iuly* which is *S. James* day; and because he had landed in *Affrike* the same day twelue-month, the yeare before, he made great vaunt of his fortunat and happy lucke and handsell, in arriuing the same day in *France*, saying that his voiage was miraculously guided and directed by the will of *God*, the disposer and orderer of humane affairs; and that as on the like day he had put the *Turke* to flight at *Argier*, so hee hoped to doe as much to the *French* king, through the direction and fauor of *God*, seeing they were arriued in *France* on the same day, and vnder the same head. *Constantine* made himselfe great by embracing the *Christian* religion, as the *Ecclesiasticall* historie witnesseth vnto vs. The thing that serued *Pepins* turne most, was that he was reported to be religious, and beloued of religious men, because he had caused the churches to be reedified, which had bin beaten down by the *Sarzins*; and had restalled the bishops of *Remes* & *Orleans* in their sees, frō which they had bin put by his father; and had restored the tenths to the clergie, that *Charls Martel* had takē away, & giuen to his men.

Constantine, *Pepin*, and *Charlemaine*, became great by Religion.

of warre. And to compasse his enterprife with the more ease, he helped himselfe at his need with Religion, that is to say by the Pope, without whom he had come short of his purpose. For the Pope dispensed with the Frenchmen for their oath which they had made to *Childerik*; & comming himselfe personably into France, did put the realme into *Pepins* hand: Which thing the Frenchmen had neuer agreed vnto, as our histories beare witnessse, if it had not bin vnder the cloke of Religion, and by authoritie of the partie whom they deemed to haue power to dispence with mens consciences. The same Religion made *Charlemaine* emperour, and diuers persons kings of Naples and Sicilie, by deposing the true heirs. Religion gaue the kingdome of Ierusalem to *Godfrey* of Bulleine, and made the Christians to trauell ouer seas and lands to conquer the holy land, vnder zeale of Religion. Vnder pretence of Religion, and of an excommunication, the kingdome of Nauarre was wrongfullie seized by the Spaniards. The kings of Persia lost their kingdome through disagreement in Religion; and the Sophy (because he was found deuout in his Religion) recouered all that his forefathers had lost. We see at this day, how the contempt and disagreement in Religion, shaketh all the states of Christendome, and will yet shake them more, if the dissentious spirits be not reunited againe in the bosome of the church. *S. Lois* got himselfe more glorie in Syria and Ægypt by his holy conuersation, than by his wars, wherein he had not any happie successe; and the churches which we see of his building, doe shew sufficiently how hee was giuen to Religion. *Philip* the emperor was not so much renowned for his victories, as for that after the battell of Bouvines, he builded the church of Victorie neer vnto Sens, the which he dedicated to the virgin *Marie*, and afterward did great good to the Clergi-men. And whē his officers complained vnto him, of his diminishing of his reuenues by enriching of the church-men; he answered, That he had receiued so much good at Gods hand, that he could not denie any thing to his Temples and Ministers, for the great goods

The bountifullnesse of *Philip Augustus* to the Clergie.

which he had gotten and gained by helpe more than humane, and euen by the fauor of God. But now leauing our christian histories, because my chiefe intent is not to speak of them, let vs read *Titus Linius*, and there we shall see the deuotion that was in the Romanes of old time, and among others, the zeale of *Lucius Albinus* a commoner, who hauing his wagon loaden with his wife and yoong children, and with his mouables, and fleeing from the Gauls that were come to Rome; as soone as he espied the Nuns of *Vesta* on foot, carrying their holy relikes with them; immediatly he caused his wife and children to come downe, and his goods to be vnloaden, and lent his wagon to the virgins to ride in, and to carrie their Relikes.

Numa Pompilius, to the intent to make the people attentive to the ceremonies of their religion, made an herald to go before the priest that ministred the ceremonies, and to erie with a loud voice, Do this; which was a commaunding of them to intend wholly to the diuine seruice, without intermedling any other action. The good ladies and personages of reputation, did oft frequent the temples; and the founders of them gate great fame and renoune amongst the people.

Scipio holden for religious, and for one that consulted with God vpon his affairs.

Scipio African was one of the happiest captains of Rome, and best beloued of the people & men of war, because they deemed him to doe all things by the counsel of God, for that he vsed to tarry long alone in the capitoll; where their opinion was, that he consulted with *Iupiter* concerning the affaires of the common-weale.

And generally all princes beeing of any good disposition, haue had Religion in singular estimation, as wee read by the answer that *Alexander Seuerus* made to certaine Inholders of Rome, which would haue disappointed the Christians of the building of a chappell to make their prayers in. The things that concerne God (quoth the emperour) are to be preferred before the things that concerne man, and therefore let it be free for the Christians to build their chappell

pell to their God, who though he be vnknowne at Rome, ought neuerthelesse to haue honour done vnto him, euen in respect that he beareth the name of God. And so he chose rather to apply the place to the worshipping of God, than to worldly vses.

And for himselfe, he made it not strange that the Bishops, in cases belonging to their iurisdiction, should giue other iudgement than he had done; as who would say, that in matters of Religion, the emperour ought to giue place to the authoritie of priests, and Bishops.

The honour that *Alexander Severus* yeelded to Bishops.

Plutarch in his treatise of Philosophicall discipline, saith, That common-weales, honour and reuerence priests, because they pray vnto God, not for the welfare of themselves and their friends and acquaintance onely, but in common for all men; and yet the priests cause not the gods to doe vs good, but they onely call vpon them as doers of good.

We see in what reuerence the Romanes had them, by their condemning of *Cneus Cornelius* a Pretor of Rome in a great fine, for quarrelling vniustly with *Emilius Lepidus*, their high priest.

The reuerence that men in old time did beare vnto Priests.

Antiochus king of Syria lying in siege before Ierusalem, at the feast of Tents or Boothes, gaue the Iewes seuen daies truce at their request, because he would not trouble their deuotion: and moreouer sent an Oxe and certaine vessels of gold vnto the gate of the citie, to be offered in sacrifice vnto God. When *Philip* king of Macedonie, was about to lay siege to *Vdisitane* a citie of *Mæsia* belonging to the *Gothes*, their priests came forth to him clad all in white; to whom he yeelded such honour and reuerence, that hee retired without doing them any harne.

No lesse did *Alexander* to the high priest of the Iewes, notwithstanding that he went against him in great choler, and with full purpose to haue destroyed the towne. For when

he saw him come in his priestly ornaments and attire, he not only relented, but also stepped forth alone vnto him, with great honour and reuerence and worshipped God. The same *Alexander* hauing taken the citie of Thebes, razed it, and sold all the citicens thereof, sauing only the priests and men of Religion. *Darius* caused an image of his to be set vp in the temple of *Vulcaine*, before the image of *Sesostris*; the doing wherof *Vulcans* priest withstood, saying, that *Sesostris* had done mo deeds of arms than *Darius*, and therefore deserued to be preferred before him; for which free speech, *Darius* did not the priest any harme, but pardoned him.

Selim liberall to the Chistian Priests, as to men vowed to the seruice of God.

Selim emperor of the Turks being in the citie of Ierusalem, did reuerence to the monuments of the ancient prophets. And albeit that he was an enemy to the verie name of Christians; yet for all that, he letted not to giue the priests monie to find them six moneths, as to deuout persons and men of good life. When *Alarik* king of the Gothes had entered the citie of Rome by force, he made proclamation by the sound of a trumpet, that no harme should be done to such as were fled into the churches of the Apostles to saue themselves; by reason wherof, his souldiers touched not the religious persons, nor the vessels which they carried with them. Wheras *Didier* king of Lumbards, intending to haue seized Rome into his possession afore *Charlemain* should come there, fained himselfe to haue a vow thither, by reason whereof he found the gates open at his comming; yet notwithstanding he durst not enter, because *Adrian* the Pope forbad him vpon paine of excommunication. And I beleue that the feare which he had of *Charlemaine*, helped him wel to the taking of that offer. *Attila* had such regard of Pope *Leo*, that as soon as he had heard him speake, he forbare to go to Rome, & vterly left vp all Italie. *Cabaon* capitaine of Tripolie, finding himselfe too weake to withstand the Vandales, gaue himselfe ouer to Religion, and forbad his men of war to doe wrong to any man, enioyning them to abstaine from women and deintie meats, and giuing them in charge that if the Vandales happened

Religiousnesse maketh Captaines to prosper.

happened to vnhallo w any church of the Christians that they should doe the contrarie, and make them cleane againe. For he told them, that if Christ was the God of the Christians, as he was reported to be, he would punish those that did him wrong, and helpe those that did him seruice. Whervpon this *Cabaon* sent certaine of his men to follow the Vandales in post, who whensoever they found any church where the Vandales had stabled their horses, made it cleane againe as soone as they were gone out of it. If any were poore or diseased, they gaue them alms, and (as ye would say) did worship the priests whom the Vandales had misused. To be short, all the men of old time haue so greatly honored priest-hood, that it had chiefe preheminance next vnto kings; and sometimes kings haue bin priests, and priests haue bin kings and gouernors of people. And at Rome the priests of *Iupiter* had a Mace-bearer, and a chaire of estate, as who would say, they deemed the dignitie of priesthood to be equall with the authoritie of a king. And they durst not demaund an oath of them, when they were to beare witness; as who would say, it were no reason to discredit these in small things, which had the ordering of the greatest things, and the things that concerned God. Which thing is obserued towards our kings of France, when they be heard vpon an inquest, for they depose without making any oath. *Numa* king of Romanes, would needs be of the colledge of Bishops, which he had ordained for the ceremonies. And the name of King abode with their high priest, whom they called the sacrificing King, or the king for the Sacrifices. After which maner the Athenians also chose yearly one by the name of King, who was created but onelic for sacrificing, and to punish irreligious dealings.

Octavian the emperour had the priestly dignitie, jointly together with his empire, and so had all they that were emperors after him. For as soone as they were chosen, there was giuen vnto them the priestly attire, and they tooke vpon them the title of High priests. Which custome was kept vnto the

The preheminance that Priesthood hath had.

Priests in old time priuiledged from taking an oath.

The emperors did wear the attire of the high Priests.

time

time of *Gratian*, who refused the attire when the priests offered it vnto him, because he thought it vnmeet for a Christian to take such an habit vpon him, as *Zosimus* reporteth in the fourth booke of his historie. Neuerthelesse we see by the letter which *Varia Mesawrat* vnto the Senat, vpon the election of *Heliogabalus*, that the emperorship and priesthood, were alwaies diuided afunder. For thus saith he, Now shall ye see that which your predecessors neuer saw, namely, that the emperor shall be the high priest, and the high priest be emperor, so as he shall by sacrifice reconcile vs to the gods, and by force of arms defend vs from our enemies. But this saying is not contrarie to that of *Zosimus*. For there is great difference between being of the colledge of the priests, and the taking of the dignitie or title of priesthood in way of honour; and betweene dealing with the ceremonies themselues, as the priests of *Iupiter* and *Quirinus*, whome they called *Flamines*, and the rest of the peculiar priests of the other gods did: for these later sort could not beare any office, or be magistrats. *Iulius Caesar* had the high priesthood for honours sake, and chiefly for profits sake: but yet for all that he intended not to the administration of the ceremonies, but contrariwise was continually occupied in the warres, and absent from the citie. Howbeit that *Titus Vespasian* would needs expressly haue it, to the intent hee might not kill any man, because it was not lawfull for their high priest to shead mans blood, no more than our churchmen may now; which point the rest of the emperours that came after him obserued not. Therefore wheras the emperors tooke the priests stole vpon them, it was in way of honour, and not to doe the office in administring the ceremonies. Among the Iewes, *Aaron* the high priest was of equall authoritie with *Moses*; and after the Iudges and Kings, the greatest dignitie belonged to the high priest. Among vs Christians also, the time hath bene, that men haue yeilded souereigne authoritie to the Pope, as to the Primat of the church; princes haue submitted themselues to him, and not only haue honoured him as the cheefe minister of our religion, but also haue receiued se-

It was not
lawfull for the
high priest of
the Romans
to shead mans
blood.

were correction at his hand, not refusing to do open penance at the Bishops commaundement: as did the emperors *Philip* and *Theodosius*, vnder *Fabian* and *Ambrose* bishops, the one of Millan, the other of Rome: and *Frederik* the emperor, and king of Naples, howbeit that the Pope proceeded not with like zeale as the other did, but vsed more choller than religion in his doings, as he shewed by his treading of the emperor vnder his feet, coating his vncomely dealing with this verse of *Dauid*, *Vpon the Aspeworm and the Cockatrice shalt thou goe, and tread the Lion and Dragon vnder foot*; a thing so il-beseeming the place that he held, that *Frederik* was to be commended for his patient suffering of that disgrace, in the honor of God and *S. Peter*. But such was the Religion of those daies, that euerie man ran vpon him that was in the Popes disfauor. When *Clement* the sixt had excommunicated the Flemings, for taking part with England contrarie to their promise and oth, there was not so much as one priest to be found in all the whole countrie, that durst say masse, or say seruice. *John* king of England seeing himselfe excommunicated for the tenths that he had taken into his hand, and perceiuing that the world went worse and worse with him, was faine to cast himselfe downe at the feet of the Popes legat, at whose hand, after much intreatance, he receiued the crowne as a great benefit a six daies after, with charge to restore the tenths which he withheld, and the church-fruits; Which charge he put in execution, with perill of the losse of his kingdome. For the poor commons which were compelled to beare that losse, fell to rebelling against him. The like submissions haue bin made, not only among vs, but also among the Infidels. For it is reported that when *Hercules* had killed his own childrē & his host, he was purged & assoiled therof, by the priests & mysteries of the goddelle *Ceres*. And *Adrastus* who had killed his own brother vnawares, was purged & assoiled by *Cresus* king of Lydia, who took vpon him to deale in such recōciliations, because he was religious, and addicted to the fond ceremonies of those times. Also we read that a priest commaunded *Lisander*,
king

Emperors
chastised by
priests.

The feare
that men had
of excommu-
nication in
times past.

The answer
of *Lisander* to
a Priest that
would haue
had him to
confesse his
sin vnto him.

king of *Lacedemon*, to tell and declare vnto him the greatest sin that euer he had committed. But *Lisander* being more subtill than spice-conscientist, desired the priest to tell him whether he required it of him by the commaundement of the gods, or of his owne authoritie? When the priest had answered him, that it was at the commaundement of the gods; Withdraw your selfe then (quoth he) a while out of the temple, and I wil tell it them, if they aske it. *Zosimus* reporteth in his historie, that while *Constantine* the great was yet no Christian, he would haue bin purged by the high-priests of the Painims, for his murthering of his wife and his sonne; and that when they refused to doe it, he became a Christian, vpon report of a Spaniard, who gaue him to vnderstand, that the Christian Religion wiped away all sorts of sin. But this *Zosimus* speaketh like a clerke of arms, and like anemie to our Religion, not knowing with how great discretion penitents are receiued into the bosome of the church, as we may see in many treatises of *S. Ciprian*.

Pride vnder-
meth Religion.

Nicephorus in his seuenth booke disproueth those that so report, vnto whom I referre my selfe, concerning the cause that moued *Constantine* to take vpon him the Christian religion, because it is a thing notably knowne to all men. For inas- much as Religion bringeth with it humilitie, and lowlinesse of heart; pride and ouer-weening doe vtterlie defeat it, as we read of king *Osias*, who was punished with a leaprosie, for presuming to offer sacrifice to God; and likewise of *Dathan*, *Choree*, and *Abiron*, whom the earth swallowed vp aliue.

The danger
that hangeth
vpon the tou-
ching of
things dedi-
cated to chur-
ches.

The dispraise
of Hipocrisie.

Concerning the touching of the things dedicated to the temple, we see what befell to *Manasses*, and *Amon* kings of *Ierusalem*, and to *Nabugodonosor* king of *Babilon*, and diuers others. And as touching the forsaking of the true Religion, wee know the euill end that befell to *Achab*, *Ochosias*, and *Osias* kings of *Samaria*. Now seeing that true Religion is a goodly thing, needs must Hipocrisie and false Religion be very dangerous, as which displeaseth God and man, when a countenance of the feare of God is pretended, to deceiue folke

folke vnder shew of holinesse. For as *Cicero* saith in his Duties, There is not so great a wickednesse, as the cloking of a mans selfe vnder the mantle of Religion, to do euill. Such guiles or cosenages are misliked both of God and man, specially when they be faced with the countenance of holinesse. I meane wicked guiles, as the Lawyers tearme them, and not such guiles as serue for baits to draw folke to that which is good and behooffull, of which sort *Plato* speaking in his Laws, saith, It is not against the grauitie of a law-giuer, to vse such kind of vntruths, because it is inough for him to persuaue folk to that which is for their welfare & profit. For it is not vnlawfull to beguile men to a good end, & (as saith *S. Paul*) to apply a mans selfe to all sorts of men, to the intent to win them, as he himselfe did in Ierusalem, by the counsell of *S. Iames*, when he made his foure companions to be shauen, and purified himselfe with them in the temple, according to the custome of law, notwithstanding that he allowed not that ceremonie. Therefore men are not forbidden to beguile vntractable folke, and such as are otherwise vnweeldie and hard to be ruled, or els which are grosse, superstitious, fearfull, and shiwitted; or to induce them to some kind of Superstition, for the compassing of some commendable matter; or to bridle those with the snaffle of Religion, which can not be compassed by loue nor by force, which is the strongest mean that we haue to restrain euen them that are most fierce and vntamable. For (as *Sabellicus* saith) there is not any thing that doth more easily retaine the common people, than Superstition, or is of more force to moue and persuaue people to the intent and opinion that a man will rule them and lead them too. This maner of dealing haue the greatest and best aduised law-makers, and the best experienced captaines of the world vsed. And among others *Numa Pompilius* of whom I haue spoken afore, vsed it wisely towards the Romanes, holding the people (whom he gouerned) in awe by a Religion, such as it was, and specially by the ceremonies which were in vse at that time. He saw well he had to doe with theeues, robbers,

A man may
beguile the
superstitious,
for the com-
passing of
some com-
mendable ef-
fect.

Du Bellay in
his *Ogdoads*.

robbers, and murderers, and that his estate could not bee sure among people that had their hands already stained with the blood of their king, whom they had killed late afore; and that it was no need to whet them, being a people too much given to war, but rather to procure them rest, to the intent that during the time of peace, they might receive some good lawes for the governing of their citie, and have their crueltie assuaged by means of religion. And to the intent that the thing which he did, might be of the more authoritie, he feined that all proceeded from the counsel of the Muses, and of the nymph or goddesse *Aegeria*, that haunted the Forrest *Arcine*, unto whose company he often withdrew himselfe alone, not suffering any body to go in thither with him.

Minos, king of
Candic.

Minos the law-giver of Candie, had used the like feat afore to give force and authoritie to his lawes. For he went ordinarily into a certaine caue of the earth, the which he termed *Jupiters caue*: and after he had bin there a long time, he brought his lawes with him all written, saying he had received them of *Jupiter*, to the end to compell his countymen to keepe them, both by the power and authoritie which he had over them, and also by religion, the which he esteemed to bee of more force than all his commandements.

No lesse did *Pithagoras* for the ratifieng of his doctrine, for he had so reclaimed an eagle, that at a certaine call she would come and lie howering over his head in the aire. After that *Lycurgus* had made his lawes, he caused them to be ratified by the oracle of *Apollo*, who answered that they were good, and fit to make men liue well and blessedly.

Diuers guiles
of princes and
captains.

And as the superstition of people, hath well serued the turn of lawmakers; so hath it no lesse serued to make captains obeyed, and to give them the reputation which they deserued, when they could skill to vse it cunningly, as *Agessilas* did, who seeing his men dismayed, because they were far fewer in number than their enimies, fell to making sacrifice afore hee prepared himselfe to the battell, and writing this word *Victorie* in his left hand, tooke the liuer of the beast at the priests hand, with-

out

out making any countenance, and holding it a long time in his owne hand, as in a muse, that the liuer might take the print of the letters, went anon after to his men of warre there present, and shewed them the liuer, telling them that those letters behighted a sure signe of victorie, thereby to make them the more couragious and resolute.

Sertorius one of the best experienced captains of Rome, being brought into a little country of Spaine, where it behooued him to haue the helpe of the Spaniards, who were but smally accustomed to obey and to submit themselues to warlike discipline; to the intent he might beare some sway among them; and be beleued and followed of them in all his enterprises; found the means to haue a white Hynd, the which hee affirmed to haue bene sent vnto him from *Diana*, to giue him notice of many things to come; the which Hynd he had so well taught and inured to the noise of battell, that shee followed him wheresoeuer he went, and was not a whit afraid to see so great a multitude. Which thing made his souldiers the more pliable to order, because they beleued that all that euer he did, came of the counsell of *Diana*, and not of his owne good government.

Eumenes perceiuing that *Antigonus* and *Teutamus* captains of *Alexanders* old bands, that were called Silver-shields, in respect of the shields of siluer that they carried, would not in any wise giue place to him, though they had commaundement from *Olympias* the mother of *Alexander*, to obey him, nor come at him to consult of the affairs of the realme; thinking it no reason, that he for his part shuld go to their lodging, found the means to win them by this superstition: he made thē beleue that *Alexander* had appeared vnto him in his sleepe, and had shewed him a stately Paulion, wherein was a roiall throne, and had told him, that if they would hold their consultation there, he would be there present with them, & aid thē both in their counsel, & in the managing of al their affairs, cōditionally that they alwaies began at him: vnto this *Eumenes* easily persuaded thē, so as with one cōmon consent they caused a beautiful and sumptuous

Alexanders
Tent, or Paulion.

sumptuous pavilion to be set vp, which they called the Pavilion of *Alexander*, where they made their meetings for counsell. The emperour *Charles* the first being at Tunes, whether it were that he would by some means remoue all heart-burning from among the lords of his armie, whom he vvas to commaund in his absence, or that he vwould giue the more courage to his souldiers, & shew to them all, that there was a head about him: tooke the crucifix in his own hands, and shewing it to them all, told them that our Lord Iesus Christ should be the chiefe of that host. *Themistocles* perceiuing that neither reason nor intreatance could persuaide the people of Athens to goe to the sea to encounter the Medes, fell to beating them with heauenly signes, oracles, and answers of the gods. For he tooke occasion to serue his turne as with a signe from heauen, by the dragon of *Minerua*, which by good hap appeared not in hir temple as it had bin wont to doe. And the priests found the oblations to lie whole vnmishid and vntouched, which the people offered dailie vnto hir. By reason whereof being intrapped by *Themistocles*, they sowed a brute among the people, that the goddesse *Pallas*, the defender of the citie, had forsaken it, pointing them the way to the sea. And on the other side, he won them also by means of a certaine prophesie, which commaunded them to saue themselves in wodden walles; saying that those wodden wals, betokened nothing els but ships. *Christopher Columb* perceiuing he could get no victuals of the Indians neither for loue nor by force, went neer vnto a little citie of theirs, and calling out certaine of the citizens vnto him, did them to vnderstand, that if they furnished him not with victuals, God would send them such a scourge from heauen, that they should die euery one; in token wherof, he assured them that within two daies next comming, they should see the Moone full of blood, if they would take heed of it. They beholding the thing come to passe the verie same day that he told them of, which was nothing els but the eclips of the moone, were so affraid of it, that they went and prouided him victuals, and furnished him

The policie of
Themistocles,

of as much as he needed. *Lysander* being desirous to further *Agesilaus* in making him king, whereunto the oracle of *Apollo* was an impediment, which had forbidden the Lacedemonians to chuse a king that did halt; told them, the oracle meant it not of the halting of a leg, but of the halting in linage and parentage, after which sort *Leotichides* halted (which was the person whome some would haue preferred to be their king) whome the wife of king *Agis* had conceiued in adulterie by *Alcibiades*. *Marius* led with him a woman of Syria named *Martha*, whom he had euermore present at all his sacrifices, and without her he did not any thing. It is not wel known whether he beleueed verily that she had the gift of prophesie, or whether he did wittingly pretend to beleuee it, for the better furtherance of his deuices. Vpon a time when *Sylla* was readie to giue battell, he openly kissed a little image of *Apollo*, which he had taken out of the temple of Delphos, praying it to keep promise with him. Thus ye see how the braue captains do easily make their hand of the superstition of the people, so long as they themselues fal not into the same vice, as *Nicias* did; who being dismaid at an eclipse of the moon, delaid his departure out of Sicilie, whē it stood him most on hand to haue bin gon; vpon an opinion that it was a token of very great misfortune, notwithstanding that *Anaxagoras* in his bookes had shewed the reason of such eclipse: which doing of *Nicias* was cause of the vtter ouerthrow of his armie, and of his own destruction to. Likewise when *Antigonus* was minded to haue war with the Romans, he committed a great fault, in that hee beleueed not the counsel of *Hannibal*, but had rather to stand gaping superstitiously vpon the inwards of brute beasts, and to herken to a sort of cōseñing bird gazers, thā to an old & well experienced captaine, that knew the forces of the Romans, & where they were to be assailed. The superstitiousnes of the Almanes, was their vndoing, for the woman-wizards that were in the camp, forbad them to go to battell against the Romanes, afore the new of the moone. Wherof *Iulius Caesar* getting intelligence, and perceiuing that for that cause the Almanes stirred not,

Superstition
dangerous in
a captaine.

went and assailed them in their own campe, while they were out of courage by reason of their superstition; & he prouoked them so far, that in the end hee made them to come soorth into the field in a rage, where they were all discomfited. But

Good captains
haue eschewed
to be supersti-
tious.

the best and wisest captains neuer troubled their heads with such doteries. As for example, *Lucullus* spared not to encounter with *Tigranes* vpon the sixt day of October, though there were that would haue dissuaded him, because the Romanes esteemed it an vn lucky day, for so much as *Scipio* was discōfited by the Cimbrians as on that day; wherto *Lucullus* answered, That of a day of sorrow & misfortune, he would make it a day of good fortune and ioy; and so it came to passe indeed.

Alexander leading his armie against the Persians in the moneth of Iune, was desired not to stirre, all that moneth, because the Macedonians esteemed it an vn luckie moneth. But yet hee letted not to proceed for all that: and to turne away the superstition, hee ordained that the moneth of Iune should be called the second May. Likewise when a certaine Pope might not make his enterance into Paris vpon a Thursday, because of the vnconueniencie of the next day following, whereby the rost-meat of the Persians should haue bin spared; he ordained that the next day being Friday, should be called Thursday to, wherevpon it came to passe that that weeke hath euer since bene called the weeke with the two Thursdaies.

Dion forbare not for all the eclipse of the moone, to weigh vp his Anchors presently, and to depart forthwith from Zacinth, to goe to make warre vpon *Dennis* the tyrant of Sicill, whome he draue out of Syracuse immediatly vpon his arrival there. Notwithstanding, to put away the superstition of his souldiers, he brought them a soothsaier, who said vnto thē, My fellowes be of good chere, and assure your selues that all shall goe very well with vs. For the Godhead sheweth vs to our sight, that some one of the things which are now most glorious, cleare, & bright, shal be eclipsed and darkened; now there is not at this time any thing more resplendant than the tyrannie

tyrannie of *Dennis*: and therefore ye may well thinke, that as soone as you be arriued in Sicilie, ye shall deface the brightnes thereof. When *Pericles* was readie to saile with fiftie vessels, it happened that the sonne was eclipsed, the which thing did put all his cōpanie in feare, yea & the pilot himselfe to: wherefore *Pericles* seeing the Pilot sore dismaid, did spread out his cloke and couer his eyes with it, demaunding of him whether he thought it did him any harme or no. The Pilot answered him no. Then sayd *Pericles*, there is no difference betweene this and yonder eclips, sauing that the body or thing that darkeneth the sunne, is greater than my cloke that couereth thine eyes.

The Arabian guidesthat had beguiled *Crasus*, by leading him into a place where he and the greater part of all his armie were slaine, intending to haue done as much to *Cassius*, who had gotten himselfe into the citie of Carras, and was purposed to depart thence the next morrow; did what they could to perswade him to tarrie vntil the moone were passed out of the signe of the Scorpion, which they affirmed to bee an vnluckie signe, hoping to stay him by that superstition. But he answered them, that he feared much rather the signe of Sagittarius (that is to say, of the Bow-man or Archer) because the Romans had lately afore ben curstly galled by the archers of the king of Parthia.

When *Timoleon* was readie to giue battell to the Carthaginenses, by chance there came into his host certaine mulets loden with smallage: the which thing the souldiers tooke for a foretoken of ill luck, because it was the custom of those daies, to bestrow the graues of dead folks with that hearbe. But *Timoleon* intēding to draw them from that superstition, made his armie to stand still: & hauing declared diuers things to them according to the time, he told them that the garland of honor offered it selfe vnto them afore victorie. For among the Corinthians (qd. he) such as win the prise at the gamings of Isthmus that are kept in their countrie, are crowned with garlands of smallage. And therewithal himselfe tooke of it, and made him

The pleasaunt
and cunning
answer of
Cassius

a garland the which he did put vpon his head, and after him all the rest of the Captains, yea and euen the priuat souldiers also. As *Marcellus* was about to shock with the Gauls of *Lumbardie* that were on the coast of *Genoa*, his horse turned back for feare, & carried him away whether he would or no, which thing he fearing least the Romans should take for a signe of ill lucke, reined his horse to the left hand, & suddenly made him to turne head towards the enimie, and euen presently therewithall worshipped the sunne; as who would say, his turning backe had not bene by chaunce, but purposely to that intent, because the Romanes vvere vvoont to make such returns, when they worshipped their gods. When *Iulius Caesar* was arriued in *Affrike*, as he went out of his boat he fel to the ground, which thing some that vvere about him, tooke for an euill signe. But to turne it to the cleane contrarie, I hold thee *O Affrike*, quoth he; as if he had done it of set purpose.

Of the fallings
of *Iulius Ce-*
sar, and king
Edward the
third to the
ground.

Edward king of *England* being landed in *Constantine*, at a place called the *Hogue S. Wast*, did no sooner set foot on ground, but he fell downe, and that so forcibly, that his nose gushed out a bleeding, vvhereat his lords that vvere about him, counselled him to retire againe into his ship, because of the euill signe. But king *Edward* very nobly and readily answered, It is a very good signe for mee, for the land is desirous of me.

The soothsaiers counselled *Iulius Caesar* not to passe into *Affrike* afore vvinter: yet letted he not to do it, yea and vvith very happie successe. When he pursued *Scipio* in *Affrike*, because there vvas a brute in his camp, that the *Scipios* could not be vanquished in that countrie; he in derision of that superstitious opinion, had in his armie a *Scipio*, neither of vvealth nor of fame, nor of experience in feats of vvar, to the end that his souldiers should be of the better courage, knowing that *Caesar* had a *Scipio* as vvell as his enemies.

When *Paulus Aemilius* vvas readie to giue battell to *Perfes* king of *Macedonie*, the soothsaiers told him, that by defending he should get the victorie, and not otherwise. To
rid

rid his armie of this feare, he made an vnbrideled horse to be driuen towards the enemies, & sent certain Romans after him to catch him againe. Anon the enemies ran out vpon the Romans and so began a fray; *Paulus Aemilius* sent forth his men to defend them, and thereupon began a skirmish, whereupon ensued a battell, wherein he wan the victorie, according to the foresaieng of the soothsaiers.

The Romans kept a huge masse of gold and siluer in their treasure: and whensoever any was put in, they cursed the man with very great ceremonies, that should touch it, saue only for maintainance of wars against the Gauls. But yet for all that, *Iulius Caesar* wanting monie to pay his men of war, made no conscience to lay hand on it. And to take away the superstition of the people, and the feare of any curse that should come vpon the citie, he told them he might iustly take it, seeing he came from conquering the Gauls. *Sylla* in a like case shewed himselfe to be neither superstitious, nor yet religious. For vpon a time when he wanted monie, he tooke all that was in the temple of *Apollo* at Delphos; and for the doing thereof, hee sent a friend of his name *Caphis*, but he was afraid to enter vpon the consecrated things, and protested with salt tears that he did it against his will. And when some of the standers by told him, that they heard the sound of *Apollo's* viall within the temple; whether it were that he belceued it to be so, or that he would haue impressed such a feare in *Sylla*, he wrat thereof vnto him. But *Sylla* mocking at it, sent him word he wondered that he considered not, that singing and playing vpon instruments of musicke, were a token of mirth, and not of anger, and therefore that he should not faile to proceed on. *Pericles* waiting monie to make war, sold the ornaments of *Pallas* for forty talents of gold. And when he was charged with sacriledge for so doing: he answered, That fairer than those were to be had of the spoile of their enemies. The emperor *Iustinian* did not so; for when *Bellisarius* had brought him diuers precious things of the spoile of the Vandals, which had bin conueied afore to Rome by *Titus* frō the sacking of Ierusalem; a Iew beholding

Caesar and *Sylla*
made small
conscience of
superstition.

The answer of
Pericles,

them, told one of the emperors that it behoued him to be ware that he suffered them not to come within his palace, because such goods might not abide in any other place thā wher *Salomon* had first set them: and that the taking of them thence, was the cause that Rome was sacked by the Vandals, & that the Vandals which had taken them from Rome, were vanquished by the Romans. Wherunto the emperor *Iustinian* giuing credit, did by and by send all those goods to the temples and churches that were in Ierusalem. *Augustus* being a wel minded prince, would not enterprise any thing vpon the Nones of any month, saieng that he had tried those daies to be vnluckie: but he spake vpon pleasure. For in as much as he neuer tasted of any other than good fortune in all his life, hee might well forbear one day in a month. And yet if some good occasion had bene offered him to giue battell to his aduantage, or to retire to good purpose, I would hold him to haue ben but a bad captain, if he had let so faire an oportunitie slip, which cannot be recovered when a man will, and whereof the good or bad successe, doth often times bring with it a inaruellous sequele to the whole host. And therefore (to my seeming) the Lacedemonians were greatly to blame, for that they seeing the danger wherein all Greece was, and being otherwise desirous to pleasure the Athenians, who were then in Marathon redie to encounter with the Persians; would not send them any succor till the moone was at the full, at which time their succour stood them in no stead, because it came long after the battell.

Augustus would not enterprise any thing on the Nones of any month.

A notable fault of the Lacedemonians.

The policie of *Papirius*.

If the consul *Papirius* had bin of the same superstitious mind, he had neuer woon that notable battell against the Samnits, which was giuen contrary to all the bird-spels, euen when the pullets refused to eat, which was taken for an assured signe of the losse of the field. But the consull espieng the aduantage, meant not to beat his brains about such toies, but dealing discreetly, willed the maister of the Pullerie to assure his souldiers that the Pulletts had eaten. And when one of his companie hauing seene that it was cleane contrarie, had filled all his

his armie with the superstition therof, & so as the brute therof came to the consuls hearing by the aduice of *Spurius Papirius*; The consul answered him, that he minded nothing but the doing of his dutie, and that if the pullet-master had lied, the sin should returne vpon him. And to make his word good, he placed the pullet-master in the foremost ranke, where he was presently slaine, whereof the consull being aduertised, said that all went well, and that the gods had discharged all their wrath vpon him. But as for those that in fighting against the bird-spels and against superstition, haue also fought against their enemies without likelihood of good successe, they haue found themselues oftentimes ill apaid. As for example, *Flamminius* and *Appius* the faire, vnto whom when it was reported that the pullets cared not for their meat; Let vs see thē (quoth he) if they list to drinke, & made them to be drowned, immediately whereupon he was vanquished in battell. If *Hanniball* had stood vpon Nones, or new-moons, when hee was beset round about by *Fabius*, and was faine to put fire vpon the horns of 2000 neat, to make way to escape out at, he had bin vndone. It was not then time to tarrie till the morning, it stood him on hand to get thēce that present hour. These examples serue to teach a prince that hath superstitious people, and whom he cannot rid of that fantasie, at least wise to beguile them to a good end in their owne superstition. For he that will beguile in religion, beguileth himselfe.

I know well that many princes haue made a vizer of religion, and pretended to be deuout and religious, only to bring their people to a religion, without the which they could not hold their subiects in obedience to them. But the reputation that they haue gotten therby, was, that they were euill and deceitfull. Contrariwise, the good and religious princes, haue compassed their affaires well, and left a good reputation behind them. And as *Plato* saith in his *Comman-weale*, The wicked and guilefull sort, deale like them that talke much of running swiftly in a race, as though they wold win the goal from all men, & in the end do nothing but

Of such as haue fought vnluckily against bird-gazing.

No guile is to be used in religion.

The reward of the guilefull and wicked.

moue laughter, and returne home with their taile betwixt
 their legs; but good and vertuous men are like those that
 hold on in running to the end of the race, and are crowned
 as victors for their labor. For in the end they be had in esti-
 mation of all men. But as for the wicked and craftie sort, albe-
 it that they conceale their vices for a time; yet notwithstanding
 when they come to the end of their race, then they ap-
 peare what they be. It is best therefore as well to God-ward
 as to man-ward, not to vse any counterfaying, but to be
 vertuous in deed. And to attaine the more easily therunto, it
 behoueth him to doe as good and vertuous princes haue
 done, that is to wit, he must haue good and religious men
 about him; For with the good a man shalbe good, and with
 the wicked he shall be peruerted. He that is conuersant with
 the wise shalbe wise, (saith *Salomon*) but he that keepeth com-
 pany with fooles, shall haue sorrow. The prince that hath
 such good men about him, is councelled and quickned vp
 by them to vertue and weldoing; and he is afraid to doe euil,
 when he seeth such neere about him. Besides that, he pur-
 chaseth to himselfe a good reputation; which maketh all his
 attempts the more easie. For the people who iudge by out-
 ward apparance, are of opinion that their prince is good, when
 he entertaineth good and religious men ordinarily, and hath
 them ordinarily about him. Which thing the younger *Denis*
 could wel skill of, though he himselfe was neither religious,
 nor a vertuous prince. In his time men made account of So-
 phists, but he himselfe made no reckoning of them at all.
 And yet for all that, because he would be the better thought
 of by their means, and win the fauor of the people who had
 such men in estimation; he had of them ordinarily with him.
 For it is better that a prince should be an hipocrit; than a
 despiser of good and vertuous things, because such maner of
 counterfaying and countenancing of good things, doth se-
 cretly bring with it in time, an affection of louing them, and
 a willingnesse to accustome himselfe to them in earnest. The
 emperor *Adrian* had vertuous and wise men, and learned
 Philosophers

A prince
 ought not to
 be an Hipocrit.

Time causeth
 a man to loue
 the honest
 things which
 he did but
 counterfait at
 the first.

Philosophers alwaies about his person, as well in time of peace as of warre, because the wisemen taught to liue well, and the Philosophers to gouerne well. For (as *Alexander Senerus* said) of trusting too much to a mans owne wit, cometh commonly labour and losse, but of taking other mens aduise, followeth ordinarilie verie great fruit. In-
Of taking
 councill
 commeth
 great fruit.
 somuch that whensoever hee had any matter to set in order concerning the common-weale, hee consulted of it aforehand with men of skill and experience, afore he did put it in execution, and such maner of men did alwaies follow him; among whom was one *Alpian* a Lawier. Yea, and when he went a walking or a hunting, he would neuer bee without three or foure of the greatest personages and best experienced of his house, to the intent he would not be without counsell, if any matter of importance should come suddenly vpon him, and that the sight of such men neere about him, might keepe him from presuming to doe any vnhonourable fact.

Antigonus the second was wont to say when *Zeno* the Philosopher was dead, That he was bereft of the Theatre and stage of his honourable deeds, because hee was wont to referre all his actions to the iudgement of that good man. And if wee will descend into our owne histories, we shall see what profit redounded to *S. Lois*, by being conuersant with men of Religion. For in so much as his mother had accompanied him with such folke from his infancie, he ceased not to hold on afterward in the same trade and maner of life, wherein he had bin trained vp, insomuch that all his whole life was nothing else but a mirrour of holinesse.

CHAP. XV.

That the Prince which will be well obeyed, must shew good example in him selfe to his subiects.



That which I haue spoken of Religion and Superstition is inough, notwithstanding that it be too little, as in respect of the things themselues. Now remaineth the winding vp of the matter, and to end this booke withall, I am to shew in few words, what it is that vpholdeth both the prince and

Example in the prince himselfe serueth to make the prince to be obeyed.

his subiects in all honour and honestie, especially in the case of Religion; namely the good Example which the prince giueth vnto his subiects. For it serueth him aboue all things in the world, to make him to be obeyed, and therewithal accustometh him to the loue of all honest things, though at the beginning he had no such will, as I haue said afore. And it prouoketh the subiects to follow their princes example, whom they see to be giuen to all vertuous things, and chiefly when he is giuen to religion. For a prince cannot raigne, if his subiects be without religion; considering that in taking away religion, ye take away obedience to the prince. Therefore to hold the people in religion, there is nothing like vnto Example. And as a certaine Poet saith; Lawes and proclamations haue not so great force to procure obedience, as hath the life of the gouernour, because the people being subiect to alteration, doe change with the prince.

Take away religion, and ye take away obedience.

If the prince be deuout and religious, the people will be deuout also; if he be superstitious, they become superstitious too; if he be giuen to vice, so will they be also; if he be good, they abide good likewise, because there is not any

any thing that doth so much induce vs to doe well, as the innocencie and goodnesse of the prince or iudge, as saith *Cassiodorus*. For who will be afraid to doe wickedlie, when he seeth his lord doe as himselfe dooth? In vaine doth that prince foad himselfe with suretie of state, who is couetous, ambitious, and vniust. For men are then afraid to doe amisse, when they thinke that it displeaseth their iudge. And as *Cicero* saith in his third booke of Lawes, A prince doth not so much harme in the very sinning, (although it be a great harme in deed) as he doth in making others to follow the examp'e of his vices. And we see commonly, that looke what alteration soeuer happens in the prince, the same ensueth also in his people. For the change of conuerfation of life in great personages, is wont to worke a change in the maners of the people; for that they keepe not their vices alonly to themselues, but doe shead them out vpon their subiects, so as the hurt which they doe, is not only in that they corrupt themselues, but also in that they corrupt others, doing more euill by their example, than by their bare sinne. For as much therefore, as the well-aduised prince is as a cresset vpon a bushell or rather vpon a high towre, to giue light to all parts; hee ought to shine among his subiects, and to excell them in all deeds of vertue and godlinesse. For (as saith *Cicero* in his *Inuectiues*) he is to applie himselfe not only to their minds, but also to their eies. And like as a small blemish in a mans face, disgraceth him more than a great scarre in all the rest of his body; euen so a small fault sheweth it selfe great in a prince, whose life men behold in the open light. And as *Saluan* Bishop of Marsels saith, The offence is the greater, where there is the greater prerogatiue. That is the cause why *Dauid* was punished by the death of his sonne, after that God had taken away his sinne; namely as the text saith, For that he caused the enemies to blaspheme the name of the Lord. So great is an offence in a publike person. For he that doth euill without giuing cause of offence vnto others, danneth but himselfe: but he that giueth euill example

A prince doth not so much harme by his sin in it selfe, as by the example thereof vnto others.

A small sinne seemeth great in a prince.

ample vnto others, and causeth mo for to sinne, must beare their penaltie, because he is the cause of their euill. *Plato* in his Lawes saith, That nothing doth more easily change laws, than the example of princes, so that a tyrant may in short time alter the lawes. For whether he intend to lead to vertue or to vice, he himselfe must first trace the way vnto others, by allowing the one, and disallowing the other, and by dispising such as obay him not. And therefore he said in another place, That such as kings and gouernors are, such are their people; Wherein he agreeth with *Ecclesiasticus*, who saith, That such as the iudge of a people is, such are his ministers; and such as the ruler of a citie is, such are his citizens. *Varia Mesa* writing to *Heliogabalus*, admonished him after this maner; To reforme others, it behooueth you first to reforme your selfe; and to chastise others, you must first chastise your selfe. For euerie person be he of neuer so meane degree, doth commonly take example at that which he seeth done by his superiours, and especially by the prince, who is a looking-glasse to all his subiects. And in deed, we see how the *Egyptians* gaue themselues to the Mathematicall sciences, because the most part of their kings loued those sciences. Because the kings of *Asia* gaue themselues to all delicacies, the people of that countrie were verie delicat and effeminate. Because *Nero* loued plaiers of enterludes, singing-men, and plaiers vpon instruments; there was not that Senator whose child studied nor those arts. In the time of *Marcus Aurelius* his house was ful of wise and modest seruants. In the time of his sonne *Commodus*, the palace was full of naughty-packs, & folk of lewd conuersation. And the said good emperor *Marcus Aurelius* was wont to say, That such as the prince is, such will his household be; such as his household is, such will his court be; and such as his court is, such will his kingdome be. We see in *France*, how the people haue euermore followed their prince. King *Francis* loued learning, and his people gaue themselues wholly therevnto. He was sumptuous in apparell, and much more they that came after him. At this day there

The prince is
a mirror to all
his subiects.

Such as the
prince is, such
will bee his
household, his
court, and his
kingdome.

That Princes should giue good example.

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there is not any thing omitted, for the well and rich attiring of folk, and for the delicate entertaining of them with all sorts of the choicest meats. *Lewis* the eleuenth, and the emperour *Charles* the first, went modestly apparelled; and mocked such as decked themselues in rich attire: and their subiects did the like. That example of theirs did more in their time, than all the statutes of apparell could do, that haue bin made since. And that good time continued vnto the reigne of king *Francis*, who begun to tread out the way to the inordinate and excessive chargablenesse, which ouerwhelmeth vs at this day. The booke entituled the Courtier, maketh mention of a Spaniard that held his necke awry, as *Alfons* king of Aragon did, (who, setting that aside, was a prince of very good grace) of purpose to follow the kings fashion; and to counterfait him in all that he could. For this cause *Plato* in his Lawes will haue old men (who ought to giue example to yoong men) to behaue themselues discreetly when they be in the companie of yoong folke, and to take good heed that no young man see them doe, or heare them speake, any vn honest thing. For the best counsell that can be giuen to yoong or old, is not to taunt or checke them, but to shew and expresse the same thing in a mans whole life, which he would haue said in checking and blaming them. Which order *Cicero* following in his Duties, doth vtterly forbid an old man to giue himselfe to excesse, beause it bringeth double harme; first in that it procureth him shame; and secondly in that it maketh the loosenesse of yong folk more impudent. For yoong folks should be gouerned by the discretion of the old. And euen so is it between subiects and their princes. For if princes giue them not good example, it wil be hard to amend them afterward. Which thing euen the wickeddest princes perceiuing, haue pretended to make account of vertue, as I haue shewed in *Tiberius*, in *Nero*, and in *Denis*, who entertained the Sophists to win the peoples fauour. But in the end the truth bewraied it selfe (as indeed nothing is so secret which shall not be reuealed) and they fell into the disfauour, contempt, and hatred

There is not a better way to reforme others, than to doe the same things which a man would say in that behalfe.

of

Emperours
that were war-
riors, beloued
of their sould-
diers, for be-
hauing them-
selues fellow-
like towards
them.

of their people. Wherefore there is nothing to be compared to open walking, without any maner of counterfainting, and to the giuing of good example throughout, that a prince may be the better followed, and the more beloued and esteemed of his people. As for example, *Piscennius Niger*, *Caracalla Maximine*, *Alexander Seuerus*, and many other emperors that were warriors, did eate of the same bread that their souldiers did; which thing made them beloued of all, and gave example to euery man to doe as they did. For there is not a better exortation, nor a more effectual way to persuade, than when a prince doth the same things himselfe, which he would haue other men to doe. *Agessilaus* commaunded not his souldiers to doe any worke to the which he himselfe did not first set his hand. And to giue example to yoong men to endure cold, hee was seene to goe all the winter without a cloake, therby to allure the yoong men to do the like, when they saw that their prince being old and readie to passe out of the world, was not afraid of the cold. *Xenophon* in his first booke of the Education of *Cirus*, bringeth in *Cambises* telling *Cirus*, that to be first at worke himselfe, serued greatly to win his souldiers therunto. Is it your meaning then (quoth *Cirus*) that a prince ought in all things to endue more than his subiects? Yea surely (quoth *Cambises*) but plucke vp a good heart and consider with your selfe, that the prince and the subiect take not pains both with one mind. For the honor that a great lord receiueth assuageth his paine, for so much as all that euer he doth is knowne. *Plutarch* saith in the life of *Cato* of *Vtica*, That his souldiers honoured him exceedingly, and loued him singularly, because he was wont to be the first that did set hand to any worke that he commaunded; and in his fare, apparell, and going abroad, made himselfe equall rather to the meanest souldiers, than to the captaines, and yet in greatnesse of courage surmounted the best captains of all. *Alexander* in pursuing his victorie against *Darius*, became verie thirstie, and when one of his souldiers offered him water in a Morion, he refused it, saying, That he would not by his drin-
king

Notable ex-
amples of *A-*
lexander, *Cato*,
David, and
Alfons.

king, increase the thirst of others. Wherupon his men seeing the nobleneffe of his courage, cried out aloud vnto him, that he should hardly lead them on still, saying that their owne wearinesse and thirst was quite and cleane gone, and that they thought not themselves to be mortall any more, so long as they had such a king. The like befell to *Cato* of *Vtica* in *Affrik*, who being almost at the point to die for thirst, (as likewise all his armie was, being then in the midst of the sands of *Lybia*) when as the small quantitie of water which was in his host was all offered vnto him, not only refused it, but also spilt it on the ground, to the end that by his example, all the souldiers in his armie might learne to indure the thirst.

Albeit that *Dauid* longed to drinke of the water of a certaine well, that was in the possession of his enemies, and three of his armie brought therof vnto him, with great danger of their liues; yet would he not drinke therof when it was brought vnto him, but vowed it vnto God for the safetie of the three that had gotten it for him. On a time, when *Alfons* king of *Aragon* and *Sicilie*, was in a place where he could get no victuals, and a souldier of his brought him a morfell of bread and cheefe, he refused it, saying that it was no reason that hee should eat, seeing his whole armie had not to eat as well as he. *Plutarck* saith, That the thing that most aduanced *Marius*, was that he neuer refused the requitall of kindnesse, for any paine or daunger that hung thereon; nor also disdained any thing, were it neuer so little; but strued to out-goe euen the meanest souldiers in simplicitie of fare, and in sufferance of labor, whereby he got the good will of euerie man. For it is a great comfort to such as take pains, to haue company that willingly take pains with them; because that to their seeming, it after a sort taketh away their contraint and necessitie. And it is a thing that wonderfully pleaseth the souldier, when he seeth his captaine eating openly of the same bread that he himselfe eateth, or sleeping vpon some pelting pad of straw, or the first man that sets his hand to the worke, when a trench

Souldiers see
not so much
by them that
reward them,
as by them
that take pain
with them as
they doe.

is to be drawne, or a rampier is to be made to fortifie a camp. For they make not so great account of the captains that honour them or reward them, as of the captaines that takes pains with them, and hazard themselues with them to the dangers of warre; yea, and there is this further, that they set more by those that take pains with them, than by those that suffer them to continue in idlenesse.

Artaxerxes king of Persia, marching in the countrie of the Cadusians, went foremost on foot, bearing his trusse vpon his shoulder in a skarfe, and his target on his arme, and so traueled ouer mountaines that were cragged and rough, insomuch that his souldiers seeing the courage of their king, & the pains that he tooke, went so light on the ground, that they seemed to haue had wings.

The emperor *Iulian* comming to a Marris, which he saw his enemies had drowned with water, to stop the passage of his armie, did put himselfe formost into the Marris, so that his armie being ashamed to refuse that which they saw the emperor do, passed all through the Marris, marching in water vpon the knees. Great *Alexāder* perceiuing at the siege of Nysa, that his souldiers were loth to go to the assault, because of the deepnesse of the water, O wretch that I am (quoth he) which haue not learned to swim! and yet in the end hee passed the riuer, to giue example to his men. Himselfe also was the first that entered into the citie of the Malians, howbeit very vndiscreetly. Neuerthelesse his so doing made all the Macedonians to come in after him, to saue his life. *Demetrius* being afore the citie of Thebes, went foremost himselfe to the battell, to giue example to his men of warre, that they should not spare themselues, nor be afraid to put themselues in danger. Also he was stricken quite and cleane through the necke with an arrow.

Iulius Caesar hazarded himselfe freely to all perill, neuer forbearing to take pains; and therefore his souldiers loued and esteemed him. The marques of Piscaria, to prouoke his foot-men to passe the foord of Brents, did set himselfe foremost

most on foot to passe it with the brauest and honourablest captains of his principall bands, to shew himselfe in like fortune with his souldiers. As for those which haue refused to put their hand to work, and to giue example to their people, they haue not done themselues any good by it, but haue ben disdaind for their labour. As for example, *Marinus* who went but with a wand in his hand, when he made his musters, or when he visited his men of warre, was despised for it of his souldiers, who sayd that a prince ought not to enter into the senat house with arms, nor come into an armie without them; because the senat house was to deale with matters of peace, and the campe with matters of warre. Therefore was he of so small estimation, that his men of war forsooke him, and in the end hee was vanquished by a woman.

The emperors that haue not set their hands to good works haue bene disdaind of their souldiers.

Likewise the very presence of a prince in battel, is a kind of example. For it giueth courage to the souldiers, as I haue declared in the beginning of this booke, in speaking of the little child *Eurypin* king of Macedonie, whome they were faine to bring forth to the souldiers in his cradle, and yet his presence gaue them such courage, that they vanquished their vanquishers, and went away with the victorie, though they had bene ouercome afore.

Of the presence of a Prince.

The Almans at the iournie of Gwingate, were ignoraunt that the emperor *Maximilian* was comming to them: but as soone as they espied him all armed sauing his head, by and by taking his presence for a good foretoken of victorie, they began to welcome him after this maner; God saue thee O emperor, God preferue thee good father, God keepe thee O inuincible captaine; we haue already woon the victorie, seeing that thou our head art here: and it came to passe as they had forespoken.

When the armie of *Alfons* king of Arragon was readie to ioine battell with the armie of *Renat*, that was led by *Antonie Caldora*: the king fell to consulting how hee should demeane himselfe, and was counselled not to be there in person; wherat he taking disdain, answered in great choler, How then? By

Your saying it should seeme, that the thing which hath bin wont to do most good in a battel, (namely the presence of the Generall) should doe most harme. I perceiue now that my men fight valiantly, and I will be the first at it, to shew that my presence is no impediment to your glorie and good fortune. When *Perfes* the last king of Macedonie was to ioyne battell with the Romanes, he withdrew himselfe out of the field, vnder colour to doe sacrifice to *Hercules*, who could not find in his heart to accept the offerings of a coward; and so he failed not to lose the field. But the great captaines, as *Pirrhus*, *Philip*, *Alexander*, *Antigonus*, *Traiane*, and generally all the great princes, haue made warre by themselves, and not by their lieutenants. I graunt that some haue made warre luckily by their lieutenants, as *Charles* the fifth king of France; and the emperor *Charles* the fifth, in the battell of *Paue*: but yet there is none to the presence of the prince himselfe, when any goodly exploit is to be done. For as the French prouerbe saith, The sheepe serue to no purpose where the shepheard is away. But after his fortunate incounter at *Paue*, the emperor *Charles* of whome I now speake, did neuer enterprise any thing, whereat he himselfe was not present, as the voyage of *Argier*, the voiage of *Goulette*, the voiage of *Prouince*, the war in *Germanie* made in the dead of winter, when he himselfe was diseased with the gout, and ill at ease in his bodie; the wars made many times in *France*, and especially at the siege of *Mets* in the dead of winter. For the presence of the prince is worth ten thousand men. Whē *Antigonus* the second was purposed to giue battell vpon the sea to *Ptolomie*, his Pilot told him that his enemies had many more ships than he. And how many ships (quoth he) thinke you my presence may counteruaile? As who would say, it is a great sway to the victorie, when a valeant prince is present, which can skill how to gouerne. The *Numantines* had obtained many victories of the Romanes, vntill in the end *Scipio* was sent thither to haue the commanding of the armie, whose arrival there made the chance of the warre to turne. For euer after

the

Whether wars
are to bee
made by
Lieutenants.

The presence
of the prince,
serueth great-
ly to the get-
ting of the
victorie.

the Numantines went by the worst, neuerthelesse their captai-
 nains bad their souldiers that they should not be afraid, for the
 Romans were but the very same people, whom they theselues
 had vanquished so oft afore. True it is indeed (said one a-
 mong them) they be the same sheepe, but they haue another
 maner of shepherd. *Antigonus* hearing by some prisoners,
 that *Eumenes* was sicke, (as he was indeed) and therupon con-
 iecturing that he should with small adoe discomfit his armie
 in his absence, made all the hast he could to giue battell. But
 when he came so neere, that he might well and plainly descry
 the order & behavior of his enemies, who were so well ranged
 in order of battell as possibly could be, he staied a long while
 altogether distroubled, and as it were astonished, in the which
 time he perceiued the horslitter of *Eumenes* passing from the
 one side of the battell to the other, and therewithall he began
 to say, You same (in mine opinion) is the litter that ma-
 keth vs war, and offereth vs battel. And with that word he
 caused the retreat to be sounded, and conueyed his men backe
 into his camp. *Iulius Caesar* did put himselfe in great perill, by
 going to find his armie that was distressed by the Gauls, and
 by his only presence did rid them of the distresse, giuing them
 courage to fight; so greatiy was his name redouted of his ene-
 mies. *Cabades* king of Persia, seeing his men repulsed from the
 citie *Damida*, vvhich he had surprised and sealed, and hovv
 that many of them began to come dovvne the ladders, be-
 cause the men of the citie made them to leape dovvne from
 aboue, stepped to the foote of a ladder vvith his svord
 dravvne, and threatned to kill as many of them as came
 dovvne. And so the presence of the king caused many to
 mount vp the ladders againe, and many that had begun to
 giue ouer, fell so lustily to scaling againe, that in the end they
 tooke the citie. The prince of Wales, to giue courage to
 his men of vvarre, vvas personally at the castle of *Remoren-
 tin*, by vvhose presence the Englishmen gaue such a forcible
 assault, that they vvich vvere vvithin vvere faine to yeld
 themselves.

The presence
 of *Eumenes*
 causeth *Anti-
 gonus* to re-
 tire.

That Princes should giue good example.

Henrie king of Castile seeing his armie begin to scatter, assembled them againe three times, and with his encouraging of them, made them to endure the battell a long time, so as they durst not any more flee for shame, when they saw their lord and king fight so valiantly, and speake so amiably.

Ferdinand king of Naples doth by his presence cause his subjects to return vnder his obedience.

Ferdinand king of Naples, perceiuing the Neapolitans to rebell at the change of his fortune, at such time as *Charles* the eighth subdued all vnder his obedience: departed suddenly from Capua and drue streight to Naples. As soone as he arriued there, euery man laying downe his weapon, came to welcome him with singular affection, ceasing their vprores in all places.

Consalua being brought to distresse at Barlette, and yet cheerefully ouerpassing all pains matched vwith great scarcitie of victuals, and of all other things needfull, did by his example hold in the Spaniards a long time, who were foreweariued with trauell, and in the end got the vpper hand of the Frenchmen. At such time as king *Henrie* the second was fiercely assailed in his own realme at two places at once, and could not put gar-risons in all the towns on the frontiers: the admirall *Hannibal* being aduertised that the enemies made towards Fere, with full assurance to get possession thereof; conueid himselfe into it with a few men, and saued the towne by his presence. For the enemies thought that so great a lord vvould not shut vp himself vvithout a good companie, and othervvise they esteemed him to be a vvise captaine, as hauing had triall of him afore, at Mesieres, at Petone, and at Laundersey, hovv greatly the presence of a good captain auaieth, vvich maketh weake towns impregnable.

The end of the first booke.

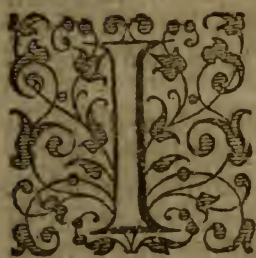
The



The second Booke.

CHAP. I.

Of Wisedome, and Discreetnesse.



IN old time, when by Gods suffe-
 rance Oracles had place, the cite of
 Delphos was renowned through the
 whole world, for the proud and state-
 ly temple there, which was dedicated
 and consecrated to *Apollo*, whereunto
 folke resorted frō al parts of the world
 to aske counsell, and to heare the an-
 swers that were giuen by his image. At the
 enterance of this goodly Temple, were
 written these words, **KNOW THY SELFE**.
 In the interpretation of which words,
 many haue erred, imagining that a man
 knows himselfe, when he can skill of the
 things that concerne his duetic or office,
 and his mysterie, trade of liuing, or pro-
 fession; as when a Surgeon can skill to
 launce a sore, or a Phisition to heale a
 disease, or a Shoemaker to make a Shoe.
 But none of all these is the knowing of
 a mans selfe. And though a man beheld
 all the parts of his bodie, yet knew he
 not himselfe the more for all that. For
 as *Plato* saith, He that knoweth his
 bodie, knoweth that which is his, but he
 knoweth not himselfe. So that neither
 Phisition nor handicraftsman knoweth
 himselfe, but their knowledge is of things
 that are separated from themselves.
 Wherefore to speake properly, none of
 them according

What it is to
 know ones
 selfe.

ding to their art, can bee said to be wise. Likewise hee that hath a care of his owne body, mindeth that which is his, and not himselfe. And vvhosoever loueth a man, cannot bee deemed to loue his bodie, but his soule. Therefore vvhē we say, a man must know himselfe: it is as much to say, as hee must haue a care of his soule, to prepare it to the knowing of God his maker, after whose image it is created, that hee may, as it were in a looking glasse behold the inuisible Godhead, the efficient cause of wisdome, and of all good things; and that by the knowledge of the vertues which God hath giuen vnto him, he may consider how greatly he is indetted vnto God, and that he hath not any thing of himselfe, but that all cometh of God. And when he knoweth what he is, that is to wit a reasonable creature, then listeth he vp his heart (as is soong in the church); that is to say, he listeth vp his mind to the author of his welfare.

To know God, it behooueth a man to know himselfe.

Now then, to know God, it behooueth to haue the knowledge of our selues, that is to wit, of our inward man, which is framed of diuine essences, to the intent we despise not the heavenly vnderstanding and mind that was giuen to man in his creation, for want of knowing it aright, and for want of considering the vertue and power thereof; least through want of such vnderstanding thereof, instead of being wise and wel aduised, and instead of chusing the good way, wee follow the wooser, and (as *David* saith) Become like the horse and mule, for not considering what God hath bestowed vpon man. Therefore it standeth vs on hand to consider from whence we be, and to what end we be created; that by beholding the excellencie which we haue receiued of God, we may submit our selues wholly vnto him, and to his wisdome; which inuiterh vs thereunto, as is to bee seene in fīue hundred places of the booke of Wisdome. Those then which refer al their actions to the said first cause, we call Wise men, according to the writings both of the Bible, and also of the Heathen authors, specially of the great *Mercurie*, *Plato*, and *Cicero*, who affirme, That the first point of wisdome, is to know a mans selfe. And by

The first point of wisdome is to know ones selfe.

by this knowledge a man shall perceiue wherat he ought to leuell himselfe, and so he shall foresee the impediments that may hinder & annoy him. He then which hath not wisdome, cannot discern what is his, or what is well or ill done; neither can we know what is ours, vnlesse we know our selues. And he that knoweth not what is his, is also ignorant what is another mans; and consequently he is ignorant what belongeth to the commonweale, and so shall he neuer be good housholder, or good common-weales man, because he knoweth not what he doth. By reason wherof, he shall walke on in error, wandering and mistaking his marke; so as he shall not atchieue any thing of value, or if he doe, yet shall he be but a wretch. For no man can be happie or gouerne happily, vnlesse he be good and wise, because it is only he that discerneth good from euill. Now if this saying may be verified of al mē, much more without comparison doth it agree to princes than to other men, because they haue authoritie aboue all: and to execute authoritie well, it behoueth to haue Discretion and Wisdome. For reason would, that the wise should commaund the ignorant, according to the saying of *Ecclesiasticus*, That the free-borne shall serue the bondmen that are wise. And as *Dennis of Halicarnassus* saith, It is a law common to all, that the better sort should commaund the worser. It is they therefore to whom the said goodly precept is chiefly appointed, to the end they should know the being and state of their soule, the force and power wherof consisteth in wisdome, whose ground is truth. For it is the propertie of wisdome to discern the truth of all things, whereby the darknesse of ignorance is driuen out of our mind, and light is giuen vnto vs. In this respect *Iacob* hauing gotten wisdome by trauel, is said in *Genesis* to haue had the sight of God: because that to the actiue life, he had also ioyned the contemplatiue. In so much that we may say, that the wise man is the cleeresighted, and hath iudgement & reason to discern good from euil, that he may keepe himselfe from being deceiued. For nothing is more contrarie to the grauitie of a wise man, than error, lightnes, and rashnesse.

The better
sort ought to
rule the wor-
ser.

Cicero in his
Academiks.

Cicero in his
books of
Duties.

The excellen-
cie of Wis-
dome.

Wisdome the
mother of all
good things.

Wisdome go-
eth before all
other ver-
tues.

And although Wisdome and Discreetnesse doe well be-
seeme all men, because it is the propertie of man to search
the truth, as who (being partaker of reason, gathereth the cō-
sequencies of things by considering their principall causes
and proceedings:) yet notwithstanding Wisdome is an essen-
tiall thing in princes and gouernors. For nothing doth so
firmly stablish a principallitie, as a wise man, who (as saith *Ec-
clesiasticus*) instructeth his people, and the faithfull are the
fruits of his vnderstanding. The wise man shall be replenished
with blessednesse, and as many as see him shall commend
him. And in the third chapter of *Salomons* Prouerbs, it is said;
That the purchase of Wisdome is more worth, than all that
euer a man can gaine by the trafficke of gold and siluer; and
all that euer man can wish is not comparable vnto hir. For that
very cause there was a writing in the foresaid temple of *Del-
phos*, which commaunded men to honor Wisdome and iu-
stice, whom *Hesiodus* and *Pindarus* faigned to sit at *Iupiters*
side. Wherefore we may well say, That Wisdome is the mo-
ther of all good things, and the tree of life that was in the
earthlie Paradise, as saith *S. Austine* in his thirteenth booke
of the cite of God. And to shew the excellencie therof yet
more, *Ecclesiasticus* saith, That Wisdome is a greater aid and
strength to a wise man, than ten gouernors are to a country.
And therefore in the 16 of the Prouerbs it is said, That Pro-
phesie is in the lips of a king; which thing is meant of a wise
king. After which maner he saith in another place, that the
delight of a king is in a wise seruant; which is to be vnderstood
of a good and wise king. For commonly els such men are
not welcome to princes. But as *Aesop* saith, either a man must
please a king, or els he must not come at him.

Bion was wont to say, That Wisdome goeth before the
other vertues, as the sight goeth before the other senses, and
that without wisdome there is no vertue at all. For how were
it possible for the iust man to yeeld vnto euery man that
which belongs to him, if Wisdome had not taught him what
is due to euery man? Therefore afore wee enter into the
morall

morall vertues, it is requisite by the way to speake a word of the contemplatiues; namely of Wisdome and Discretion: because that without contemplation ioyned with skill, a man can doe nothing that is beautifull and good. The Stoicks make no difference betweene these two vertues, sauing that Wisdome consisteth in the knowledge of things belonging both to God and man; and Discreetnesse consisteth only in things belonging to man. For both of them be contemplatiue vertues, proceeding from the mind and vnderstanding. But yet one of them is meerey contemplatiue, that is to wit, Wisdome, which (after the opinion of ancient Philosophers) is occupied but in contemplation of the heauen, the earth, and the stars, respecting nothing but such things as are euerlasting and vnchanged; and because they be not subiect to any alteration, man needeth not to scan of them. And as *Aristotle* saith in his sixt booke of Morals, It behooueth a wise man not only to vnderstand whatsoeuer may be gathered of principles, but also to vnderstand the principles themselves truly, and to speake truly of them. And as a Geometrician scanneth not whether a triangle haue three angles made by the meeting and closing together of three right lines, but holdeth it for an vndoubted certaintie; so the contemplatiue vnderstanding, doth not so much as dreame of any thing that admitteth any alteration; neither is it subiect to consulting and deliberating. But Discreetnesse, which is cumbered with things vntrue, erroneous, and troublesome, and is to deale with casuall aduentures, is driuen to consult of things doubtful, and after consultation to put it selfe in action. For as *Cicero* saith, All vertue consisteth in action. Concerning the which, we will hold still the precept which he giueth vs in his books of Duties, where he saith, That whosoever will be wise, must eschew two vices, one is, he must not vphold things vnknown, as known: and to eschew the falling into that vice, he must spend time and labour in considering things aforehand. For if a mans wit be not confirmed and fortified by reason, he doth easily wauer, and is easily driuen from the discourse wheron

Of Wisdome:

Plutarch in his treatise of Morall vertue.

Wisdome is not subiect to doubting.

All vertue consisteth in action.

A man must not vphold things vnknown, for knowne.

Plutarch in the life of *Rimoleon*.

he

he was grounded at the first. Therefore it behooueth that the resolution whereto he sticketh be firme, and not subiect to alteration, least he doe things afore he haue well considered and tried thē, and so it befall him as doth to liquerous persons; which oftentimes desire some meat with iouer-earnest appetit, wherof whē they haue once had their fill, by & by they be weary of it, which thing happeneth to such as enterprise any thing lightly, and without good aduisement aforehand. But the choice that is grounded vpon sure knowledge and firme discourse of reason, dooth neuer alter, though the thing that was vndertaken come not to good end. The other vice wherof *Cicero* maketh mention, is, that some men set all their studie vpon things difficult and needlesse, after the maner of the ouer-profound wisdome of men in old time, to the which wisdome *Socrates* would in no wise giue himselfe. Therefore let vs omit that kind of wisdome, as wherof we haue not to treat here, and wherunto we cannot attaine. For the former Philosophers gaue themselues the title of Wise men; yet notwithstanding, those that haue bin wiser than they, would not take that title vnto them. As *Pitthagoras*, who said, He was but only a louer of wisdome. And *Socrates*, who confessed himselfe to know nothing. By reason wherof he was accounted the wisest man of his time. And neuer since was there any man so proud and presumptuous, as to take that title vpon him. As for vs that are Christians, we ought to reiect it vterly, because the name of wisdome is attributed to the sonne of God, and that God only is wise: so that we agree with the philosophers, That wisdome consisteth rather in heavenly things, and in a certaine contemplation, than in action. And therefore letting it alone, we will returne to the other contemplatiue vertue, which is called Discreetnesse, and (commonly) Wisdome also. But that is an vnpropper kind of speaking, whether we apply the tearme to matter of vnderstanding, or to matter of art. As for example, when we say that *Phidias* was a wise ingrauer, in so saying we intend to shew the vertue of the art, because wisdome is the perfectest of all skills. Which word

Wisdome

Wisdome, I shall be faine to vse sometimes, (because it is vsed in our common speech) not for the wisdome that searcheth things diuine, wonderfull and hard to attaine vnto, but for the vertue of deliberating, which we call Discreetnesse, wherewith we haue to deale in humane affaires. For as *Aristotle* saith in his sixt booke of his *Morals*, No man consulteth of things that are vnpossible, and whose end is not the good that consisteth in action. But Discreetnesse which the common sort call wisdome, and consisteth chiefly in the choise of good from euil, is not gotten but by aduised deliberation, wherethrough we refuse the euill and chuse the good. Which thing cannot be done by a foole, or by a harebrained person. For as *Salomon* saith in his *Prouerbs*, The foole hath no delight in Discreetnesse, but in the imaginations of his owne heart. *Philo* the Jew expounding the first chapter of *Moses*, saith, That by the knowledge of good and euill, Discretion is to be vnderstood, which discerneth and deemeth as a iudge betweene one thing and another. Therefore let vs come to the definition of Discreetnesse, the which *Cicero* in his *Academiks* calleth the Art of liuing, and which we may say to be the way and path that leadeth to the morall vertues. *Aristotle* saith, that Discreetnesse is an habit matched with the very reason that is peculiar to action, and discourseth what is good or euil. And in another place he saith, That it is the vertue of the reasonable part, which prepareth the things that pertain to happinesse, meaning the happinesse that consisteth in the good estate of the soule, and not in the outward euent of things. For the well doing of things is the end of our actiōs, & of our taking of thē in hand. And therefore a good housholder, whom we call a good husband, & a good comon-weale man, whom we call also a man that hath good skill in matters of state; (of whom the one hath an eye to the things that are good for himselfe, and the other to the things that are good for the comon-weale) are esteemed wise and discreet, when they performe their charge well. There is yet another difference betweene a discreet man, and a well-aduised man.

Discreetnesse is not gotten but by aduised deliberation.

The definition of Discreetnesse.

The difference betweene a discreet man, and a well-aduised man.

For

For the man which aimeth at some certaine point, and imployeth all his naturall wits to reach therunto, if it be for an euill end, is neuertheless accounted wel-aduised, whereas (to say more truly) he is subtle and wilie; and if it be for a good end and in a vertuous matter, he is counted wise and discreet. For as *Aristotle* saith in his *Morals*, It is vnpossible for an euill man to be wise. But he that in all thing seeth cleerly what is true, and can by good iudgement and sharpenesse of wit conceiue the reason therof; that man is reputed wise, and therefore men seeke vnto him in all their affaires. And as in sailing (saith *Socrates*) men beleue the Pilot of the ship; so ought we to beleue the wisest in al the actions of our life. For the Pilot guideth the ship by his discretion; and as *Homer* saith in his *Iliads*, One Wagoner outgoeth another by his aduisement. It is not by the strength and lightsomnesse of body: but by discretion and well-aduisednesse, that men doe great things. And as *Horace* saith in his *Odes*, Force without discretion ouerthroweth it selfe. For wisdome is better than strength, saith *Ecclesiasticus*. And *Salomon* saith in his *Prouerbs*, that the wise man hath great strength; for by discretion is warre made, and by good counsell is victorie obtained. *Phocildes* saith: that a wise man is more worth than a strong man. And *Euripides* saith, That wise counsell is able to vanquish great hosts. And therefore at Lacedemon the captaine that had compassed his matters by policie, did sacrifice to their gods with an Oxe; and he that had compassed them by force, sacrificed a cocke. For although they were a warlike people, yet they deemed that exploit to be greater and more befeeming a man, that was atchieued by good aduisement, skill, and reason, than that which was executed by valeantnesse and force of arms. And as *Alamander* the Sarzin said, Those that are of most skill in warre, how strong soeuer they be besides, had leuer to intrap their enemies by sleights and policies, than to encounter them valiantly at the swords point. And *Blondus* in his triumph at Rome saith, That the chiefe of an armie should fight by discretion and policie, rather than by boldnesse

Cicero in his
Duties.

Cicero in his
Cato.

The Lacedemonians made more account of an exploit done by policie, than of an exploit done by force of arms.

nesse and valiancie, because there is no comparison betwene wisdome and strength of bodie. For he that thinks there is no good to be done but by hand-strokes, is so farre off from being valiant, that he is rather to be esteemed rash, hare-braind, and furious.

Cicero in his booke of inuention saith, That there are of discreetnesse three parts, *Memorie*, *Skill*, and *Fore-cast*. *Memorie*, whereby things past are called to mind againe; *Skill*, which knoweth and vieweth things present; and *Fore-cast*, which considereth what may happen afore it come. Others doe set downe eight parts of discreetnesse; to wit, *Remembrance*, *Fore-cast*, *Skil*, *Reason*, *Quickenesse of wit*, *Teachablenesse*, *Experience*, and *Warinesse*. I count him a discreet man that is sufficient to governe others. For the doing wherof four things are to be considered; first the good wherunto the discreet man leadeth others, wherein it behoueth him to haue remembrance and fore-cast. The maner of governing, for the which it behooueth him to be a man of skill and reason. In his leading of other men he must haue cunning and liuelinesse of wit, and he must be teachable and easie to beleue good counsell. And in respect of all those whome hee governeeth he must be of good experience, and wel-aduised, that he may refuse the euill and chuse the good. The contrarie to discreetnesse, is vndiscreetnesse or wilfull ignorance, when a man neither knoweth nor will learne to know any thing, (which is the thing that most troubleth the life of man; and as *Plato* saith in his *Lawes*, That man is ignorant which misliketh the good, and loueth that which is noughtworth.) And when the will is bent against skil and reason, which naturally beareth chiefe sway.

VVilfull ignorance.

Cicero in his booke of *Lawes*.

Discreetnesse then is a vertue of the mind proceeding from a good vnderstanding and iudgement, which is encreased by knowledge and experience, and consisteth in the looking into things, to the end that men may find them easie and readie to be delt with, afore they goe in hand with them, foreseeing what may or should entue by things already past.

And.

And because the euent of things (as saith *Aristotle*) yeeld not themselues vnto our wils , we must apply our wils to the euent, howbeit so as our wils be ruled by discretion. For mans life is like a game at tables, where if a man meet with a cast of the dice that he would not haue, he must amend it by his cunning in play, as good table-players doe. The effects of discretion are to take deliberation, to discouer good and euill, and whatsoeuer els is to be followed or shunned in this life, to vse all maner of goods honestly, to be of good conuersation with all men, to foresee occasions and aduentures, and to haue experience of good and profitable things. As touching memorie and quicknesse of wit, experience and knowledge, either they be helps to discretion, as experience and memorie; or els they make a part of discretion, as skill and quicknesse of wit. Thus you see what wisdome is, the which *Aristotle*, speaking of the vertues, doth rightly terme the queen of al other vertues, as which sheweth vs the order that we ought to keepe in all things, which driueth away all incumberance and feare out of our mind, maketh vs to liue in tranquillitie, and quenchem all the heat of lust and couetousnesse. *S. Iohn Chrysostome* vpon the thirteenth Psalme, calleth it the lantern of the soule, the queene of thoughts, and the schoolemistresse of good and honest things. It is a vertue royall in deed, and the helme and helue of kings, without the which they cannot gouerne well. This is it that made kings at the beginning (as I haue said heretofore) and chose them out of the people, as most discreet and worthie of all the multitude. By wisdome men dispose of things present, & foresee things to come. By it we bridle our affections, & purchase honour, as *salomon* saith in the fourth of the Prouerbs, It maketh vs to gouerne orderly, both in matters of peace and war; and suffereth vs not to fall nor to be surprisid vnawares: It maketh vs to doe the good, and to eschew the euill. For Wisdome (as *Alexander* of Aphrodyse saith) is the skil what is to be done, and what is to be left vndon. Therefore only the wise man is worthy to gouerne And (as *Plato* saith) happie be those com-

Thereence in
his *Academies*.

The effects of
Discretion.

The praises of
Wisdome.

mon-weales and kingdomes, where Philosophers are kings, or the kings be Philosophers. For the wise man or Philosopher hath this prerogatiue aboue othermen, that he liueth after the rule of vertue, without musing vpon lawes, because he vseth reason for his law, as *Antisthenes* and *Aristippus* said, insomuch that if all lawes were abolished, yet would he not cease to liue vprightly, as one that knoweth what is honest, and what is vn honest.

The wise stand not vpon lawes, but liue by the rule of vertue.

Aristotle being demaunded what profit he reaped of Philosophie, answered, That I doe those things vncommanded, which other men doe for feare of lawes. For the law is not set downe for the righteous, but for the vnrighteous, saith *S. Paul*. And therefore, if he that raigneth be not wise, his kingdome cannot be happie. Cursed is that kingdome where a babe raigneth, because the babe wanting the vse of reason, cannot order his affaires with aduised Discretion. *Cirrus* was wont to say, That no man ought to take vpon him the charge of commaunding, vnlesse he were better than they whom hee is to commaund. For he that is a good man and commaundeth well, is commonly well obayed. When one had said that *Lacedemon* had bin vpheld by the skilfulnesse of the kings to commaund well; nay (quoth *Theopompus*) but rather by the skill of the inhabitants to obay wel. For the comādement of the prince & the obediēce of the subiects, are answerable either to other. For commonly men mislike to obay those, which haue no skil to comāund wel. Insomuch that the faithfull obediēce of the subiect dependeth vpon the sufficiencie of a good prince to commaund well. For he that well guideth, causeth himselfe to be well followed. And like as the perfection of the art of riding and of the rider, consisteth in making the horse obedient, and in subduing him to reason: euen to the principall effect of a kings skill, is to teach his subiects to obay well.

S. Paul to *Timothee*.

The comādement of the prince, and the obediēce of the subiect, are answerable either to other.

Plutarch in the life of *Licurgus*.

He that well guideth, is wel followed,

Antonie the Meeke was a vertuous and wise emperor, and so well aduised in all his doings, that he neuer repented him of any thing that he did. Wherata Senator of Rome marue-

ling,

ling, asked him how it came to passe, that his affaires had so good successe, that he neuer repented him of any thing that he did, that he was neuer denied any thing that he asked, and that he neuer commaunded any thing which was not obeyed. It is (quoth he) because I make all my doings conformable to reason; I demaund not any thing which is not rightfull, and I commaund not any thing which redoundeth not more to the benefit of the commonweale, than to mine own profit. To conclude, Wisdome is a shield against all misfortune. Men in old time were wont to say, that a wise man might shape his fortune as he listed; supposing that misfortune, be it neuer so ouerthwart, is wonderfully well ouer ruled by the discretion of a wise and sage person. And as *Plutarch* saith in the life of *Fabius*, The Gods doe send men good lucke and prosperitie, by means of vertue and discretion, notwithstanding that the euent of fortune be not all in our power, as said *Sirammes*, who being demaunded why his so goodly & so wise discourses had not euent answerable to their deserts; because (quoth he) to say and to doe what I list is in mine owne power, but the sequelle and successe therof, is altogether in fortune, and in the king. Therefore when *Phocion* the Athenian had resisted *Leosthenes* in a certaine case, wherof notwithstanding the euent was prosperous, and saw that the Athenians gloried of the victorie which *Leosthenes* had gotten, I am well contented (quoth he) that this is done, but yet would I not but that the other had bin councelled. *Iulius Caesar* gloried in his good fortune, but yet his bringing of his great enterprises to passe, was by his good government and experience in feats of warre. To be short, the wise and discreet man findeth nothing strange, neither feareth he any thing, no not though the whole frame of the world (as *Horace* saith) should fall vpon him. The reason wherof is, that he had minded it long time aforehand, and had fore-considered what might happen vnto him, and had provided remedie for all by his foresight and discretion. For as *Salomon* saith, The mind of the wise shall not be attainted, no not euen with feare. Such folke are not subiect,

neither

Wisdome is a
shield against
all misfor-
tune.

Prosperitie
commeth of
wisdome.

neither too great greefe, nor too excessiue ioy: they neuer wāt hope, neither do they quaille for any misfortnne: so that they be hard to be ouercome, because they be fully resolued of all things that may betide them, and do take order for all things aforehand by their wisdome. For wisdome (saith *Salomon*) is to his ownour as a liuely fountaine, as a deepe water, and as a flowing streame. And as a ioint of timber closed together in the foundation of a building, cannot be disioined, so also cannot the heart that is stablished in the thoughts of discretion. And as *S. Austin* sayth, Wisdome teacheth vs to continue at one stay, both in prosperitie and aduersitie, like vnto the hand which changeth not his name, but is alwaies one, whether it be held out, or gathered vp together. And albeit that wisdome be a gift of God, and come of a well disposed mind, and of a good vnderstanding, yea and of a body that is well tempered, as witnesseth *Galen* in his first booke of Temperatures, where he sayth, That the first action of a man of good temperature, is Discretion; yet is it gotten by learning and discipline. For the true desire of discipline is the beginning of wisdome. Also it is gotten by long experience and knowledge of things past, and by continuall exercise in dealing with sundrie affairs. For as *Afranius* sayd (by report of *Aulus Gellius*) Wisdome is begotten by vse, and conceiued by memorie; meaning thereby, that it consisteth in bookes, which put vs in remembrance of things past, and in experience which is the vse and practise of wisdome. In so much that neither he that hath but only learning, nor he that hath but only experience, is able to attain vnto wisdome: but he that will deale perticularly and vniuersally in all affairs, must haue them both, as well the one as the other. And as *Aristotle* saith, there are three things needfull to the obtainment of Wisdome, namely, Nature, Learning, and Exercise. For it is in vaine to striue against Nature, Learning must be had at learned mens hands, and Exercise is the perfection of learning. And therefore it will not be amisse to treat of Learning and Experience.

The first actiō
of a man of
good tempe-
rature, is Dis-
cretion.

CHAP. II.

¶ That the good governour must match Learning
and Experience together.



S the body is made the more strong and better disposed by moderat exercise: so mans vnderstanding groweth and encreaseeth by learning, and becommeth the stronger and better disposed to the managing of affairs. In which respect, *Demetrius Phalareus* counselled *Ptolomie* king of *Egypt*, to make diligent search for such bookes as treated of kingdoms, and declared the qualities that are requisit for the well and due executing of the office of a king. And *Alexander Severus* neuer sat in counsell vpon any case of importance, or vpon any matter of state and war, but he called such to counsell as bare the name to be well seene in histories. *Bias* would not haue any man chosen a governour in his common-wealth, but such as were of skill; saieng that the want of skill is the cause of great inconueniences. *Philip* commaunded *Alexander* to obey *Aristotle*, and to be a good student: to the intent (quoth he) that ye do not many things whereof ye shal repent you afterward. *Adrian* as well in peace as in warre, had of the skilfullest Philosophers alwaies about his person; and among others, he had two great lawyers, *Saluius* and *Neratius*. *Plutarke* in the life of *Coriolan* sayth, that the greatest fruit that men reape of the knowledge of good learning, is that therby they tame and meeken their nature, that afore was wild and fierce, so that by vse of reason, they find the Meane, and leaue the Extream. When one asked *Alfons* king of *Arragon*, wherefore he did so greatly loue learning? Because (qd. he) by reading I haue learned war and the law of arms: acknowledging therein,

The want of
skil is cause of
great mis-
chiefe.

therein, that no wit be it neuer so good, can fashion it selfe well and become worthie of the charge which it shall vnder take, without learning and doctrine. Like as the fattest ground in the world can beare no corne except it be well tilled: so nature of it selfe draweth and prouoketh vs, by giuing vs a desire of knowledge and skill, as *Cicero* saith in his books of Duties; but Ignorance (which wee find fault with, as with the thing that darkeneth and defaceth mans vnderstanding) cannot be done away, but by learning. My meaning is not to make a prince perfectly skilful in all sciences, but only in that kind of learning which concerneth histories, and precepts of good life, according to the counsell of *Demetrius* and *Isocrates*, who said, that the wisdom which is proper to kings, consisteth in Learning and Experience; of which two, Learning teacheth the way to doe well, and Experience teacheth the meane how to vse Learning well. And albeit that *Traian*, (who was one of the best princes of the world) gaue not himselfe to learning for any commendation therof that *Plutarke* made vnto him; saing that the gods immortall had not made him to turne ouer the leaues of bookes, but to deale with martiall affairs: yet was he not an vnskillfull person, neither misliked he of learned men, but had Philosophers, Lawyers, and other men of good learning and knowledge neere about him. And notwithstanding that he was well aduised and discreet, yet in doing many things vpon his owne head, he failed not to doe some whereof he repented afterward, because the benefit of nature was not sufficiently kiltred by learning, which is the thing wherein princes faile. For if they bee not taught by the dumb scholemaisters, that is to say, by bookes, they will hardly be taught by the liuely voice; because the scholemaister is afraid and dareth not compell them, but letteth them doe what they list at their own discretion, & therefore they cannot learne so well as others, that are vnder correction. But the booke although it doe not speake, vitereth what it listeth, without either feare or blushing, and giueth such warnings vnto Princes, as their tutors durst not doe.

The wisdom of a king consisteth in learning and experience.

Therefore all their recourse ought to be vnto bookes, as well to vnderstand the truth, as to learne the historie, wherein they shall see a thousand policies of warre, infinit goodly sayings, a thousand inconueniences that haue lighted vpon euil princes, their grossenes, their lewdnesse, and their wickednesse. On the contrarie part, they shall take singular pleasure in reading the praises of good princes; they shall see their wisdom, vertue, and good demeanor in matters both of peace and warre. How they defended themselues frō their enemies, how they wound themselues out of their hands, what they did to maintaine their states, and what got them their good reputation, and made them to prosper in all things. Which thing the valeantest captains could well skill to put in practise; who not only haue helped themselues by learning in the managing of their affairs, as *Cicero* and *Lucullus* (who had small experience of warre) *Alexander* the great, *Iulius Caesar*, and infinit other great captains: but also haue set downe to themselues as it were in a looking-glasse, some such personages as they haue liked to follow. As for example, *Alexander* setting *Achilles* before him for his patterne, neuer slept without the *Iliads* of *Homer* vnder his pillow. The patterne of *Iulius Caesar* was *Alexander*; and *Cirrus* was the pattern of *Scipio*, who neuer went without a *Xenophon*: no more did *Alfons* king of Arragon go without the Commentaries of *Caesar*; nor the emperour *Charles* the fift, without the Remembrances of *Philip* of Comines.

After whose example, all noble-minded princes, ought first to haue the histories of the holy Bible, and (besides them) of the Heathen histories, the liues of *Traian*, *Antonie* the Meeke, *Alexander* the Stern, & such others, by whom they shal learne to order their life aright. And to allure them the more vnto learning, I will alleage the saying of *Salomon*, in the xx chapter of his Prouerbs, There is much gold and store of pearles, but bookes of knowledge are the precious iewels. By knowledge, chambers are filled with all maner of costly and pleasant stuffe. And as he sayth in another place,

The

The wise man hath great might, and the man of knowledge hath great strength. For by skill are varres made, and vvhether many be that can giue counsell, there is victorie. *Cicero* in his oration for *Archias* saith, That learning is the teacher of vertue, a delighter and refresher of vs vvhether we be at home alone in our oune houses, and a companion that cumbereth vs not vvhether we goe abroad. It trauelleth vwith vs, it sleepech vwith vs, it is an ornament vnto vs in prosperitie, and a helpe in aduersitie.

Many being in prison, many being in captiuitie to their enemies, many being in banishment, haue borne their misfortune vwell by means of learning. *Diogenes* was wont to say, That learning made yong men sober, comforted old men, enriched poore men, and made rich men glorious, because learning restraineth the slippernesse of youth, and supplieth the defects of old age. *Aristotle* saith, that the eies receiue light from the aire about them, and the mind from the liberall sciences; and that learning serueth for an ornament in prosperitie, and for a refuge in aduersitie. *Aristippus* was wont to say, There is as great difference betweene the learned and vnlearned, as is betweene the liuing and the dead. Send them both (quoth he) into a strange countrie, and you shall see what difference there is. The which appeared well in *Dennis*, who of the king of Sicilie, became a schoolemaster at Corinth, and might haue starued for hunger, had it not bin for his learning. The foresaid Philosopher *Aristippus* was wont to say, That it was better to be a beggar than to be vnlearned; because the beggar hath no need but of mony, but the vnlearned hath need of humanitie; as who would say, that he which wanted knowledge was no man.

Socrates was wont to say, That for war, iron was better than gold; and that for the life of man, learning was better than riches. At such time as *Paulus Emileus* was for to encounter with *Perseus* the last king of Macedonie, & that his armie was sore dismaid at the eclips of the moon which then happened; *Sulpicius Gallus* encouraged them by his learning, in that hee

The mind receiuech light from learning.

For the life of man learning is better than riches.

Of Eloquence

assured them of victorie by his knowledge in the Mathematicall sciences. By the like knowledge *Archimedes* defended the citie of Syracuse from the force of *Marcellus*. In this pro-
 cesse of learning, I will not omit Eloquence, which the men of old time termed the Queene of men, as one which euen by force drue vnto her the affections of as many as shee spake vnto. *Plutarch* in the life of *Pericles*, saith that Eloquence is an Art that weeldeth mens minds at her pleasure, and that her cheefe cunning is, to know well how to mooue mens pactions and affections to her lure, which are as you would say the Tunes and sounds of the soule, which is willing to be touched by the hand of a good musician. And albeit that a good naturall disposition be very requisit to haue the toung at commandement, yet will nature doe but small seruice, if it be not polished by learning. On the contrary part, the man that is rude of speech by nature, may become eloquent and well spoken, in amending his euill disposition by learning. I meane not that he shal becom as good as *Demosthenes*, but that he may be able to make some breefe oration to the people, or to men of war, that shall be of force to persuaide them, as the braue captains of old times did. *Nestor* is commended of *Homer*, not only for his good skill and counsell, but also for his Eloquence, saying that the words issued from his lips as sweet as honie. Notwithstanding that *Pirrhus* was one of the best captains of the world, yet would he say that *Cyneas* had woon him mo cities by his eloquence, than he himselfe had done by the sword. Anon after the expulsi-
 on of the kings out of Rome, there fel such debate between the senators and the common-people, that the citie was like to haue gone to vtter ruine by it. But *Agrippa* pacified the whole matter by his eloquence, and brought the people backe to obedience, when they had alreadie banded themselves in companies. *Pisistratus* handled the Athenians so cunningly with the finesse of his toung, that he made himself king of Athens. Such as were sent by *Cinna* to haue slaine *Antonie* the Orator, were so surprised with his eloquence, that when they heard him speake, they had no mind at all to kill him.

The

Cyneas the orator woon mo cities by his eloquence, than *Pirrhus* did by the sword.

The eloquence of *Cicero* caused the disanulling of the law for the diuiding of lands, whereof the people of Rome had conceiued so great liking, and which had bene so often propounded; in so much that when they had heard him speake, they yterly abolished it for euer: whereof *Plinie* maketh a wonder. The like grace of speech enforced *Iulius Caesar* to pardon *Ligarissus*, whome he was resolutly determined to haue put to death.

To be short, it is a thing of so great power, that a prince who hath many vnder his charge, can in no wise forbear it. And if he fortune not to be eloquent inough of himselfe, it would behoue him to haue some good orator about him, as *Moses* rooke *Aaron* to persuaide the people, and to preach vnto them, because he found himselfe vnfit for that purpose. For it is to no purpose for a man to haue goodly conceits, vnlesse he put them forth. For according to the saieng of *Themistocles*, E-
A man cannot vter the excellent conceits of his mind, if he want Eloquence.
 loquence is like a peece of tapistrie wrought with figures and imagerie, which shew themselves when the cloth is vnfolded and are hidden when it is lapped vp together: and euen so a man cannot shew the goodly conceits of his mind, vnlesse hee haue eloquence to vter them. *Cicero* saith in his Orator, that by the eloquence and persuation of such as could handle their toungs well, the people that were scattered abroad in the wild fields and Forrests, were first brought into cities and townes. It is of such force that it maketh the things to be beleued that were incredible, and smoothen things that were vnpolished. And as the mind is the beautie of a man, so is Eloquence the beautifier of the mind. The same author in the second booke of the Nature of gods saith thus, A beautiful and diuine thing soothly is Eloquence, for it maketh vs to learne the things we know not and to teach the things we know; by it we persuaide and comfort the sorrowfull, by it we encourage them that bee dismayed, by it we strike them dead that are too lustie, by it we pacifie the angrie, and kill folks lusts: that is it that hath drawne vs into fellowship, into societie, into cities, to liue according to equitie and law.

Of Experience.

Yet is it not inough to haue learning and eloquence, vnlesse they bee also matched with experience. *Bias* in his lawes, would haue a Prince to be chosen of the age of fortie yeares, to the end he should gouerne well by good discretion and experience. For it is well known, that neither Phisitions nor Generals of war, (be they neuer so well instructed with precepts) can well discharge their duties without experience. And (as the emperor *Adrian* was wont to say) in the generall ordering and managing of matters of State, One yeares experience is better woorth than ten yeares learning. And for that cause he preferred *Antonie* to the Empire before *Marcus Aurelius*, as making more account of *Antonies* experience, than of *Marks* learning.

Agamemnon desired not so much to haue learned and eloquent men of his counsell, as to haue such as *Nestor* was, that is to say, men of great experience. *Plutarke* saith that the wise and valeant captaine *Philopemen*, presuming that his skill which he had in ordering a battel vpon the land, would also serue him alike vpon the sea, learned to his cost, what sway experience beareth in matters of chivalrie, and how great aduantage they haue in all things which are well experienced. The skill how to gard and defend a mans selfe, is not learned (saith *Thucydides*) by talking, but accustoming himselfe to pains-taking and to handling of his weapon. One asked *Zeuxidamus*, why the Lacedemonians had no lawes written: because (quoth he) they should rather enure themselues to the doing of noble and honorable things, than to read of them. *Panthoidas* said the same to the Athenians, that asked him what he thought of the Philosophers, which had disputed before him; assuring them that they had spoken goodly things, but to themselues vnprofitable; whereby he meant to doe the Athenians to vnderstand, that they had vertue in their mouths, but not in their deeds.

The knowledge that is gotten, serueth to the ordering of mens affairs; but if it be without practise, it is like a body without a soule. Very vnwise therefore was he, which by his sophistrie would haue made *Iphicrates* beleue, that the Philosopher is

the

Cicero in his Duties.

Experience better than Learning, in matters of State.

Knowledge without Practise, is a body without a soule.

the onely good captaine. And we may well say with *Anaxip-
pus*, that such discourfers doe shew themselues wise in words,
but in effect are starke fooles.

Now therefore we conclude with *Aristotle*, that such as
will deale in matters of state, must aboue all things haue ex-
perience, and this experience is gotten by practise and exer-
cise, which is the perfecter of Learning. For we see that by ex-
ercise a weake man becommeth strong, and doth better away
with trauell, than he that being strong doth not vse exercise,
as *Socrates* sayth in *Xenophon*. Againe, they that bee practised
in all things, deeme truly of duties, and vnderstandeth what
belongeth to euery man. And (as saith *Musonius*) Vertue is a
science that consisteth not only in vnderstanding, but also in
action. For euen as in Phisicke or Musicke it is not sufficient to
be skilfull of the art, but there must also be a practise of the
actions that depend vpon the art and science: so in the science
of Government, a prince must be practised in that which con-
cerneth action, rather than in that which concerneth contem-
plation.

The skill of
gouerning,
consisteth
more in pra-
ctise than in
speculation.

Can he thinke himselfe to be of good skil, which when he
is to go in hand with his worke, findeth it cleane contrarie to
his imagination? Surely (as *Terence* sayth) there was neuer yet
any man so well aduised afore-hand in his determinations,
whome age & experience haue not crossed with some strange
encounter, so as he hath found himselfe to seeke in the things
wherein he thought himselfe most skilfull: and when he came
to the execution, hath reiected that which he thought to be
best afore he began to go in hand with it. And that is allego-
rically the very tree of the knowledge of good and euill, after
the opinion of *S. Austen* in his thirteenth booke of the citie of
God. For in matter of State, it is very dangerous to take white
for blacke, and to thinke a mans selfe to know that which hee
knoweth not. Therefore it behooueth a prince to be a dealer
in his owne affairs, and to exercise his mind at times in reading
of bookes, without forgetting to exercise his body. He must so
counterpeise his mind and his body, as the one be not exerci-
fed

It is dange-
rous in mat-
ters of state,
to take white
for blacke.

fed without the other. And yet it is not inough for a piince to exercise himselfe, except he doe also make his subiects to be exercised, which thing he shall easily doe, if hee make often wagers with rewards, for shooting in guns, for running, for iusting, for fighting at the barriers, and so forth of other like exercises, howbeit with least sumptuousnesse, and most profit.

Nothing doth better acquaint men with feats of arms, than the often exercise of them. *Traian* was not to learne in that art, for he entertained maisters of chiuallrie at pensions, to teach young men the art of war; as to breakè their horses, to handle their weapons, to shoote in crosse-bows, to skale walles, to make fireworks, to vndermine castels, to passe riuers in diuing, and to cast themselues cunningly in a square. To be short, hee gaue his people so much to doe, that they had no leisure to be idle, neither in time of peace, nor in time of warre. When his men of warre were most in peace, then did hee most exercise them in feats of warre, saying that for his so doing, strangers would stand in feare of him, when they saw him continual'y accompanied with men of experience in chiuallrie. Hee made daily new tournies and iousts to exercise his men of arms, hee made forts, combats of ten to ten, runnings, wrestlings, and such other exercises: saying cōmonly, That it was no faire or commendable fight, to see a man either without a booke in his hand to learne wisdome, or without a weapon in his fist to defend himselfe against fooles and ignorant persons.

CHAP. III.

Of Iustice, or Righteousnesse.



Now remaineth to speake of the cheefe of the vertues, which containeth all vertues, namely of Righteousnesse; the which (as saith *Cassiodorus*) causeth mans life to be contained within order of Law, and to be lead after another manner

ner than the brute beasts which liue at auenture ; without the which, the excellencie of wit serueth to no purpose , whereas contrariwise, Righteousnesse may be without Wittinesse. And in comparing them, wee make more account of the duties of righteousness, which consist in action, and in the preseruacion of mens welfare, than in the duties of wittinesse, which consist but in knowledge.

For it is a greater matter to doe a thing discreetly, than but only to forecast it wisely. *Plutarch* in the life of *Aristides*, saith it is the vertue whereof the vse and exercise is most continual, and of whose doing most men doe ordinarily feele the force, making the life of them diuine and heauenly, which are placed in degree of prosperitie, power and authoritie, the which by vnrighteousnesse is made sauage and beastly. The men of old time sayd that *Iupiter* himselfe could not well gouerne his kingdome without righteousness, according wherunto *Dauid* sayth, That the Lord loueth righteousness, and that his countenance beholdeth the thing that is iust. And in another place he saith, that he hath prepared his seate for righteousness and iudgement. And *S. Paul* in the first epistle to the *Corinthians* saith, That God hath made our Lord *Iesus Christ* our righteousness, wisdom, holines, and redemption. *Salomon* saith in his *Proverbs*, That a kings throne is vpheld by righteousness. And *Plutarke* in the life of *Demetrius* saith, That nothing is more fit and wel-beseeming for a prince, than to doe right and to execute iustice, because *Mars* (which betokeneth force) is a tyrant : but right and law (as saith *Pindarus*) are queens of the whole world. And *Homer* saith, that kings and princes haue receiued in trust of *Iupiter*, the custodie and keeping, not of engines to ouerthrow cities and to destroy them, nor yet of shippes, fortresses, and armies ; but of rightfull customes and holy lawes. For as *Dauid* sayth in the xxxiiij psalme, God loueth aboute all things that right should reigne and iustice take place. Not without cause haue I said that righteousness containeth all vertues. For he that is righteous hath no need of any other thing, whether it bee wisdom, or valiant-

It is more to doe a thing discreetly, than to forecast it wisely.

Nothing doth better beseem a prince, than to do iustice.

Righteousnes containeth all vertues.

Valeantnesse
serueth to no
purpose, where
Righteousnes
wanteth.

valiantnesse, which is nothing without righteousnesse, as *Agessilaus* said. So that if we were thoroughly righteous, there needed no force, for to what purpose should force serue, if righteousnesse were with vs, yeelding vnto euery man that which is his. And as *Belisarius* said in a certaine oration to his men of war, Valeancie standeth that man in no steed which wanteth righteousnes. As for Liberalitie, we shall find that it cannot be exercised without righteousnes. For whosoever giueth without aduisement and beyond his abilitie, to them that are vnworthie, is not to be called liberall, but prodigall. Contrariwise, he that recompenseth men of good seruice, valeant capitaines, good iudges, and other men of good behauour and honestie, worthily and according to such abilitie as he hath, is accounted liberall; Whereby it appeareth, that he cannot exercise Liberalitie, without that kind of righteousnes which consisteth in distribution. If we intend to speake of Temperance, we shall find that it is vnited vnto righteousnesse, and that the Intemperate person which is subiect to his passions, cannot doe any thing aright, so long as he is intangled in that vice, as we read of *Dauid* and *Achab*, who leauing right and righteousnes, caused *Vrius* and *Naboth* to be put to death; and so did infinit others, whome I omit for breifnesse sake. In somuch that no man can be called a temperat or staied person, vnlesse he bee righteous. *Aristides* being asked what it was that men called Righteousnesse; To abstain (quoth he) from coueting that which is another mans: as who would say, he was of opinion, that if couetousnesse bee put away, it is a verie easie matter to doe well. *S. Ierome* saith, that righteousnesse is an equall distributing of all things, whereunto whosoever cleaueth, keepeth vprightnes in euery thing. It knows what is due to God, to the saints, to his fellows and companions, to his neighbour, to himselfe, and to the stranger. For it is good right that a man should loue and worship God, honor his companions, pay tribute to Princes, abtaine from pride, be meeke and gentle, not hate strangers, no nor his enemies, but rather loue them, and submit himselfe to his superiours or elders. From thence springeth

geth mercie, and the seruice which we yeeld vnto God. Now then, Righteousnesse (according to *Aristotle*) is a vertue of the mind, which yeeldeth vnto euery man according to his deserts. Or else it is a certaine hauiour of the mind, which obserueth vprightnesse, and giueth to euery man that which to him belongeth. Or else, it is an affection of the mind which maketh vs apt to doe rightfull deeds, wherethrough we doe and be desirous to doe, that which is good and honest. For they that doe righteously by compulsion of law, cannot bee esteemed righteous therefore. The lawiers define Righteousnesse, to be a constant and continual purpose, of yeelding vnto euery man that which belongeth vnto him. *Cicero* saith it is an endowment of mind, which disposeth a man vnto euery one according to his degree; so keeping and maintaining euery mans profit in peculiar, as may best stand with the conseruation of the whole. Men in old time said, that Righteousnesse was a goddesse, sitting at *Iupiters* seat. *Hesiodus* saith, she was borne of *Iupiter*, and *Homer* saith she was borne of all the gods.

Definitions of Righteousnesse.

To be short, all the Heathen said it was a Heauenly vertue; wherein they agree with this vvhich *S. Peter* saith in his second epistle, We looke for the new Earth, and new Heauens, wherein righteousness dwelleth. And as *Plato* saith in his Common-weale, Righteousnesse is the greatest good thing, that euer God bestowed vpon vs, as whereof hee himselfe is the very author and first ground; wherein he speaketh diuinely and agreeable to the commaundment of our Lord *Iesus*, who willet vs to seeke the kingdome of God, & his righteousness, because if we so do, we shall not want any thing. And *David* counselleth vs to offer vnto him the sacrifice of Righteousnesse. *S. Paul* in the epistle to the Romans; opposeth vnrighteousnesse against righteousness; so as the contrarie to righteousness, is euill. For as sayth saint *Jerome*, vwriting to the daughter of *Morris*, Righteousnesse is nothing else but the eschewing of sinne, and the eschewing of sinne is the keeping of the commaundements of Gods law. And therefore

God is the first author and beginner of righteousness.

Righteousnesse sinneth not.

Ecclesi-

Ecclesiasticus saith thus, Turne away from thine vnrighteous deeds, and turne againe vnto the Lord. And in the *Prouerbs*, Righteousnesse (saith *Salomon*) exalteth a whole nation, but sinne is a reproch vnto people. And in the fourteenth *Psalme* it is sayd, Thou hatest Vnrighteousnesse.

Now then, Righteousnesse is the vertue of the soule, and Vnrighteousnesse is the vice therof, & the procurer of death. And (as *Philo* saith) Vnrighteousnesse is the linage and offspring of vice. And this vice bringeth with it paine and trauell, according to this saying of *Dauid* in the seuenth *Psalme*, Behold he trauelleth with vnrighteousnesse and wickednesse.

Vnrighteousnesse is the soule of sinne.

Plato in his *Common-wealth*, saith, that to order or dispose, to commaund, to counsell or aduise, & such other things, are properties peculiar to the soule, so as an euill soule miscommaundeth, misordereth, and miscouncelleth; and contrariwise, a good soule doth all things well which it doth. And like as a man is esteemed to be in health when his body is altogether disposed according to the order of nature; and contrariwise to be out of health, when the parts of his body be infected, and all goes contrarie to the order of nature: euen so to doe righteously, is nothing else but to keepe the parts of the soule in such order, as they may both commaund and obey, according to the true rule of Nature. The same author saith in his *Protagoras*, That righteousness and holinesse are both one, or at least wise they be vertues very like one another. In so much that, such as righteousness is, such also is holinesse; and such as holinesse is, such also is righteousness. And in his *Theetetus* he saith, That he which is the holiest amongst vs, is likest vnto God, accordingly as our Lord teacheth vs in his *Euangelist Matthew*, saieing Follow ye the example of your heauenly father. The dutie of Righteousnesse is to liue honestly, without hurting any man, and (as saith *Iustinian*) to yeeld to euery man that which belongeth vnto him. *Cicero* in his *Duties* setteth down two sorts therof, the first is, that a mā should hurt no man, vnprouoked by iniurie and wrong first done vnto him, the which thing notwithstanding, is forbidden by God, as

Righteousnesse and holinesse are both one.

in

The duties of Righteousnesse.

in respect of reuenge, & hath also ben put in practise by diuers heathen men. The second is, that we vse cōmon things as cōmon, and priuat things as priuat. But according to christianitic, Righteousnes consisteth in two precepts, wherof the first is, to loue God; and the second is to loue our neighbor: and on that dependeth al that is written in the law & the Prophets. In the first consisteth the diuine and cōtemplatiue righteousnes, and in the latter consisteth the distributiue righteousnesse. For it is not inough for a man to honour God, to feare him, and to abstaine from euill, except he also doe good and be helpfull to his neighbour: and by the word Neighbor, I meane all men, specially those that are good. For, as saith *Pithagoras*, we ought to esteeme more of a righteous stranger, than of a kinsman or countriman that is vn honest. Which thing our Lord hath told vs more expresly, in saieing, He that doth the will of God, is my kinsman, my brother, and my mother. And also in another place by the parable of the Samaritan, that had shewed himselfe to be the wounded Iewes neighbor in very deed, by setting him vpon his horse, and by hauing a speciall care of him, wherain he, and not the priests and Pharisies that made none account of the wounded man, had done the durie of Righteousnesse. Wherby it appeareth, the righteous man takes pains rather for other men than for himselfe, and had leuer to forgo some part of his owne goods, than to diminish another mans. Now therefore, when men instruct the ignorant, releue the poore, yeeld to their neighbors that which belongs vnto thē, by helping them with things at their need; when the great personages oppres not their inferiors, nor the king his subiects, then may it be said that righteousnes raigneth in that cōtrie. And if euery man would liue after that manner, there should need neither law nor magistrat. For as saith *Menander*, Their owne manners should be as lawes. But for as much as few mendoe giue themselues to righteousnesse, there must of necessitie be laws and magistrats to enforce such vnto righteousnesse, as will not be righteous for loue: and to that end are kings and rulers ordained of God. For (as saint *Paule* sayth)

The righteous stranger is to be preferred before the vn-righteous kinsman.

the

the king is Gods lieutenant on earth, the maintainer of righteousness, and as it were his chancelor: so as they which require iustice at his hand, resort not vnto him as to a man, but as to the very righteousness it self, wherof he is the dealer forth, through the wil of God, according to this saieng of *Salomō* in the booke of *Wisdom*, By me kings reigne, and counsellors determine right; By me princes rule, and all lords iudge their lands. Not without cause therefore, did *Homer* call kings the disciples of *Iupiter*; as who would say, they learned of God to do iustice. *Dauid* vseth termes yet of more force, and calleth them, Gods which doe iustice; honoring them with the name of their charge, which is of God. And *Philo* calleth them Gods lieutenants and vicegerents, in cases concerning iustice. And in the 6 chapter of the booke of *Wisdom*, Vnto you kings do I speake (saith *Salomon*) harken vnto me ye gouernors of people, and you that glorie in the multitude of natiōs. For your authoritie is giuen you of the Lord, and your power cometh from the highest, who wil examin your works, and diligently search your thoughts: because you being ministers of his kingdome, haue not iudged vprightly, nor kept the law of righteousness. Therefore will he appeare vnto you with terror, and that right soone. For a very sore iudgement shall be executed vpon them that haue ben in authoritie. And in *Jeremie* he sweareth that if princes execute not iustice, their houses shall be left desolate. Wherewith agreeth that which *S. Remy* said vnto king *Clouis*, namely that the kingdome of France should continue so long as iustice raigned there. Also *Totilas* king of the Goths said, that all kingdomes and empires were easily destroyed, if they were not maintained by iustice; and that as long as the Goths delt iustly, their power was had in good reputation; but when they fell once to couetousnes, and to taking more than they ought to haue done, by and by they came to decay through their owne discord among themselues. A prince is called a liuing law on earth, because that lawes speake not, ne moue not; but a prince is as a liuely law, which speaketh and moueth from place to place, putting the law in execution, and

Kingdoms shall
continue so
long as Right-
eousnes reig-
neth in them.

A Prince is a
liuing law.

appointing

appointing euery man what he should doe; and thereof it commeth that we be said to doe men right. Seeing then that a prince is the law, it followeth that he must be iust, and do iustice to his subiects; in doing wherof the world receiueth very great good. And as *Aristotle* saith in his mattets of state, the iustice of the prince that raigneth, is more profitable to his subiects than riches are. *S. Ciprian* in his treatise of twelue abuses, saith, that the iustice of a king is the peace of his people, the safegard of innocents, the defence of his country, the foyzon of his hand, the reliefe of the poore, and the hope of blessednesse to come to himselfe. *Salomon* in the 20 of his prouerbs saith, That a king sitting on his iudgement seat, disperseth all iniquitie with his looke. Hereby is nothing els meant, but that he driueth away all naughtinesse by his only shewing of himselfe to his people, & by bearing a good countenance. Howbeit, he meaneth it of a good prince, & such a one as is an executer of iustice, for such a one maketh the wicked to quake euen with his only look; & although this vertue ought to be chiefly and principally appropriated to princes, because kingdomes without iustice are but maintenāces of mischief, according to *S. Austines* saying in his ninth booke of the citie of God, yet notwithstanding it faileth not to be behooffull for all sorts of men, yea euen for solitarie men (as saith *Cicero*) and for such as neuer goe abroad, as well as for them that buy and sell, bargain and couenant, which things cannot be done without vprightnesse, the force wherof is such, that euen they that liue of robbery and leaudnesse, cannot continue without it, in that it assureth the goods of the robbers vnto them. In cities iustice procureth peace and equitie. For (as saith *Dauid*) Righteousnes and peace imbrace one another. In priuat houses it maintaineth mutuall loue & concord betweene the man and wife, good will of the seruants toward their master & mistress, & good vsage of the master towards his seruants. *Agathias* said, that the Frēchmen became great, by being iust, vpright and charitable. For iustice and charitie make a cōmonweale happie, stable, long lasting, and hard to be surprised by

Iustice is
needfull for
all sorts of
men.

Iustice maketh a happie
Commonweale.

N enemies;

enemies; whereas a man may reckon vp a great sort, that haue bin ouerthrowne by vniustice. Of iustice or righteousnes are two sorts, the one of the law, and the other of equalitie. That of the law, is the more vniuersal, as which comprehendeth all sorts of vertue, and is that which in our English toung we properly call *Righteousnesse*. For he that performeth the commaundements of the law, is Righteous because he doth all the vertuous things commaunded in Gods law, so as he is liberall, lowly, modest, kind-hearted, meeke, peaceable, and so forth. When I say that a man is righteous, I meane not that he is righteous before God, otherwise than by grace, and not by the law, as *S. Paule* teacheth vs in his epistles to the Romans and the Galathians, saieng, By the law shall no man be found righteous. For the blessed life consisteth in the forgiuenes of sinnes, as *Dauid* declareth in the one and thirtieth Psalm. And therefore what good so euer we doe, our Lord will haue vs to account our selues vnprofitable seruants. The other sort of righteousness is of equalitie, and consisteth in dealing vprightly, and in yeelding euery man that which belongeth vnto him, the which in English we terme properly *vprightnes* and Iust dealing. And this kind of righteousness is diuided againe into other two sorts, whereof the one concerneth distributing, and the other concerneth exchange. This which consisteth in matters of exchange, serueth to make equalitie where vnequalitie seemeth to be, and is occupied about buieng, selling, bartering, and bargaining betweene man and man. For we see that one man hath monie, that another man wanteth, who hath corne and wine: here doth this kind of righteousness procure an equalitie. For the monied man giuing his monie, receiueth corne for it, that he wanted; and the other giuing corne & wine, hauing more than he needed, receiueth monie, whereof he had want. Therefore when lending, buieng, intercomoning, hiring, morgaging, & such other things, proceed duly without fraud: then is a realme seene to prosper, because right reigneth there. The like wherof we see in our bodies, the eye by the sight of it, directeth our steps, but cannot goit selfe: the foot is able to

A subdiuision
of Righteous-
nesse.

go, but it cannot see, so as it carrieth the eye, and the eye guideth it. The hand wipeth the eye clean, and the eye directeth it; the feet beare vp the head, and the head ruleth them; and without that, the body could not continue. Euen so the body of a common-weale could not endure, if euery man should not succour one another by such interchange. The distributiue iustice which the king vseth toward his subiects, cōsisteth chiefly in distributing honor and promotion vnto thē, according to euery mans desert. Semblably in our bodies there reigneth a kind of iustice, as for example, we see how the heart giues life and mouing to al the members, at least wise according to most philosophers, who hold opinion that the beginning of life and mouing is in the heart, and likewise that sence is in the braine. Wherefore it is requisit that as the heart for his excellencie, reigneth as king ouer all the other members, so he that is most excellent of al other men, should haue the prerogatiue to cōmaund others, & that if he bee borne to haue gouernment, he should make himselfe worthie of that charge. For as *Cicero* saith in his Duties, Those that at the first were chosen to bear rule, were such as the people had great good opiniō of. Others (of whom *Francis Petrarch* is one) diuide Righteousnes into 4 sorts, namely Diuine (which is sister to Wisdom) wherthrough we beleue in God, and acknowledge him to be the creator of al things, without whom, we cannot do any thing. It is he that directeth our footsteps in the right path. & is so gracious vnto vs by the intercession of his welbeloued son, that for his sake our sins are not imputed to vs. Wherefore this vertue consisteth in praising God, in worshipping him, in giuing him thanks, in obedieng him, and in doing his cōmandements. For Gods cōmandements and testimonies, are righteousnes & truth (saith *David*, in the 119 Psalm) and they doe bring vs forth humilitie, patience, innocencie, trustinesse, and all manner of vertues. Another sort of Righteousnes is called naturall, because it is borne with vs; as for exainple, to honour and serue our fathers & mothers, to cherish our children, & to do good to thē that doe good to vs, are properties of nature, and who soeuer

Another di-
uision of
Righteousnes

doth otherwise, is esteemed an unkind monster. For as saith *Cassiodorus*, Euen they that are ignorant of law, do neuertheless acknowledge reason and truth, because that so to doe, is not peculiar to man only, but also is comon to the brute beasts, to whom nature hath giuen such inclination. For we see that all kinds of beasts do cherish their yong ones, wherto they be led and taught by nature, and therefore the lawyers call it the Law of nature. The Storke cherisheth his syre and his dam, when they be old, and therefore the acknowledging & recompencing of kindnesse with like kindnesse againe, is called in greeke *Autipelargia*, as ye would say, A Counterstorking. The brute beast knoweth him that feedeth him, and is mindful of him that doth him good: as appeareth by a certain lion, which could well skill to requite the pleasure that a slaue had done him, in taking a thorne out of his foot. For he fed the slaue a long time in the caue where he had hidden himselfe, & afterward when both of them were by chance taken and carried to Rome, and the slaue being condemned to death for robbing his master, was cast vnto the lions to be deuoured by them; this lion being there among the rest, & knowing him, saued him and defended him from hurt, & yet the time was past long afore, that the slaue had done him the said pleasure. Now then it is a naturall thing to do good to them that do vs good. The third kind of righteousnesse is that which we call ciuill, which consisteth in yeelding vnto euery man that which belōgeth vnto him, in gouerning cities and countries, in maintaining comon society, & in such like things. The fourth is called Iudiciall, which belongeth to those that haue charge to iudge of controuersies betweene parties according to lawes. For the maintaining of these latter twaine, it behoueth to haue magistrats: and therefore they belōg properly to princes, kings & soueraign magistrats, & may be reduced both into one, considering that iudges do but supply the roomes of their soueraigns. Also the law which serueth for the executing of iustice, in giuing vnto euery man that which is his right, is called of the lawyers, the Ciuil Law, and not the Iudiciall Law.

By these diuisions a man may see what the dutie of a prince is in case of iustice; for the worthy executing wherof, he must aboue all things be religious and feare God, as I haue said afore, and therefore I will speake no more thereof. Also I will omit the naturall Righteousnes, because it is common to all liuing creatures, but the ciuill and iudicall Righteousnes is peculiar to kings and gouernours of countries, and consisteth, first in well keeping the lawes of their countries, and in causing them to be well kept, secondly in taking good order in cases of controuersie and strife between partie and partie, by themselues in their owne persons, or by chusing fit persons to doe iustice. Thirdly in doing right to the iudges themselues, and to the other officers whom the prince hath set in authoritie; namely in honoring and rewarding them according to their deserts, and likewise in punnishing them for their misdoings: and lastly, in doing iustice among their men of warre. As touching the first point, which concerneth the maintaining of the written lawes, it is so necessarie, that it may well be said that the honor of a cōtrie dependeth therevpon, according to the wise answere of *Pittacus*, who being demaunded of *Crasus* king of Lidia, wherin consisted the honor and maiestie of a kingdome? answered, Vpon a little peece of wood; meaning the laws written in tables of wood: as who would say, that where law hath his force and strength, there the realme flourisheth. For the law is the stickler betweene right and vnright, punnishing the bad, and defending the good, saith *Cicero* in his xij booke of Laws. And *Plato* saith in his common-weale, that that common-weale goes vtterly to wrecke, where the law ouer-ruleth not the magistrats, but the magistrats ouer-rule the law. On the cōtrarie part, al goeth well where the law ouerruleth the magistrats, and the magistrats are obedient to law. It belongeth to magistrats to keepe the lawes, and to beare in mind, that the lawes be committed to their custodie, saith *Cicero* in his books of duties. *Aristotle* saith in his matters of state, that they which would haue law to reigne in a citie or common-weale, would haue God to reigne there. *Aliamenes* being asked why he

The maiestie
of a kingdom
dependeth
vpon lawes.

The law ought
to rule the
magistrats.

would not receite the presents of the Messenians, Because that if I should haue receiued them (quoth he) I could not haue had peace with the lawes. For to say truth, the lawes are as the pillers of a state, vpholding it as pillers vphold a house, so as the casting down of them, is the ouerthrow of the house. Wherefore men ought to take good heed how they breake lawes, which hold one another together like the links of a chaine. For by vndoing one, all the rest follow after. And euen so befallerth it in lawes, when men fal to dispensing with them. Not without good cause therefore did *Adrian* the emperour ordaine, that no man should bring vp any straunge custome in Rome. And as *Plutarch* reporteth in the life of *Paulus Aemilius*, men forsake the keeping of the chiefe foundations of the state of a publick-weale, when they refuse the care of the diligent keeping of the ordinances thereof, be they neuer so little and small. And *Plato* in his common-weale, forbiddeth the chaunging of any thing, yea euen of so much as the plaies that young children are wont to vie; because the chaunging of them, changeth the manners of youth without feeling, and maketh folke to make no account of antient things, and to conuet and esteeme of new things; a matter very dangerous to any state. And anon after he saith againe in these expresse words, I tell you that all manner of alteration, except it be in euill things, is very dangerous, both in diet of the body, and in manners of the mind. And I see not but that the yong folke which are permitted to haue other plaies, games and pastimes than haue bene accustomed aforesimes, will also differ in behauior from the youth of old times, and being come to such difference, they will also seeke a differing kind of life, and by that means desire new lawes, and set their minds vpon all manner of innouations. *Sauly* king of Scythia did put *Anacharsis* to death, for offering sacrifice to *Berecinthia*, the mother of the gods, after the maner of the Greeks. Also *Scylus* king of Scythia, because he wore apparell after the Greeke fashion, & sacrificed secretly after the maner of Greece, as soone as he was discovered, was deposed for so doing, and in the end being taken

Lawes must
not be broken,

ken in battell, had his head struck off, and his brother *ostum-
fades* was set vp in his place: so greatly hated they strange fa-
shions, and feared in any case to alter their old customs. Now
if *Plato* was afraid of alteration in so small things: what shall
we say to such princes as daily do abrogat laws for their friends
and seruants sakes, & for their owne peculiar profit or pleasure
make no reckoning of the vpholding and maintaining of the?
Agefilans being otherwise a good prince and a seuerer obseruer
of the laws of his countrie, was worthily blamed for fauouring
his friends in cases of iustice. For he said that the obseruing of
the rigor of iustice, in matters where friends were to bee tou-
ched, was but a cloke wherewith to couer such as list not to
do their friends good. And in very deed he acquitted *Phebidas*
who had taken the suburbs of Thebes, and *sphodrias* who wēt
about to haue taken the hauen of Pyrey by stealth, at such
time as they were at peace with the Athenians. By which vn-
iust dealing of his, the state of the Lacedemonians was ouer-
thrown. So was the citie of Rome also sacked by the Gauls, for
that the Romans did thē not iustice, nor made thē reasonable
amends, for the wrong that had bin done to them by *Quintus
Fabius Ambustus*. *Pompey* was misliked of many good men, and
ill spoken of on their behalfe, because hee himselte hauing by
decree forbidden the open commending of such as were accu-
sed by order of law, so long as their case depended in triall, en-
tered one day into the court, & commended *Plancus* that had
bin accused. Infomuch that *Caro* being one of the iudges, stopt
his ears with both his hands, saieng it was not lawful for him to
heare an accused person commended, seeing it was forbidden
by the laws. How much more wisely dealt the king of Locres,
who hauing made a law that adulterers should haue their eies
put out, and finding his own son to haue transgressed the law,
would not suffer him to be dispensed with, but in the end whē
he was vrged by his people to pardō the offence, which thing
of himselte he would not graunt; yet somewhat to satisfie their
request, and withall to keepe the law also, he caused one of his
owne eies, and another of his sonnes eies to be put out.

The inconue-
nience that in-
such of doing
wrong.

Plutarch sayth in the life of *Aristides*, that whensoever the case concerned iustice, friendship could beare no sway with *Aristides*, no not euen for his friends, nor enmitie prouoke him against his enemies. For law ought to be ministred vprightly, and neuer to be broken, vnlesse necessitie (which is without law) enforce thereto. And yet euen then also, it ought to be done so discreetly, as it may not seeme to be touched: accordingly as the Lacedemonians did, who when they had lost a great battell, brake the law of *Lycurgus*, in not punishing them with a kind of infamie worse than death, that had fled from the field, because that if they should so haue punished them, they should haue had but few left to defend their countrie. And yet notwithstanding to the end they might not seeme to despise their lawes, what need soeuer constrained them: *Agessilas* not intending to doe it directly, made proclamation that the law of *Lycurgus* should take no place, vntill the next morrow; and in the meane while that present day he inrolled the fugitiues againe to the defence of their countrie. But in Rome, where there was no scarcitie of men, they made so small account of them, that euen after the battell of Cannas, they would not ranfome 8000 men, whome *Hannibal* had put to their ranfome.

The foresayd Lacedemonians being requested by *Cirus* king of Persia and other their confederats, to send them *Lisander* to be admirall of their fleet, if they intended the well proceeding of their affairs, because they should doe all things with the better courage vnder his gouernance; refused to giue *Lisander* the title of Admirall, & giuing it vnto another, made him cheefe ouerseer of the sea-matters, taking from him but only the name, and giuing him in effect the whole authoritie in all things.

Artaxerxes surnamed the Long-hand, king of Persia, being a meeld and gracious prince, although he thought the law of his predecessors to be ouer-rigorous, that punished such with whipping and with death as had lost a battel, whether it were through their owne default or no; yet neuerthelesse would

not breake it directly, but ordained that the offender should be stripped, and that his clothes should bee scourged with rods, in steed of his backe, and that his hat should be striken off in steed of the striking off his head. The Thebans were yet more rigorous, howbeit that in the end they dispensed with the law. For when *Epaminondas* had fortunately begun warres against the Lacedemonians, and saw that he could not otherwise bring them to end, because that by the law he was to giue ouer his charge, by reason that the time of his commission was expired: he so dealt with his fellow-commissioners, that contrary to the law, he made them presume to continue in office yet foure months longer; within which time the Lacedemonians were vtterly vanquished and ouerthrowne. And when *Epaminondas* was areigned for transgressing the law, & for making his fellow-cōmissioners to transgresse it likewise; he confessed himself to haue deserued death for disobaieng the law, praying the Thebans that in recompence of all the seruices that he had done to them, they would after his death let write vpon his tombe, That *Epaminondas* had ben put to death, for compelling the Thebanes to vanquish the Lacedemonians, whom afore that day, they neuer durst looke vpon in the face. By which, meanes he not only procured the sauing of his life, but also the accepting in good woorth, of all the things that he had done. *Marius* vied the like presuming beyond the law in his iornie against the Cimbrians, where he made a thousand strangers freedenisons of Rome, for their valiant behaiour in that battell. And when he was accused thereof to the senat, he made answer, that by reason of the great noise of the battel, he could not heare what the lawes cōmaunded or prohibited. Wherein *Marius* could not be deemed to haue done well. For although it was a point of iustice to reward good and valeant men: yet ought it not to haue bene done with the ouerthrow of law, as it was then done by him, not of any necessitie, but rather to haue the men of war at his deuotion, than for any good to the common-weale, as he shewed anon after in the warres that he had against *Silla*. But *Augustus* would rather haue priu-
Augustus
made great
 ledged

Augustus made
account of the
Priviledge of
Frèedemiship.

In what cases
lawes may be
corrected.

Lawes once
stablished
ought not to
be altered.

Law must cõ-
maund and
not obey.

ledged men from paying of subsidies, & discharged thẽ of tal-
lages, than to haue made thẽ free of the city of Rome: for he
could not abide that the right of citizenship, should be brought
in smal estimation, by becõming too common. Neither ought
the changing of lawes to be excused by this saying of *Plato*,
That at the first making of lawes, there may be some things,
which the magistrats that succede afterward may well a-
mend; vntill that by good aduisement and experience, they see
what is best to be allowed. And in another place he saith a-
gaine, it is not men, but fortune and the enterchange of things,
that make lawes. For either necessity, or force and violence of
war, subuert states and alter lawes; so likewise plagues, tem-
pests, sicknesses, and incõmodities of many years continuance,
do cause very great changes and alterations. For no doubt but
the thing which is set downe for a law, is to be debated long
time, & to be altered, if ther be any incõuenience therin; as the
citizens of Locres did, who admitted men to deuise new laws,
howbeit with halters about their necks, to be hanged for their
labour, if their lawes were found to be euill. But when a law is
once allowed by long experience and custome, it is not in any
wise to be changed, but vpon extreame necessity, which is a-
boue all law. Also it is certaine, that many new lawes are to be
made vpon the alteration of a state. But when the lawes are
once stablished with the state, they cannot be altered without
iniurie to the state, except it be vpon very vrgent and needfull
cause. For the politik lawes that are made for the maintenance
of a state, tend not to any other end, (saith *Plato*) than to rule
and commaund, and not to be subiect. As for the lawes of na-
ture, they ought to be kept most streightly. For (as *Iustinian*
saith) forasmuch as the law of nature is giuen vs by the prou-
idence of God, it ought to abide firme and vmmutable. But the
politicall law is to be changed oftentimes, as we shall shew
hereafter. And because that among men there be some mon-
sters, that is to say, men that sin against nature, and make warre
against it: it is meet that the soueraigne magistrat, which is
set in that dignitie of purpose to encounter against monsters, as

Hercules

Hercules did, and to defend the poore from the violence of the greater sort, should cause an equalitie of iustice to be obserued among his subiects. For when the poore is oppressed by the rich, it is wrong; of the which wrong proceedeth discontentmēt, which oftentimes breeds a hatred towards the prince, and finally a rebelling against him. Wisely therefore did *Theopompus* answer, to one that demaunded of him by what meanes a prince might liue in suertie; by suffering his friends (quoth he) to doe all things that are reasonable, taking heed therewithall, that his subiects be not misused, nor wronged. For many princes haue bin ouerthrowne for suffering their seruants to do all manner of wrongs and iniuries; whereof we haue a notable example in *Philip* king of Macedonie, who was slaine by *Pausanias*, for refusing to heare his complaint, and to doe him iustice against one that had committed a rape vpon him. For the verie dutie of a prince, consisteth in doing iustice. For as *Cicero* saith in his books of Duties, the first chusing of kings, was for the estimation which men had of them, that they were good and iust men; such as by defending the poore from the rich, and the weake from the mightie, would hold them both in concord and quietnes. *Plutarke* in the life of *Cato*, saith that folke giue greater credit and authoritie to good iusticers, than to any others. For they not only honour them as they doe the valeant, ne haue them in admiration as they haue the sage and wise; but they doe also loue them, and put their trust and confidence in them; whereas of them that be not such, they distrust the one sort, and feare the other. Morcouer they be of opinion, that valeantnesse and wisdom come rather of nature than of good will, perswading themselues, that the one is but a quicknes and finesse of wit, and the other but a certaine stoutnesse of heart that commeth of nature; whereas euery man may be iust, at leastwise if he will. Wherefore they that will gouern well (saith *Cicero*) must obserue two precepts of *Platos*: wherof the one is, to haue good regard of the welfare of their subiects, imploying all their deuises and doings to that end, and leauing their owne peculiar profit in respect of that: and the other is

How to raig
in safety.

Princes ouer-
throwne for
suffering their
subiects to be
wronged.

Folke giue
greater credit
and authori-
tie to good
iusticers, than
to any others.

Two precepts
for gover-
nors.

to haue such a care of the whole body of the common-weale, that in defending any one part therof, the residue be not neglected. For like as a tutorship, so the charge of a kingdome, is to be administred to the benefit of those that are vnder the charge, and not of them that haue the charge. And they that are carefull of one part, and carelesse of another, doe bring sedition, quarelling and discord into the kingdome or common-weale; which is the ruine of realmes and common-weales. Wherefore the dutie of a good king, is not only to doe no wrong to his subiects himselfe, but also to restrain others from doing them wrong, and to straine himselfe to the vttermost of his power, to do right either in his own person, or by his substituets, to such as seeke iustice at his hand. For the greatest good that can be done to any people, is to doe them right, and to punish such as doe them wrong. And in that case the king must be like vnto the law, which accepteth no person, ne punisheth for displeasure, but iudgeth according to right: euen so, princes must not suffer themselues to be caried away with fauor, hatred, or anger; but must minister iustice indifferently to al men. But oftentimes they ouershoot themselues, and step aside from the path of iustice to pleasure their courtiers; not considering, that their so doing breedeth to themselues great dishonor, and in their people great discontentment. *Aristides* would neuer make aliance with any man in administring the common-weale, because he would not doe wrong vnto any man, at the pleasure of those to whom he were alied, nor yet greeue them by refusing any thing that they might require at his hand. *Cato of Vtica* was so seuerely a iusticer, that he swarued not any way for any fauor or pitie; insomuch that sometimes he would speake against *Pompey*, as well as with him. And when *Pompey* thanked him for that which he had done for him; he told him that in any good cause he wold be his freind, and not otherwise. *Philip* was desired by one *Harpalus*, one in greatest fauour with him, to call before him a certaine case, to the intent that his kinsman, for whom he made the sute, might not be diffamed. To whom *Philip* made this answer or the like,

The prince
ought to mini-
ster iustice vn-
to all men in-
differently.

like,

like, It is better that thy kinsman should be diffamed, than that I should be dishonored for his sake. *Rutilus* made an answer to a freind of his, as worthy to be remembred as this of king *Philips*. For when his freind being denied a certaine thing that was vniust, asked him whereto his freindship serued him, if he would not graunt his demaund; nay (quoth *Rutilus*) what auaileth me your freindship, if I must do for you the thing that is vn honest? *Antiochus* gaue charge to the cities that were subiect vnto him, that if he commaunded them any vniust or vnlawfull thing, they should not obey it, but should take it as though the letters were written without his priuie. *Agis* king of Sparta being desired of his father & mother, to doe a thing that was vniust, for their sakes: answered them on this maner, While I was vnder your gouernment, I obaid you as I ought to doe, and did whatsoeuer ye commaunded me, as not knowing what was right or wrong. But now that you haue deliuered me to the seruice of my country, and taught me the laws therof, I will doe my indeuort to obay the same: and for as much as your will hath alwaies bin, to set me to the doing of things good and reasonabe, I will doe according to your will, and not according to your request. *Themistocles* being desired by the Poet *Sinonides*, to help him in a wrongfull matter; answered him, that neither he should play the good Poet, if he made not his verses in due measure, nor himselfe the good prince, if he should deale against law. *Athenodor* being condemned in a certaine fine by the *Athenians*, praied *Alexander* to write vnto them for the release of his fine: the which thing *Alexander* refusing to doe, sent them the monie that he was set at, and so paid the fine of his own purse. *Caricles* the son in law of *Phocion*, being indicted for taking a bribe of *Harpalus*, praied *Phocion* to asist him at his iudgement; but *Phocion* refused him, saying, I haue taken thee, *Caricles*, to be my son in law, howbeit but in al iust and honest cases only. *Trebonius* being accused before *Marius*, then consul and generall of the Roman host, for killing one *Caius Lusius* a pephew of the said *Marius*, and finding no man that durst defend his cause, did plead his case himselfe, and

The notable
answer of king
Agis.

The answer of
Themistocles.

The answer of
Alexander.

The saieng of
Phocion.

The iudgemēt
of *Marius*.

and proued before *Marius*, that his killing of his nephew *Lusius* was of necessitie, because his nephew would else haue forced him. Wherupon *Marius* commending him for his labour, commaunded such a garland to be brought vnto him out of hand, as was wont to be giuen to those that had shewed prooffe of some notable valeancie in battell, and crowned him therewith as one that had done a very valeant and vertuous deed. And *Plutarch* saith, that the report of this iudgement in Rome, stooode *Marius* in great stead towards the obtainment of his third consulship.

The iust dealing of king *Totilas*.

Totilas king of the Goths, being importunately sued vnto by all the captaines of his host to pardon a very valeant man that had rauished a maide; said vnto them, that wheras at other times they being out of all comparison far stronger than the Romanes, had neuerthelesse gone alway by the worse, because they had not done good iustice: seeing that God now putting their offences out of his remembrance, did giue them prosperitie and make them to atchieue things that surpasse their force, it were better for them to hold still the cause of their victories by executing iustice, than to procure their owne decay by doing wrong. For it was not possible that the man which hath committed rape, or done any other wrong, should behaue himselfe well in battell, forasmuch as euery mans good or bad fortune in fight, dependeth vpon the good or bad conuersation of his life. Wherupon the man was punished with death, and his goods were giuen to the maide.

The conuersation of life carrieth the fortune of fight.

The princely dealing of king *Artaxerxes*.

Satibarzanes, chiefe gentleman of king *Artaxerxes* priuie chamber, sued vnto him for one, in a thing that was scarce iust; for the obtainment wherof he was promised thirty thousand dariks. Wherof the king being aduertised, gaue him the full sum of mony that had bin promised him, and said vnto him, Take this *Satibarzanes*, for I shall neuer be poore for it, but had I done as thou wouldest haue had me to doe, I should haue bene vniust. And so he neither disappointed his friend, nor yet did any vniustice: whereby he passed the emperour *Vespasian* in bounty and liberalitie. This *Vespasian* was a good emperour

The conuentionallnesse of *Vespasian*.

emperour in many things, but his vertues were blemished and darkned with the vice of couetousnes. For he was so far in loue with mony, that he made great hoords of it, by taking great tributs of the Dacians, by sales of things, & by other exactions. Vpon a time a certaine courtier sued earnestly vnto him, for the gift of an office of great value; pretending that he sought it for a brother of his. But *Vespasian* doubting that he sought it for himselfe, delt in such wise that he discovered the truth, wherupō causing the party to come to him, that had promised his courtier the mony, he sold the office vnto him, & took the mony to himselfe. Within a while after, the courtier becomes a suter againe to the emperor for his brother: and the emperor sends him againe to seeke another brother, for the partie for whome thou suest (qd. the emperor) is my brother; an answer as merry conceited as full of couetousnes. To come againe to our matter, a prince must not do against right, nor suffer faults to escape vnpunished, neither for fauor nor friendship. For hee that scapes vnpunished for his offence, is alwaies the readier to do euill, because his nonpunishment prouoketh him therunto. And for that cause *Caro* said, He had leuer to be vntrewarded for his doing good, than to be vnpunished for doing euill. Also he was wont to say, That a wrong done to another man priuately, is dangerous to all men generally, because no man can be in safety among the wicked, if they may doe euill without reproofe. And as *Antisthenes* was wont to say, That common-weale is in great perrill, where is no difference betwixt good men and bad; meaning therby that the state of a kingdome or common-weale cannot stand where vertue is not honoured and recompenced, and vice punished. For this cause God commanded *Moses* to take away euill from among the people; that is to say, to punish euill in particular persons, for feare least folke should pay the deerer for the folly, and that he should make the multitude to beare the punishment due to some particular person, because it is a kind of cōsenting to the sin, when it is willingly permitted to goe vnpunished. I know well it will be said, that a prince ought to

Offices must not be left vnpunished.

Priuat harms are dāgerous to the publik state.

Impunitie of vice is dangerous to a whole state.

To let sin goe vnpunished, is a consenting vnto it.

be

It is no mercy to pardon the faults that are committed against other men.

be mercifull, and I deny it not. But this mercie consisteth in pardoning the offences that concern but the prince himselfe, and the partie that is hurt by them, and not any other mens that are done against the common-weale; as king *Lewis* the twelfth answered both Christianly and vertuously, vnto one that whetted him to be reuenged of a certain wrong that had bin done vnto him when he was duke of Orleans; It besemeth not a king of France (quoth he) to be auenged of iniuries done to a duke of Orleance.

Infinitely was *Iulius Casar* commended for his clemency, and that of good right: For he did easily forgiue the offences that were committed against himselfe. And *Antonine* was wont to say, That there was not any thing which procured greater estimation to an emperour among strangers, than clemencie did. And (as saith *Statius*) it is an honourable thing to giue life to him that craueth it. Neuertheless there is great difference between the pardoning of offences done to a mans own selfe, and the pardoning of offences done to other men.

In what sort a prince should be gracious.

For it is not in you to forgiue the offences which are done against other men, neither ought they to be forgiuen by any other than by such as are hurt by them; neither can they also doe it to the preiudice of the common weale. And therefore a prince cannot with a safe conscience giue pardon to murderers, nor forgiue the offences of wicked persons, to purchase himselfe the renoune of gracious and merciful.

Mercy to the wicked is crueltie to the good.

For fauor and mercy graunted to naughty-packs, is nought else but crueltie towards good men, as *Arctidamidas* was wont to say. And therefore *Cato* said, that those also which restrained not the wicked from euill doing, if they might, were to be punished, because he accounted it as a prouocatiō to do euill. Wherefore whatsoever is done against the law, ought to be punished by the law, the which hath no respect of seruant, friend, or kinsman. Of which law the prince is the executor, and is nothing else but a liuing law, or rather the deputie or lieutenant of God the iust iudge. Now it is not lawful for the deputie or vnder-agent of God, to be lauish at his pleasure, of that which

Princes may not at their pleasure make lauish of that which belongeth to God. *Philo* in his treatise concerning Iudges,

belongeth

Of Iustice, or Righteouneſſe.

belongeth to God, becauſe he hath not receiued it of him otherwiſe, than in cuſtody, and vpon account; and therefore he is not to beſtow it vpon any man, for friendſhips ſake, or for pitie.

Thereupon it came that the Thebans, to ſhew what iuſtice is, did paint in their courts, the images of iudges without hãds, and the images of princes without eyes: to ſhew that in Iudgment kings ought not to be ſurpriſed with any affection, nor iudges carried with any couetouſnes. And although it be not lawfull for a Prince, to be iudge in his owne cauſe, for the auoiding of all paſſions: yet is he not forfended, to puniſh the wrong that is offered him in caſes of treaſon and rebellion: but rather on the contrarie part, it is a point of iuſtice to puniſh rebels, as procurers of trouble to the ſtate. The emperor *Maximilian*, eſpieng in a certaine vprere that was in his campe, how a ſouldier ſtrake vp a drum without commaundement, of his captaine, ſlew him with his own hand, becauſe the danger of his hoſt being on a rore, required the remedie of ſpeedie and preſent crueltie.

Of iuſtice in caſes of treaſon and rebellion.

Neuertheleſſe ſuch manner of dealing is to be done with great diſcretion; for ſometimes things may happen to bee in ſuch caſe, that diſſimulation ſhall auail more than puniſhmẽt, as it did with *Pompey* after the death of *Sertorius*. For when *Perpenna* had ſent him a cofer full of letters, of Romanes that had written to *Sertorius*, and had held on his ſide: hee would not looke vpon any of them, but caſt them all into a fire, for doubt leaſt for one *Sertorius*, then dead, there ſhould ſtep vp twentie others at Rome, when they perceiued themſelues to be diſcouered: becauſe it falleth often out, that when a man thinketh to ouerthrow one faction, he multiplieth the number of his enemies. And as *Fabius Maximus* was woont to ſay, It is better to hold ſuch folke in ſuſpence by gentle and kind dealing, than ſeuerely by rigor to ſeek out all ſuſpicions, or to deale too ſharpeſly towards ſuch as are to be ſuſpected.

The want of diſcretion in extinguishing one faction, may breed many mo.

In the citie of Athens there happened a conſpiracie of certaine noble men againſt the ſtate, who had determined

O that

that if they could not compasse their purpose of themselves, they would call in the Persians to their helpe. As these things were a brewing in the campe, and many mo besides were guiltie of the conspiracie, *Aristides* feeling the sent thereof, stood in great feare by reason of the time. For the matter was of too great importance, to be passed ouer without care: and there was no lesse danger in ripping vp the matter to the quicke, for as much as he knew not how many might be found guiltie of the crime. Therefore of a very great number, he caused but only eight to be apprehended; and of those eight, two that were to be most deeply charged fled out of the campe, and the other six he set againe at libertie. Whereby he gaue occasion to such as thought not themselves to bee discovered, to assure themselves of safetie, and to repent them of their wicked purpose: saieing that for iudgement they should haue battell, whereby they might iustifie themselves.

The policie
of *Agefilans*.

At such time as *Epaminondas* came to besiege Lacedemon, there were about two hundred of a conspiracie within the citie, which had taken one of the quarters of the towne very strongly scituated, wherein was the temple of *Diana*. The Lacedemonians would haue run vpō them out of hand in a rage; But *Agefilans* fearing least it might be a cause of some further great alteration, commaunded all his company to keepe their places, and hee himselfe vnarmed went vnto the rebels, and cried vnto them, Sirs ye haue mistaken my commaundment, for this is not the place where I appointed you to meet in, but my meaning was that some of you should haue gone to yonder place, and other some to other places, pointing to diuers places with his hand. The seditious persons hearing him say so, were well apaid, because they thought their euill purpose to haue bene vndiscovered: whereupon leauing that place, they departed by and by to the places hee had pointed them. Then *Agefilans* seizing that Fort into his hands, the name whereof was *Iforium*, caused fiftene of the Rebels to be apprehended, whom he caused to bee all executed the next night.

One *Scipio* having valeantly encountered the Carthaginians at the battell of Cannas, and being taken prisoner, to requite the courtesie of *Hannibal* that had saued his life, and giuen him his ransome, as soone as he came home to his owne house to Nola, made almost all his countremen to rebell against the Romans. Yet for all this, *Marcellus* considering that the time required then to mollifie things, rather than to corzie them, sought not by any means to punish him, but onely sayd vnto him, Sith there bee in you so euident and honourable marks of your good will towards the Romans (meaning the wounds that he had receiued in the sayd battell of Cannas) how happeneth it that you come not to the Romans still? Thinke you that wee be so leawd and so vnthankfull, that we vwill not reward the vertue of our good friends, according to their vworthinesse, vvhich is honoured euen of our enemies? And after hee had imbraced him in his armes, he presented him vwith a goodly horse of seruice for the wars, and gaue him five hundred dragmaes. Whereupon from that day toorth he neuer forsooke *Marcellus*, but became very loiall, and a most earnest discouerer of such as tooke part against the Romans.

The maner of *Marcellus* dealing in a certaine sedition.

Frederike the emperour, and king of Naples, minding to punish the rebels of Saminatio, made countenance as though he had not espied their conspiracie, terming them euerywhere good and loiall subiects, to the end that despaire should not cause them to enter into arms against him openly, as the lords of Naples that followed the part of *Conradine*, had done against *Charles* duke of Aniou. For when they saw that *Conradine* was overcome, and that there was no hope for them to obtaine pardon at the hands of *Charles* of Aniou, they fel to rebelling, and fortified themselues in diuers places.

Likewise when people are to far iraged, it is no time to punish, but rather to reconcile and appease. When the Parisians rebelled for the aids: to put them in feare, men began to throw some of the rebels into the water. But

in steed of dismayeng them, they burst out into greater furie than afore; in so much that the executioners were faine to giue ouer their punishment, for feare of increasing the commotion, in steed of appeasing it.

Agessilaus hauing discovered a very dangerous conspiracie, did put some of the traitors to death secretly without arraignment or indictment, contrarie to the lawes of Lacedemon. For vnto people that are set vpon mischiefe, not onely ouer-rigorous iustice, but also biting words are dangerfull, considering that in time of trouble, and in time of commotion, one word, or one letter, may doe more harme, than a notable iniurie shall doe another time.

Biting words
are dangerous

And euen so befell it to *Macrinus* for a letter which hee wrate vnto *Mesa*, wherein he told him that he had bought the emperors hip of a sort of couetous souldiers, that had no consideration of deserts, but onely who would most giue. With which words the men of warre being chafed, did all sweare that it should cost *Macrinus* his head, in recompence of the wrong that he had done them. And so it came to passe indeed.

We haue spoken sufficiently of the discretion, meeldnesse, and vprightnesse which a prince ought to haue in cases of iustice, for the well and worthie executing thereof. But for as much as it is vnpossible for a prince to attend at all times to the doing of iustice: he must needs do iustice by deputies, and set men of good and honest reputation in his place, to do right betweene partie and partie, when cōtrouerfies rise betwixt them, as *Moses* did by the counsell of his father in law, *Jethro*. In the chusing of whome, a prince may as far ouershoot himselfe, as if he iudged all causes without any foreconsideration. For he that maketh not choise of good iudges, dooth great wrong to the common-weale. No importunat sute, no earnest intreatance, no gifts that could be giuen, no fauour, no familiaritie could euer cause *Alexander Seuerus* to bestow any office of iustice vpon any man whome he deemed not fit for it, and vertuous in the administration of it.

Princes ought
to make choise
of good iudges.

Such

Such therefore should be chosen, as are of skill and of good life; and they ought to haue good wages, and not to take any other thing, than their ordinarie stipend allowed them by the prince. *Traian* vsed that kind of dealing; of whom it is written, that he could not abide, that iudges should take any thing for their hire, but that they should be recōpensed at his hand, according to their seruice and good dealing. *Adrian* likewise enquired of the life & conuersation of the senators: and when he had in truth found any that was vertuous & poore, he increased his intertainment, and gaue him rewards of his owne priuat goods. Contrariwise when he found any to be giuen to vice, he neuer left vntill he had driuen him out of the senat. Now then, the prince that will haue good iudges, yea and good officers of all sorts, must either honor them and reward them, or else punish them according to their deserts: As touching the honoring of them, *Augustus* hath shewed vs an example therof, who at his entering into the senat-house, saluted all the senators, and at his going out would not suffer any of them to rise vp to him. *Alexander Seuerus* did greatly honour the presidents of the prouinces, causing thē to sit with him in his chariot, that men might see the honour that he yeilded to the ministers of iustice, and that he might the more conueniently talke with them, concerning the rule and gouernment wherof they had the charge. He neither made nor punished any senator, without the aduice of the whole senat. And vpon a time, when he saw a freeman of his walking betweene two senators, he sent one to buffet him, saieng it was vnseemly that he should presume to meddle among senators, which might well haue bin their seruant. Likewise the Emperour *Claudius* neuer dealt in any affaire of importance, but in the senat. Euen *Tiberius* himselfe had great regard of them, and saluted them whensoever he passed by them. And as touching the rewarding of them, the foresaid *Alexander* may serue for an example to good princes. For he did great good to iudges, and rewarded them bountifully. And being asked on a time why he did so, As a prince (quoth he) neither ought, nor in reason can be truly cal-


Officers are to be recompenced according to their deservings.

The rewarding of iudges and officers.

led a prince, except he minister iustice: so be ye sure, that when I find an officer which doth his dutie in that behalfe, I cannot pay or recompence him sufficiently. That is the cause why I doe them so many courtesies; & besides that, in making them rich, I bereaue them of al cause to impouerish other men. But like as a good iudge cannot be too much recōpensed, so an euill iudge cannot be too much punished. We haue a notable example knowne to all men, concerning the punishment of the iudge, whom *Cambyfes* made to be flaine quick, and with his skin curried, caused the seat of iudgement to be couered, and made the same iudges son to sit as iudge on it, that in ministering iustice, he should bethinke him of his fathers punishment. Albeit that *Antonine* was very pittifull, yet was he very rigorous to iudges that did not their dutie; insomuch that whereas in other cases he pardoned euē the greeuousest offences, in this case he punished euē the lightest. There was also another thing in him right worthie of commēdation in the execution of iustice; namely, that to auoid confusion, he caused al such to be dispatched out of hand, as had any sute in the court. And when any office was void, he would not that one should sue for it, but made the suters themselues to come to his presence, as well to gratifie them himselfe, as also to know whom he gratified. For he that receiueth not the benefit at the princes owne hand, thinketh himselfe beholden to none but vnto him by whome he had it, as wee haue found by experience in (this our realme of) Fraunce, within this fiftie or threescore yeares.

Of the punishing of wicked iudges.

The Iustice of warre.

 Et vs come now to the iustice of war, which ought to be like the same that we haue spoken of, and consisteth in penalties and rewards, namely in punishing the wicked, and in recompensing the good and valiant men with honour and regard. For honour nourisheth the liberall arts and vertue. In which behalfe the emperor *Adrian* did so greatly excell, that he was both feared and loued of all his men of war; feared because he chastised them, and beloved,

ned, because he paid them well. Vpon a time one demanded of *Lisander*, What maner of common-weale hee liked best? That (qd. he) wherein both the valeant and the cowards are rewarded according to their deserts; as whowould say, that vertue is furthered by reward; and that men of no value are spurred vp to doe well, by the shame and reproch which they receiue by doing amisse, and in being despised. *Ennius Priscus* demanded of *Traian*, What was the cause that hee was better beloued of the people than his predecessors? Because (qd. he) that commonly I pardon such as offend me, and neuer forget them that doe me seruice. But afore I speake of rewarding or recompensing, we must know what is the law and discipline of arms, wherof the first and principall point (that is to wit, to doe no man wrong) dependeth vpon naturall iustice. And yet notwithstanding, this seemeth so strange among vs, that the cheefe and principall point of warlike behauiour, seemeth to consist in pilling, swearing, rauishing, & robbing, and that a souldier cannot be esteemed a gallant fellow, vnlesse he be furnished with those goodly vertues. Contrariwise, if the Romans had any souldiers that were neuer so little giuen to loosenesse, they would not vse their seruice, no not euen in most extreme necessitie, (as is to be seen by the doings of *Metellus* in Affrike, and of *Scipio* in Spain) making more account of one legion that liued after the law and order of war, than of ten that were out of order. Now the lawes of armes were diuers, according to the diuersities of the captains that haue had the leading of Armies. The first consisteth in the obedience of the men of warre. For (as saith *plato*) it auaieth not to haue a good captaine, vnlesse the souldiers bee discreet and obedient, because the vertue of well-obeieng, hath as great need of a gentle nature, and of the helpe of good trainment, as the princely vertue of commaunding. All other precepts tend generally to naturall iustice, the which will not haue wrong done to any man. *Alexander* being aduertised that two souldiers which serued vnder *Parmenio*, had rauished the wiues of certaine souldiers strangers, wrate vnto *Parmenio* to

The Law of Arms.

The vertue of obedience, dependeth vpon the gentleness of nature.

The Iustice of war, or Law of arms.

informe him therof, charging him that if he found it to be so, he should put both the souldiers to death, as wild beasts bred to the destruction of men. When the Romanes marched vnder the leading of *Marcus Scaurus*, there was found in their trenches at their departure thence, a tree hanging ful of fruit, so great conscience made they to take any thing that was not their owne. And if any man went aside in any field, farme, or grange, at such time as the campe marched, he was punished immediatly, and it was demaunded of him if he could find in his heart, that a man should doe as much in his lands. Wherfoeuer *Bellisarius* went with his armie, he restrained his men from doing wrong to laborers and husbandmen, insomuch that they durst not eat the apples and peares that hung vpon the trees. After the death of *Campson* the Soldan of *Ægypt*, *Selim* king of Turks being possessed of Damasco, and the rest of the cities of Syria, would not suffer his men of war to come within them, but lodged his camp by the wals of the towne, and of all the time that he was there, there was not any guard set to keepe the goodly and fruitfull Gardens, that were without the citie, because the rigorous iustice that *Selim* executed, restrained the Turks from misdoing; wherthrough the whole armie found theirselues well apaid. For they neuer wanted victuals, but had plentie and abundance of all things. *Traian* caused a captaine to be banished, for killing a husbandmans Oxen without need; and awarded the husbandman for amends, to haue the captaines horse and armor, and also his quarters wages.

Tamerlane king of Tartarians, made a souldier of his to be put to death, for taking but a cheese from a poore woman. *Totilas* was so seuerer in the discipline of war, that he would not leaue any one misdeed unpunished. He that rauished any woman, was punished with death, or at least wise forfeited his goods, the which were giuen to the partie that was outraged. Insomuch that he passed by the cities and townes that were in friendship and league with him, without doing them any harne; saying that kingdomes and empires were easily lost,

if

if they were not maintained by iustice. Which thing *Iustinian* found to be very true, who through the vniustice and disorder of his captaines, lost the empyre of Italy. *Paulus Emilius* was a sterne obseruer of the law of arms, not seeking to purchase the loue of his souldiers by pleasing them, but shewing them himselfe from point to point, how available the ordinances of war were. And this his austeritie and terriblenesse towards them that were disobedient, and transgressed the law of arms, vpheld the commonweale vnappaired. For he was of opinion that to vanquish a mans enemies by force of arms, is (as ye would say) but an accessorie or income, in comparison of the well ordering and winning of a mans countrymen by good discipline.

It is a lesse matter to overcome the enemy, than to vphold one country by good discipline. Of the lawes of arms.

The Lawes of arms haue bin diuerse, according to the diuersitie of captaines, the which we may learne in one word of the best and most valeant emperours that euer haue bin. *Iulius Cesar* would make countenance, as though he saw not the faults of his souldiers, and let them goe vnpunished, so long as they tended not to mutinie, or that they forooke not their ensigne; and in those cases he neuer pardoned the. In somuch that in the time of the ciuil wars, he cashed a whole legion at once, notwithstanding that he stood as then in great need of them, and ere euer he would admit them againe, he ceased not, till he had punished the misdoers. Among the *Ægyptians*, they that had disobayed their captains, were noted with a reproch worse than death.

Augustus was so seuerer towards such as recoiled in battell, or disobayed his commaundements, that he would put euery tenth man of them to death, and vnto them that had done lesse faults, he would giue barley bread in steed of wheaten. So also did *Marcellus* caule barley to be deliuered in steed of wheat to the bands that first turned their backs vnto *Hanniball*. *Antonie* tithed the Legions that had forsaken their trench, at a fallie that was made vpon them by the Persians out of *Phraata*. And vnto those also which remained of that tithing, was barley giuen in steed of wheate, for their food to liue by.

The seuerity of the Romans.

Licinius the consull, being sent against *Spartacus* chiefe leader of the bondmen that had rebelled, tythed to the number of a 4000 men, and yet failed not for all that, to obtain the victorie. At such time as *Timoleon* was minded to giue battell to the Carthagineans who were ten to one, ther were a thousand of his men that recoiled backe and would not fight, wherof *Timoleon* was well apaid, that they had bewraied themselves in good time, because that else they had done him more harme than good. But when he had once woone the field, and was returned vnto Syracuse, he banished them euerichone out of Sicilie, with expresse commaundement, that they should get them out of the citie, before the sun went downe. *Lucullus* laid a reprochfull infamie vpon such as had fled in a certaine skirmish against *Mithridates*; causing them to dig a pit of twelue foot, all vnapparelled in their shirts, the rest of their company standing by to see them doe it. *Traian* would not suffer any souldier to be put to death, for any fault committed in war, except it were for blaspheming God, for treason, for flying in battell, for rauishing of women, or for sleeping in the watch; and in those cases he pardoned not any man whatsoeuer he were. Albeit that *Pirrhus* was a stranger, yet caused he the law of arms to be obserued straightly among the Tarentines, and he punished those that failed. *Marius* was a fore man in that behalfe, but when he had once inured his souldiers to abstaine from offending, and from disobaying, then they found that his sternesse in commaunding, and his sharpnesse in punishing such as forgate their dutie, was not only reasonable, but also iust and wholesome. The laws of the Switzers are such, that such as flee and recoil in battell for feare and cowardlinesse, shall be cut in peeces by their fellowes in the sight of the whole armie, to the end that the greater feare should ouer-wey the lesser; and that for dread of the violent death, they should chuse the death that is honourable. This caused the emperor *Julian* in a certaine battell to flea ten of the first that fled away, therby to compell the rest to turne againe vpon the enemy.

Seueritie in
war is whol-
some.

Franget was degraded from the order of knighthood, & proclaimed vnnoble, both he and all his posteritie, for yeelding *Fontrabie* to the Spaniards, notwithstanding that he excused himselfe by a secret compact that *Don Peter* the sonne of the marshall of Navar had made with the Spaniards; because it was thought that although it were so, yet he ought not to haue bin negligent in foreseeing such cōspiracie. *Anidius Cassius* delt more cruelly thā any others, in executing the law of arms. For he made all such to be crucified, as had taken any thing from honest men, in the selfe same place where the crime was cōmitted. Also he caused the arms & legs to be cut off, of al such as departed from the camp without passport: and he put them not to death, saying that there was more exāple to be seen in a miserable catif aliue, than dead. It happened vpon a time, that a verie few of his men of war, hauing discovered that the Sarmatians kept no good ward, slew of thē to the nūber of a three thousand. And whē his capteins sued for reward of their good exploit, he made them to be al crucified, saying it might haue happened that there had bin some ambush of enemies, & by that means the honor of the Roman empire might haue bin lost; in doing wherof, he followed the example of *Torquatus*, the historie of whom is known well inough: neuerthelesse in the one there was a breach of the prohibitiō, but in this there was no such thing at all. This crueltie was far differing frō the meeldnes of *Scipio*, who said, that a good generall of a field, ought to deale like the good surgion, which neuer vseth launcing but when all other remedies faile. And as *Plutarch* saith in the cōparison betweene *Agis* & *Gracchus*, It is not the pro-
perties either of good surgion or of good gouernor of a state, to set his hād to sword or launcer, but only in extreame necessitie, whē there is no other remedie. But to make a man of war obedient, & refrain from doing wrong to any body, he must be well paid. And (as *Alexander Seuerus* saith) he must be wel apparelled, well shod, well armed, well fed, & haue some mony in his purse. For pouertie maketh men hartlesse. The same thing was some cause, that the soldiers of *Macrinus* rebelled against him.

The crueltie
of *Anidius
Cassius*

How a souldier
is to be delt
with, that hee
may be good.

For

For when they saw themselves so ill paid, they fell to mutinie, wherat *Mesa* taking occasion to lay hold of the opportunitie that was offered, fell in hand with the men of war, and by offering them to pay them of his owne treasures, he made them so affectioned towards him, that for his sake they set vp his little sonne *Heliogabalus*.

Iphicrates an Athenian captaine, was content that his souldiers should be couetous, amorous, and voluptuous, to the intent that they might hazard themselves the more boldly and aduenturously to all perils, to haue wherewith to furnish their desires. And *Iulius Caesar* would haue his souldiers faire and richly armed, to the end they should fight valeantly, for feare to loose them. Finally, to teach whatsoeuer belongs to a souldier to haue, the epistle sufficeth which *Dioclesian* writeth thus to a certaine gouernour of a prouince; If you will bee a Tribune (saith he) or rather if you intend to liue, bring to passe that your souldiers meddle not with other mens goods, that they take neither pullerie nor sheepe, that they trample not downe other mens corne, that they take not any mans oyle, salt, or wood vnpaid for, that they find themselves of the booties of their enemies, and not with the teares of your subiects, that euery of them haue his armor neat and cleane, that they be well shod, and that they be well clad.

The keeping
of equalitie
among men of
war.

There is yet one rule more to be kept in the law of arms, which is, to keepe equalitie among men of war; the which rule *Adrian* the emperor obserued very well and fitly. For when he would haue any labour done in his campe, all were put to the labour; when any watching was, all watched; and he would not suffer any man to be exempted: insomuch that he himselfe would be the formost among them. Also there is consideration to be had in warfare, how to make difference between a camp and a garison. For in a campe it is not amisse, to take some respite that men may make merry, so the time of feasting bee not ouer-long. And therefore in that behalfe, *Iulius Caesar* looked not too neerly to his souldiers, because he did keepe them commonly occupied. But when they lie in garison,

Souldiers haue
most neede
of discipline
in time of
peace.

where

where they shall not need to fight, nor stand in feare of any enimie; It will not be good to accustom them to liue too delicatly and at too much ease. For in so long continuance of time, they become the more vnweeldie to war, and if they pill the countrie where they lie, there followeth vpon it the hatred of that people. *Charles* of Aniou was esteemed and commended for his good fortune, and for a good warrior. But yet was this renowne somewhat defaced, for that after his victories, hee gaue his souldiers too much libertie in time of peace, to the great damage of his subiects. Therefore in time of peace is it wherein they haue most chiefly need of discipline and labour, least they wax vnweeldie by weltering in idleness. For by that are they often vndone. And in very deed, because the Legions in Germanie were very much marred, by being too much nussed in licentiousnesse afore; *Adrian* was driuen to doe intime of peace as in time of war, and to set vp the order of war new againe, which had bin discontinued from the time of *Augustus*. And for example to his men of war, he ate not any other victuals than such as were ordinarie, and he marched on foote fise or sixe leagues a day. Also we read that after the time that *Hannibal* fell to maintaine his wars with lesse feare against the Romanes, by reason of his victorie at Cannas, and for that he had smet with a delicate citie replenished with all sorts of pleasures, he found not his souldiers so good a good while after, as they had bin afore. In that respect did one say, That the vanquished Asia, had vāquished the Romanes. And of a truth the nations that haue had least things of delight, haue euer bin the best warriors. As for example, *Iulius Cesar* deemed the Belgians to be the valiantest of all the Gauls, because they were furthest off from the Roman province, and had fewest of the things of delight brought out of the province to them. The Greeks did alwaies with small numbers make head against the Persians. The Lacedemonians ouer-mastered all the rest of the Greeks, and continued vnuincible, so long as they kept their warlike discipline; but as soon as they forwent that, they were vanquished

The nations
least delicat,
haue bin best
warriors.

by

by the Thebans, as *Darius* was by *Alexander*, notwithstanding that *Darius* came with five hundred thousand men, against a fiftie or threescore thousand Macedonians; and that was because the one sort was tender and trained vp in pleasure and not in war, and the other sort was enured to war, and accustomed to pains taking. The Turks obseruing some piece of the Romane discipline, drinke no wine: by meane wherof, they be discharged of a great deale of baggage, without the which our men could not liue so much as one day. *Pesennius Niger* suffered not any wine to be brought into his campe. And on a time when the garrison that lay in *Ægypt*, desired leau to haue wine, he answered, that the water of *Nilus* ought to content them. So also did *Augustus*, when complaint was made vnto him of the dearth of wine, saying, That his son in law *Agrippa*, had well prouided for that want, by the goodly conduits that he had made in *Rome*.

Of the rewarding of men or war.

Thus much concerning the laws and discipline of war. Now must I speake of rewarding, which is the thing that most holdeth the noble and gentlemanly hearts in their duties. For (as saith *Titus Linius*) there is not that thing which men will not vndertake to doe, if the hardie and valiant aduenturers vpon great things may be rewarded accordingly. In which behaife the emperor *Adrian* bare the bell: For he rewarded valiant persons bountifully; yea he went and sought them out of far countries, without sparing of monie, hortes, or armor. King *Lewis* the eleuenth did the like to men of seruice. And the like maner of dealing ought to be obserued towards a mans household seruants to make them honest; namely their seruices ought to be recompenced in time and place, according to their deserts. For nothing doth so much encourage household seruants, as when they see that their master knoweth them, and enquireth after them. This maner of vprightnesse we call Household iustice, wherin the emperor *Antonine* excelled. For he would vnderstand the order of his house to the vttermost; so as he would know who serued him, and in what place or degree, whether euerie man were paid his wa-

Of household iustice, or household righteous actie.

ges for his pains, whether euerie man behaued himselfe faithfully, & whether all together did their dutie. And this maner of recompensing & rewarding, we terme Iustice distribatiue; which is, when preferments and commodities are distributed according to mens deserts, that haue profited the cōmon-weale, & done seruice to their masters. For this liberalitie being ioined with vprightnes, taketh vnto it the nature therof, inso-much that the recōpensing of deserts, sheweth the iustice of him that raigneth, as *Theoderik* writeth vnto *Arthemidorus*. But if wicked mē, cowards, iesters, vnthrifts, & such as are vnmeet to haue the ordering of matters, & are void of skill in cases of iustice or feats of war, do carrie away the reward of good men, it may well be said, that the state is very sore sicke, & that the prince doth vtterly loose al that he bestoweth, thrusting from him his worthy & good seruitors, by his not recōpensing thē according to their deserts. hauing no thanke for the good he doth to the vnworthie. For as *Budeus* saith in his Institution of a prince the vnworthie perceiuing that the great benefits that they receiue of their master, proceed of ignorance & want of good discretion, & not of wise & wel gouerned affection; despise both the gifts & the giuer of thē. And therefore I purpose to speak here of the recōpenses that ought to be made to those that deserue thē, of which recōpenses some be made with honor, & some with mony. Of honorable titles, many were giuen in old time: as for example, wal-garlāds, city-garlands, & such other without number. And in these dais we haue the order of knight-hood, the which within a while hath bin so shamfully abused, that no account is made of it. The rewards that cōsist in profit, are to be giuen to the peti-captains, & valiant souldiers in ready mony, if the reuenues of the crowne wil beare it. For, to racke and rake from the people wherwith to recompence the men of war, as did the emperour *Seuerus*, is an euill king of dealing. Not long since we haue had two kings of great fame, namely *Lewis* the eleuenth, who was liberall in pampering men with money, howbeit at the cost of his commons. And *Lewis* the twelfth, who was of small libera-

The reward-
ing of good
le cits, shew-
eth the iustice
of h m that
ruleth.

Of the re-
compenses
that are
made in ho-
nour.

litic

litie to his men of war, but a great louer of his commons. This man being well serued of all sorts of men, died with the reputation of a good, valiant, and vertuous prince, and had borne the the title of Father to his people. The other neuer attained so neere, nor was so much beloued as he, for all his liberalitie.

The moun-
ting to digni-
ty by degrees.

There is yet one other sort of recompence, and that is of honour and profit matched together, when men attaine to dignities by degrees, as when a meane souldier becommeth the leader of a squadron, captaine, master of the campe, and colonell. And when a man of arms mounteth by degrees to bee chiefe herbingier, guidon, ensigne, lieutenant; then chiefe of the companies, great maister, admirall, marshall, and so fourth.

What a prince
is to doe that
he forget not
those that doe
him seruice.

Also to the intent that the prince forget not them that doe him seruice, and deserue recompence, because they bee so great a number, that he shall not be of memorie sufficient to remember them all; it behoueth to haue a booke or a paire of tables, wherein to set downe the names of all such as doe him any notable seruice; that he may reward them in due time and place, as the emperors *Charles the fift*, and *Alexander Seuerus* did; who wrate downe those that did him seruice, and the rewards which he had giuen to many of them. And if in perusing his notes of remembrance, he saw any man that had done him seruice and was not worthilie recompenced; hee made him to come before him, and asked of him why he had not sued for recompence, willing him to sue boldly for any thing agreeable to his estate.

Two offices, or
mo be not to
be giuen to
one man.

And foras much as it is an easie matter for a prince that hath so many subiects, to recompence them all; it behoueth him to take good heed that he bestow not two offices or mo vpon one man. For in so doing he bereaueth himselfe of the meanes to recompence manie, and is not so well serued as he else should be. For (as *Alexander Seuerus* was woont to say) it is a hard matter, that he which hath two charges at once, should be able to vse them to his owne honor, and his masters profit.

profit. When I speake of the recompensing of Seruices, my meaning is, that it should be done measurably, and not by putting men in trust with too great a charge, nor by making them too mightie, least perhapes they turne head against their maister. For mightinesse ingendreth riches, enuy, and pride, as it befell to *Perennius*, who perceiuing himselfe to bee ouergreat, and the ordering of all affairs to be in his owne hand, conspired against the emperour *Commodus* his maister, to whom he was beholden for al his welfare. But his treason was bewraied, and he punished according to his deserts. We know what happened in Fraunce to the maires of the pallace; which caused *Consuluo* to be called home out of Naples, where he managed the king of Aragons affairs so wel, and vnto whom the king his maister was beholden for the kingdome of Naples; which thing was done for feare least he should haue seized vpon the kingdom, considering his credit, his good gouernment, and his experience in war. There remaineth yet one doubt more concerning the execution of iustice; to wit, whether a prince for the benefit of his common-weale ought to chaunge his officers, as they did in old time in Rome, and in Athens. If it be objected that those were pullick-weales, wherein euery man ruled by turne; I wil oppose *Alexander Seuerus* a sage prince and such a one as minded not any thing but the publick-weale, who also chaunged his officers; saieng that when princes are gouerned continually by any one sort, means are found by intreatance, gifts, and other corrupt dealings, to peruert their good dispositions. And peradventure at that time, *Alexander* had seene the inconueniences therof, the which he meant to remedy, or at leastwise to assay to remedy. But in this manner of dealing, there may be as great inconuenience, as in the other: namely that their king shal not haue them so well affectioned towards him, as they ought to be. For they that are accustomed to the seruice of a good prince, do loue their maister far better, than those that are but new come in. And as the Proverb saith, A man must first know, ere he can loue. Besides this affection, they be the better acquainted with his humors, and

Power breedeth Pride.

Whether a prince ought to shift officers or no.

the better experienced in his affaires. For practise maketh men sufficient, and the new come is as easie to be corrupted as the old seruitor, when the way to corruption is once set open. Moreouer, they that come fresh, try by al means to make their hand of the bountie and liberalitie of the prince; inso-much that most commonly, the oftner that there is a change, the oftner the princes purse is emptied. Record hereof is the fable of the flaine fox, who would not suffer the flies to be driuen from him, that had fed vpon him, for feare least when they were gone, there would come others fresh and fasting, which would doe him more harme and paine than the former that were alreadie full. *Augustus* altered not the maner of dealing which the Romans had vsed, of sending senators into a prouince, for a certaine time. Neuerthelesse being disquieted by a feat that had bene done in Germanie; to make all sure; & to hold the people of that prouince in obedience, he would not haue the senators to remoue thence, to the intent that the subiects should be held in obedience by men of experience, that were alreadie acquainted with the people of that countrie. And therefore it is best for all euent, that a prince should not change his officers, but that if any of them offend, hee should well punish them, as *Augustus* did a secretarie of his, whose thighs hee caused to be broken, because he had taken a bribe to shew a letter. *Lewis* the twelfth king of France, liued in all prosperitie, because he was serued by the auintient officers of the crowne, yea euen by those that had taken him prisoner in battell when he was duke of Orleans. Contrariwise, king *Lewis* the eleuenth, was in hazard to haue lost his crowne, by changing all new.

Treasurers
and officers
of account.

I graunt that the dealing of *Alexander Seuerus* was well to be admitted in cases of accounts, where the prince hath more need of a man of honestie, than a man of great skill. Also the said good emperor permitted them not to continue in office aboue one yeare at once, for feare least their ouer-long continuance in those dealings should make them the eyes, terming the offices of generall Receipt, a necessarie euill; because that

on the one part they cannot be forborne, and on the other part they teach men to play the theeves. *Froissard* saith, that the earle of Foix, of whome he maketh very great reckoning, rooke twelue notable men to be of his Receipts, of whom two serued euery month, and so from month to month other two by turns, which alwaie yelded their accounts to a controller, in whom he put greatest trust.

To conclude this discourse, the prince and he that is authorised vnder him to be a iudge, must keepe well the precept of *Martian*, namely, that he be neither too soft nor too rigorous in punishing, but as the cause deserueth. For he must not affect the glorie of meeldnesse, or of seueritie, but when he hath well considered the case, he must doe iustice as the case requireth, vsing mercie and gentlenesse in small matters, and shewing seueritie of law in great crimes, howbeit alwaies with some temperance of gentlenesse. For as *Theodorike* was wont to say, It is the proprietie of a good and gracious prince, not to be desirous to punish offences, but to take them away; least by punishing them too eagerly, or by ouerpasing them too meeldly, he be deemed vnaduised and carelesse of the execution of iustice. *S. Iohn Chrysofome* saith, That iustice without mercie, is not iustice but crueltie; and that mercie without iustice, is not mercie but folly. And to my seeming, *Suetonius* hath no great likelihood of reason to commend *Augustus* for mercifull, in that to saue a manifest parricide from casting into the water in a sacke, (as was wont to be done to such as had confessed themselves guiltie of that fault) he asked him after this maner; I beleeue thou hast not murdered thy father. For he that iustificeth the wicked, and hee that condemneth the guiltlesse, are both of them abominable to the Lord, saith *Salomon* in his Prouerbs. And aboue all things (as saith *Cicero* in his booke of Duties) he must beware that the punishment be not too great for the offence, and that where many bee partakers of one crime, one be not fore punished, and another sleightly passed ouer.

Precepts of Iustice.

Punishment must not passe the offence.

CHAP. IIII.

*That a prince ought to be liberall, and to shun nig-
gardship and prodigalitie.*



Hus much in few words concerning iu-
stice, the which *Cicero* diuideth in-
to two, namely into that which is
tearmed by the generall name of
Righteousnesse, & into that which
is tearmed Liberalitie, accordingly
as the holy scripture doth ordinari-
ly take righteousnesse for the libe-
ralitie that is vsed towards the needie,
the which we call Alms or Charitie.
He hath dispersed & giuen vnto the
poore, (saith the Psalmist) and his
righteousnesse endureth for euer;
that is to say, He will continue still
to shew himselfe righteous; and he
shall haue wherin to execute his
liberalitie all the daies of his life.
And *S. Paule* in his second Epistle
to the Corinthians, prayeth God to
encrease the reuenues of their
righteousnesse, that is to say of
their liberalitie or bounteousnesse.
And in the one and twentieth of
the Prouerbs, He that followeth
righteousnesse and mercie, (saith
Salomon) He that is kind-hearted
and pitifull to the poore, shall find
life, righteousnesse, and glorie.
And in the same place, The
righteous giueth (saith he) and
spareth not. Now therefore I must
speake more particularly of the
distributiue righteousnesse, which
is called Liberalitie, and is as it
were the meane betwixt nig-
gardlinesse and prodigalitie, a
vertue well-beseeming a rich
man. For (as saith *Plato*) He that
hath store of goods, if he make
others partakers with him, is to be
honoured as a great man: but
specially it most beseemeth a
prince, as who is better able to
put it in vse, than any priuat
persons. For Liberalitie vndoeth
liberalitie, because that the more
a man vseth it, the more he abateth
his abilitie of vsing it towards
many.

Liberalitie be-
seemeth a

A king who hath great reuenues, may honourably vse it in his life, without abating the meane to doe good to such as deserue it. Therefore *Plutarch* in his booke of the Fortunate-nesse and vertue of *Alexander*, saith; That as the fruits of the earth grow faire by the temperatnesse of the aire: euen so, good wits are furthered by the liberalitie, honourable countenance, and courtesie of a king; and that on the contrarie part, they droope and decay through his niggardship, displeasure, and hard-dealing. For the very dutie of a king (said *Agesslaus*) is to doe good vnto many. *Protophans Lagus* said, It was a more goodly and princely thing to enrich other men, than to enrich himselfe, according to *S. Paulus* saying, That it is better to giue than to take. And *Fabricius* had leuer to haue at comyn dement men that were well monied, than the monie it selfe.

It is the dutie of a king to doe good vnto many.

Dennis the tyrant of *Siracuse* offered presents to the ambassadours of *Corinth*, the which they refused, saying, That the law of their countrie forbad them to take ought of any prince whatsoever. Wherevnto hee answered, Surelie yee doe amisse, O yee *Corinthians*, in that yee bereaue princes of the best thing that they haue. For there is not any other meane to take away the misliking of so great a power, than by courtesie and liberalitie. *Alexander* was wont to say, That there was not a better hoording vp of treasure, than in the purses of his friends; because they will yeeld it him againe whensoever hee needeth it. Now then, this vertue doth maruellously well beseeme a prince, because he hath wherewith to put it in vre; and yet neuertheless it ceaseth not to be in the mind of a poore man also. For a man is not to be deemed liberall for his great gifts, but for the will that he hath to do good. For a poore man may be more liberall than a rich, although he giue far lesse without comparison than the rich, because liberalitie (like as all other vertues) proceedeth chiefly from the disposition or inclination that a man hath to giue.

The misliking of great power, is taken away by Liberalitie.

Liberalitie is not to bee measured by the gift, but by the will.

As for example, the poore widow that did put the two mites

into the offering box, was esteemed to haue giuen more than al the rich men, though the thing she gaue was nothing in cōparison of the gifts of other men. For liberalitie consisteth not in the greatnes of the gifts, but in the maner of the giuing. And he is liberall, which giueth according to his abilitie, vnto good men, and vpon good causes. This vertue represseth nigardship, and moderateth prodigalitie, causing a man to vse his goods and his money aright. The meane to vse these well, consisteth in three points. The first is in taking a mans owne money where he ought to take it: and hereunto maketh the good husbanding of him that spareth his reueneue, to spend it to good purpose. For he that hath not wherewith to maintain his expenses, doth amuse in making large expenses at other mens cost: and he that hath it, doth amuse if he spend it not, because there is not any thing that winneth a prince so much the fauor of his people, as liberalitie doth. *Dennis* the tyrant intēding to try his son, furnished him with much costly stuffe, iewels, and vessell, both of gold and siluer of great price. And when long time after, he had espied that the plate remained with him still, he raunted him, saieing that he had not a princely hart, sith he had not made him friends with his plate, hauing such abundāce; for he was of opinion, that such gifts would haue gotten his son good will at all mens hands. For as *Salomon* saith in the xix. of the prouerbs: euery man is a friend to the man that giueth. And in the chapter going afore, he saith, That a mans gift maketh way for him, and leads him to the presence of great men. And in the xvij he saith, That a gift is as a precious stone in the eyes of him that possesseth it, that is say, that a gift hath such grace, that it can doe all to the winning of mens hearts. The second meane for a prince to vse liberalitie well, is, not to take his money where he ought not. Wherein consisteth the honor of his power, in that he wil not take from one to giue vnto another, nor strip one naked to clothe another. The third meane, is to spend it as he ought, which is the very true meane of liberalitie, whereunto both the other be referred. Now then, liberalitie consisteth chiefly in the well vsing of mome;

To

Three waies
of vsing a
mans goods
well.

Gifts get
friendship at
al mens hāds.

To vse money well, is to spend it and giue it to such as want and are worthie to haue. As for the only keeping of a mans reuenuē, it is not the vsing, but rather the getting of money. Therefore liberalitie cannot consist in the well keeping of a mans reuēues, neither consisteth it meerey in not taking from others, but in benefiting others. For it is more praise-worthie to doe good, than it is to keepe a mans owne (whereunt we be inclined by nature) or not to doe any man hurt. For it is not inough for a man to abstaine from doing harme, vnlesse he also doe good. And yet for all that, it behoueth the liberall to be carefull in keeping his owne, that he may haue wherewith to maintaine his liberalitie, specially a prince. For as saith *Alexander Seuerus*, the prince that is poore and needy, is neither serued with good courage of his subiects, nor feared of strangers: and much lesse the prodigall, who wasteth all without reason, and catcheth other mens goods to maintain his lauishness withall. There are other some that giue, but they be also grēdie of gain; and they cannot be counted to do the deeds of liberalitie. For Liberalitie lieth chiefly in the heart, and regardeth not gaine. But to loue monie, is a spice of couetousnes, notwithstanding that afterward a man spend it more for ostentation, than vpon any liberall mind. For there are many which deface their reputation, by taking vnworthely, foully, and filthily, to giue it away afterward. As for example, the bawd that maketh vn honest game, the iudge that suffereth himselfe to be corrupted with bribes, and the prince that deuiseeth a thousand kind of taxes, to maintaine his vndiscreet expenses, as *Caligula* did, who tooke of euery courtizan as much of hir gaine, as she could get of any man at once; and as the emperour *Vespasian* did, who said that the gaine of monie was good from whence soeuer it came, yea though it were made of mens vrine. But to order our expenses well, there are three things to bee regarded; first, the quantitie which we giue, that our gift be neither too small nor too great: for the ouer-sinall, is vnbecoming a gentlemanly heart; and the ouer-great dremeth the purse too much, as it befell to *Alexander*,

What it is to vse monie wel

A poore prince is neither well serued of his subiects, nor feared of strangers.

who gaue so excessiue gifts to his friends, that they were faine to refuse them.

A prince must moderate his ordinarie expenses.

Plato will haue a prince to be temperat in the expenses of his house. For if he haue not a regard to moderat his ordinarie expenses, it will be hard for him to prouide for his extraordinary affairs, and for his wars. To furnish out these expenses, they are wont to leuie a thousand sorts of impositiōs of the people; and so to doe, they be counsell'd by claw-backs and blood-suckers of the court. But they should answer them as *Antoninus Pius* the emperor of Rome did; The order and maner (quoth he) which is to be sought to make me great, is to augment the common-wealth, and not my rents; and to deuise means not how to impose new tributes, but how to abate mine extraordinary expenses, and to vse sparing, which is a certaine & sure reuenuē. And as *Machiauel* saith, This maner of giuing to al men, maketh the prince beloued, and it carrieth a goodly shew for a time; but in the end, the people conceiue more disliking of the prince, than those to whom he giueth, receiue contentment; and so at the last he is hated of all. For as *Cicero* saith in his Duties, in this kind of liberalitie, there is euer a desire of taking perforce, that there may be wherwith to giue still.

Sparing is a sure reuenuē.

The treasure prepared for the necessitie of the state, is not to be lashed out in time of peace.

Most men esteemed *Lewis* the twelfth to be niggardly, because he gaue no great gifts; but he had wrōg, for he could not both make war, & pay his souldiers well, and also giue lauishly. For as *Paulus Iouius* saith, Princes doe great harme both to themselues and to their subiects, when by spending prodigally in vaine expenses, during the time of peace, they wast away the treasures prepared for the necessities of war. Secondly according to the precept of *Cato*, it is to be considered, to whom a man giueth. For most cōmonly men giue to those that haue no need of it, or to vnworthie persons, as flatterers, ribauids, and other leaud and vnprofitable folke, whom good princes haue alwaies bin wont to driue out of their courts. For it were much better to spare their benefits, than to bestow it vpon such people: and whosoeuer deemeth that to be liberaltie, mistaketh

mistaketh the case, and considereth not how *Crates* saith, That the mony of the most part of rich men, is like the figs that grow vpon the high mountaines and rocks, which are not eaten of men, but of rooks and crows, and other vile birds. Euen so is it with the goods of prodigall persons, wherewith none but harlots and flatterers are mainteined. Therefore *Valerius* saith, that liberalitie is vpheld by two things, namely, true Iudgement, and good Loue. For they that giue vndiscreetly, doe it either for want of iudgement, or els to attaine to some euill end.

Liberalitie is vnderpropped by two things.

Alexander said, There were two faultie extremities in liberalitie, the one of giuing to vnworthie persons, because, as *Menander* saith, Good turnes misbestowed, are euill turnes: and the other, of not giuing to the worthie; for it is a great fault, when they that are hindermost in desert, are foremost in rewards of profit and honor. Thirdly, it is to be considered wherfore a man giueth: namely for wel-doing, and not to purchase praise as most men do, and not for charitie; and therefore they giue to flatterers and claw-backs, and not to such as haue need, or to such as deserue it.

Good turnes misbestowed, are euill turnes.

Good must be done for good desert, and not to get praise.

Cicero saith in his booke of Duties, That there are two sorts of liberalitie. For we vter our liberalitie, either by our trauell and pains taking, or by our purse. The former proceedeth of vertue, and is more difficult and of more worthinesse than the other; as when a man solliciteth matters for his friend, or attendeth in sute for some good turne for him, or procureth him a counsellor to defend his cases. But in especially a man must beware, that he offend no man in seeking to helpe his friend. And if you fortune to offend any man against your will, you must excuse your selfe to him, and deale in such sort as you may recompence your ouer-sight with doing some good. For as *Cicero* saith in his booke of Duties, Liberalitie is to be vsed as may profit a mans friends, without preiudice to any person, because liberalitie is accompanied with iust dealing.

Two sorts of Liberalitie.

Liberalitie must be vsed without preiudice to any.

And astonching the giuing of monie and the bestowing of benefits

Of Alms.

benefits, they ought to be done vnto the distressed and needie, rather than to others, the contrarie wherof is done most commonly. For lightly men giue where they may hope for some good againe, though there be no need at all. But this is rather couetousnesse than liberalitie, because it is but a putting of a small fish vpon a hooke, therewith to catch a greater. Likewise liberalitie consisteth in redeeming prisoners, and in giuing to the poore; in which behalfe *Cicero* speaketh like a Christian. And this maner of liberalitie is called Alms, Pitie, and Charitie. *Salomon* in the xxij of the Prouerbs saith, He which is pitifull, shall be blessed, because he hath giuen bread to the hungrie. And in the xxviii, Who so giueth to the poore shall not want, but he that turneth his eies from them, shall haue much miserie.

In the third of *Ecclesiasticus*, it is said that as water quen- cheth the burning fire, so alms withstandeth sin, and God will haue consideration of him that sheweth pitie; for he will be mindfull of him in the time to come, and he shall find assurance in the day of his death. Againe in the seuenth chap- ter, Reach out thy hand to the poore (saith he) that thou maist be throughly blessed and reconciled. Againe, in the xvij chapter, A mans alms-deed (saith he) is as a purse with him, and preserueth a mans fauor as the apple of an eie. And a- gaine in the xxix, Lay vp thine alms-deed in the bosome of the poore, and it shall make thee to be heard against all euill.

Hospitalitie a
'piece of Libe-
ralitie.

There is another sort of liberalitie approaching to pitie, which is called Hospitalitie, (for which *Abraham* & *Lot* were highly commended, and had the honor to receiue angels) when the houses of rich men are open to entertaine honest strangers. Among the men of old time, the almighty God (whom they named *Jupiter*) was called the Harberor, & so is he termed of *Homer* & *Virgil*. *Cimo* of Athens made a house with his owne hands, to lodge strangers in. *Plato* saith, That the offences which are done against strangers, are greater than those that are comitted against a mans owne countrimen; for in as much as a stranger hath no kindred nor friends, men ought to be the

more

more pitifull towards him. The Almans made so great account of those with whom they had eaten and drunke, that they imparted their houses vnto them. And the Lucans had a law that cōdemned that man to be fined, which suffered the stranger to passe vnlodged, after the sun was downe. There is also another branch of liberalitie, called Treatablenes, which is, when a man is not rough in requiring that which is borrowed of him, but is easie to be delt with in all bargaining, whether it be of buying or of selling, and will not sticke sometime to forbear, yea and release some part of his right, as is to be seene in the end of *Ciceroes* second booke of Duties, where he treateth of it largely inough, and that in such sort, as he may seeme to haue drawn it out of our books of diuinitie, which cōmaund vs to be charitable to our neighbors, rather in doing good to the poore than to the rich, and especially in doing the spirituall works, wherof I will speake briefly herafter, when I come to treat of kindnesse; referring the residue to Diuines, who haue made so goodly treatises, & so pleasant & wholsom discourfes, that it is not possible to do more. There is another kind of liberalitie, which cōsisteth not in giuing, but in despising mony & gifts, & the same is directly contrarie to couetousnes, wherof we haue *Percles* for an example, who was not in any wise to be corrupted with gifts, neither could couetousnes in any wise weigh with him; insomuch that although he was the prince of Athens, yet notwithstanding he enriched not himselfe one halfe peny. And also *Phocion* who refused 60000 crowns at *Alexanders* hand, though he was both poore & needy: neither wold he take ought of *Antipater*, though he was his friend: insomuch that *Antipater* said, that he had two friends in the citie of Athens, namely *Phocion* & *Demades*, of whō he could neuer cause the one to take any thing, nor giue the other inough to satisfie him. The Philosopher *Xenocrates* sent back 500 talents vnto *Alexander*, when he had giuen him thē, saieng, That so long as he liued in such sort as he did, he should neuer need so great a sum of mony. *Fabricius* the consull did as much to *Peribus*, refusing the gold and siluer that he offered him.

Treatablenes
another spie
of Liberty.

Liberalitie of
despising mony
and gifts.

These

These men could not giue, because they themselues were needie, but yet had they a liberall nature, in that they made none account of worldly goods, and yet were contented to part from that which they had.

Liberalitie consisteth both in giuing and in taking.

Artaxerxes king of Persia was wont to say, That liberalitie consisteth not only in giuing, but also in taking; as when a man through a kind of couetousnesse, doth courteously accept the gifts that are offered him, though they bee but of small estimation and value. For therby the prince doth men to vnderstand, what account he maketh of small things, in that he receiueth them, and it is an occasion for him to requite it with very great vsurie. And although king *Lewis* the eleuenth doe say, that a man ought neither to bind a prince, nor to be afraid to aske of him, and to make himselfe indebted vnto him, and that his so doing maketh the prince the forewarder to do for him, because the noblenesse of the princes courage is such, that he loueth them most which are most bound vnto him, and naturally we loue the things that are of our owne making (as saith *Aristotle*, where he demaundeth why benefactors are more inclined towards such as are bound vnto them, than towards such as are not:) yet notwithstanding a subiect ought not to be afraid to offer a present to his prince, in witnesse of his seruice and good will. Neither did king *Lewis* the eleuenth meane it concerning presents or gifts, but of seruices done by subiects, wherof they had no recompence. For therof the prince is ashamed, and therefore is loth to see them. Contrariwise he loueth, liketh, and aduanceth those that are made by him, euen through a certaine naturall reason, which makes vs loue the things that come of our selues, and which we haue brought forth, whether it be by nature, or by wit, or by good doings. But the wel-aduised subiect bestoweth not any gift vpon his prince, as vpon one that hath need, or therby to bind his prince: but as in way of duty or submission to do him seruice. And therefore of such a present, a prince must accept very gladly. For the despising therof, importeth a kind of pride and disdain, as who would say, the prince made no reckoning of him.

him that offered it. And therefore *Alexander* did willingly receive the burgeship which the Corinthians offered vnto him, when he once knew that they had neuer made the like offer to any stranger, saue only to him and *Hercules*: in somuch that euer after he esteemed that gift more deerly, than all the presents of the queen of *Caria*. We haue one other kind of liberality belonging to great lords, called Magnificence, which respecteth the greatnesse, of expenses: as the building of temples, the making of stately dwelling-houses, of conduits, of bridges, of Theatres, and of other things seruing for common vse, and the bountifull entertaining of such as come to visit them, as did *Lucullus*, *Pompeius*, and *Cicero*, and also *Paulus Aemilius*, who tooke great pains himselfe in furnishing and marshalling a feast. And when he was asked why he was so curious in setting foorth a banquet; he answered, That there was as great discretion to be vsed in the ordering of a feast, as in the ordering of a battell, that the one might become terrible to the enemies, and the other be acceptable to friends. And to shew that he set not his heart vpon riches; after that he had subdued *Perseus*, he tooke not to himselfe one pins worth of his treasures, neither would he so much as once see the monie that was there, but caused an inuentorie to be made therof, by commissioners appointed to that purpose, and sent it euery whit to Rome. *Scipio* was of the same humor; and when one blamed him for his excessiue bountifulnesse, because it might be that he should be accused for it at Rome, (as he was afterward) hee answered, That treasurers and receiuers were to make account of money; and captaines, of feats of arms. Contrariwise *Cato* (norwithstanding that he was a sound and a good man) yet was he blamed for the ouer-great curiositie and precise neernesse that he vsed, in causing the great treasures of *Cipres* to be conueied to Rome. Therefore in a great personage, as il-beseeming is too great thristinesse, as too great bountifulnesse; as was to be seene in *Lucullus*, who rebuked the steward of his house, because he had prepared no more store of meats for his supper: And when his steward had answered,

Of Magnificence.

Too great sparing becoming meth not a great lord.

swered, That he had so done, because he was to sup alone. That is all one (quoth *Lucullus*) for doe not you know that others were to sup as well as *Lucullus* ? As who would say, That the supper of *Lucullus* had bin a prodigall mans feast. Also he was ouer-sumptuous in his buildings, causing mountains to be cut through, that the salt-water might come into his chanel. In respect wherof *Pompey* scoffing at him, was wont to call him the *Xerxes* with the long gowne; because that *Xerxes* at his coming into Greece, caused a bridge of ships to be made ouer the sea, & mountains to be cut through. Therefore whensoever we be to build a house, wee must remember how *Cicero* in his bookes of Duties teacheth vs, that it may well beseme vs to commend the dignitie of our estate with a faire house, howbeit so as we seeke not our reputation altogether in the costlinesse of our buildings, but rather that the house may be famous for his maister, and not the maister for his house. *Stratonicus* taunting the Megarians, said, That they builded as though they should neuer die, and feasted as if they should no longer liue.

The honorable expenses of a table are to be commended, so they be without superfluitie, as was the table of *Cimon* of Athens: who was beioved of all men, and accounted liberall, because he kept an honourable table for all commers, not furnished with dainties, but with sufficient to feed many persons. He clothed such as were ill-appareiled, and put mony secretly into the hands of such as were needy. He made his house an hospitall for the nourishing and sustaining of all poore citizens, & hauing his hands in the meane while cleane from all maner of nipping and corruption. *Pelopidas* the Thebane, spared not his purse towards his friends. And *Valerius Publicola*, releued the poore with his goods. Wherupon he was called by the name of *Publicola*. *Fabius Maximus* copounded with *Hanniball* for the ranfome of certaine Romaie prisoners, that were men of seruice: Wherof when the senate had no liking, he perceiuing that he could not obtaine at their hands the mony that he had promised for the ranfome of the prisoners,

The honest
expencc of a
table is to be
comanded.

The charitie
of diuers Ro-
mans.

prisoners, sold his owne goods to serue the turne. *Tullus Hostilius* king of the Romanes, is worthie of great praise for giuing a great part of his goods to the poore. And so was also *Nerva Cocceius*, who in the one yeare that he was emperor, gaue vnto the poore fifteen hundred thousand crowns, for the doing wherof, he sold his iewels and plate. *Pomponius Atticus* was princely, bountifull, and liberall, & such a one as bestowed his liberalitie to good purpose, as he well shewed in *Brutus* and *Cassius*, whom he helped not with one pennie towards the charges of their wars, as the most part of the Romanes had done: but whē he saw them go by the worse, & that they were driuen out of Rome, then sent he thē 100000 Sextercies, as a friend that aided thē at their need, when other men had forsaken them. *Valerius* maketh mention of one named *Gillius* a Sicilian of the citie Agrigent; who was wont to cloath and feed the poore, to bestow their daughters in marriage, to help such as were in distresse, to lodge strangers, & not to suffer thē to go away without reward: to be short, he gaue entertainmēt a long while togither, to 500 men whom the sea had cast vpon that coast. Also he maketh mention of a noble lady of Poul, named *Buzza*, that releued ten thousand Romans which had escaped from the battell of Cannas. *Hiero* king of Sicilie gaue vnto the Romanes in a time of their need, 300000 quarters of wheat, two hundred of barlie, and two hundred and fiftie pound weight of gold. *Quintus Flaminius* hauing conquered the Macedonians, discharged them of all tallages and impositions, contrarie to the manner of other conquerors, who are wont to lay burthens on the backs of them that are conquered. Also the Plateians did a princely and bountifull deed, & worthy to be had in remēbrance. For to the intent to satisfie the oracle of *Apollo*, which had promised the Athenians victorie against the Persians, so it were within their own territorie (which could not be, ynlesse the Plateians gaue them the place which they had chosen for their aduantage; neer the citie of Plateia) the Plateians pluckt vp the bounds of their territorie, & gaue the ground of free gift to the Athenians,

The charitie
of *Gillius* and
Buzza.

The bounti-
fultie of
Hiero.

The Platei-
ans.

nians, to the intent that as it had bin behighted by the oracle, the Athenians might fight within their owne grounds against the Persians, to the welfare of all Greece: wherof king *Alexander* long time after had so good liking, that hauing conquered the emperor of Asia, he caused the walles of Platea to be reedified; and in doing therof, he made it to be proclaimed by a herault, at the gamings of Olimpus, that *Alexander* did that grace and honor to the Plateians, in remembrance and recompence of their noble courage, for that in the Persian wars, they had liberally giuen their lands to the Athenians for the welfare of Greece; wherein they shewed themselues to be men of great courage, and wel-minded towards the defence of Greece.

Alexander was reputed the bountifullest and liberallest of all princes; but I am of opinion that *Fabricius*, *Aristides*, *Lisander*, *Epaminondas*, and infinite other Greeks and Romanes, had as liberal and princely hearts as he, notwithstanding that they had lesse means to vter it. There are greatdeeds of liberalitie to be found in the life of *Alexander*, and some also that passe the bounds of liberalitie; but yet the ballance weighth most on the side of liberalitie. For he gaue to none but such as were worthie, as to men of war, to Philosophers, to men of seruice, and to men of councill, as he shewed very well in a certaine iugler, who by his subtil sleight threw a drie pease a great way off through the eye of a needle, in hope to haue obtained some great reward for his labor at the kings hands. But king *Alexander* making no reckoning of him, commaunded one to giue him a bushell of those peason to practise his feat withall. The thing that seemed most beautifull in *Alexanders* gifts, was the cheerfulnesse that he vsed in giuing. For the amiableness made his gifts the more acceptable. A certaine Pœonian shewing vnto *Alexander* the head of anemie whom he had cut off, said vnto him; such a present as this should in my country be recompenced with a cup of gold. To whom *Alexander* answered smiling and said, Yea mary, an emptie cup, but I drinke to thee in this cup full of good

The bountifullnesse of *Alexander* matched with courtesie and cheerfulness.

good wine, the which I giue vnto thee. One day he found a poore Macedonian driuing of his mules loden with gold. And when the mule began to faint, the muleter laid the burthen vpon his owne shoulders and carried it a good way himselfe: but in the end, he felt himselfe so ouercharged, that he was about to cast it to the ground. Whuch thing *Alexander* beholding, said vnto him, Weary not thy selfe, but take leisure that thou maist carie it to thine own tent, for I giue it thee. Intending vpon a time to encounter *Taxilles* with deeds of bountie and liberalitie, he dranke to him at a certēisse supper saieng, I drinke to thee a thousand tallēts; which are in value almost 600000 French crownes. Hee more misliked of them that would not take of him, than of them that craued of him. Among his freinds he had one named *Perillus*, to whom he gaue fiftie talents, to marry his daughters withall. *Perillus* said that ten would content him: to whom *Alexander* replied, It is inough for you to receiue but ten talents, but it is to little for me to giue. He had giuen his treasurer charge to giue to *Anaxarchus* the

Alexander passed the bounds of liberalitie.

philosopher, whatsoeuer he asked: and when the philosopher had asked a hundred talents, which are about threescore thousand French crowns; the treasurer being astonished at such a demaund, told it vnto *Alexander*; who answered, that *Anaxarchus* knew wel inough that he had a freind that both could and would bestow as much as that vpon him. Hereby it must needs be confessed that he was too lauish in his gifts, liowbeit that his giuing was to such as were worthie, whereby he made his freinds too great, which thing turned to the hurt of his posteritie For his freinds were so great, that after his death they made no reckoning of his wife, nor of his mother, nor of his children. And that was afterward found true, which his mother *olimpias* had iustly warned him of afore by a letter that she wrate vnto him; I like very well (quoth she) that you should doe good to your acquaintance, and that you should hold thē in honor about you: but you make them as great as kings, and inable them to purchase themselues freinds, & to bereaue you of yours. And afore that time his father also had checked him

for the same, saying, Who hath put thee in hope to think, that those should be faithfull vnto thee, whom thou thy selfe hast corrupted with mony? wouldest thou haue the Macedonians to esteeme thee, not as their king, but as their briber? Let vs come to *Iulius Caesar* who was a great counterfetter of *Alexander*, and was reputed very liberall: and let vs see if he were cōparable to *Scipio*, who neuer bought ne sold, and died poore with his small patrimonie, notwithstanding that he had subdued & sacked two mightie cities, Numance & Carthage: or vnto *Lisander*, a stirring man, who hauing very great means to enrich himselfe, made no account thereof; wheras on the contrarie part, *Caesar* owed more than he was woorth: insomuch that being the pretor, he said he needed three hūdred talents, (which were more than ninescore thousand French crowns) because he had nothing. And when hee sued for the highpriesthood, he wist not of what wood to make his arrows. And going out one morning to preferre his sute, he told his mother that she shuld see him that day, either highpriest, or dead. Yet notwithstanding neither the pretorship, nor the highpriesthood, (which he made easier than it had ben aforesayd) nor the consulship, were able to suffice and discharge his expenses, without the helpe of the Gaules, by whose means he set himselfe cleere, and bribed one part of the citie of Rome. *Suetonius* speaking of his liberall expenses, sayth that hee gaue a great summe of money to euery fouldier of the old bands: and that after the vvarres in Spaine, hee made them two feasts; vwhereof because the first vvas not roiall ynough according to his liking, he made them another more roiall within fīue daies after.

Such was the bountifullnesse of *Iulius Caesar*, vvhich tended more to liberalitie than the other which he had vsed afore to get the Consulship, the Pretorship, and the Highpriesthood. For the lauishnes that he had vsed at those times, sprang not from the fountaine of vertue and liberalitie, but from extreme ambition. But vvhē hee had discharged himselfe to the cost of the Gaules, and vvas become lord of the whole

whole

Caesar prodi-
gali.

whole world, he might be liberall at the charges of the countries that he had conquered. Verely we may well say hee did it not of his owne cost, and that it had bene much better for him and for *Alexander* also, to haue bene lesse liberall, so they had left their pilling and polling of the world; and that if fortune had not fauoured them, the one of them must haue become a cruell tyrant, and the other a woorse cittisen than *Catilin*; for he had bene driuen to haue raised a more dangerous insurrection in Rome to scape from his creditors, than *Catilins* was.

To spend prodigally of other mens goods, and to borrow vpon vaine hope, is a very ill kind of dealing. And it is to be considered that euery man cannot make himselfe lord of a mightie citie, as *Casar* did, nor a conqueror of Asia as *Alexander* did, who maintained his prodigalitie with the sacking of Asia; for the doing whereof, he fleeced the countrie so bare, that *Antigonus* comming after him, said in witness thereof, That *Alexander* had reaped the full crop of it, and hee himselfe did but gather vp the gleanings after him.

It is euill done
to borrow vnder
vain hope.

Othosilanus to win the loue of his men of warre, made a feast vnto them, and gaue euery of the vvarders a peece of monie, not ceasing for all that to bestow many rewards vpon them besides. And vpon a time being chosen an vmpire betweene two neighbours, to make them agree, he bought the land that was in controuersie betwixt them. This had bene iust, bountifull, and liberall dealing, in one that had had wherewithall of his owne to doe it vvith: but hee did more than his abilitie would beare, which caused him to enter into arms, and to vse force to make himselfe emperour, saicng, That hee had as leeute to be ouerthrowne in battell, and to die in the field, as among his creditors in Rome.

Bellisarius was beloued of his men of warre for his liberalitie, because he gaue them horse and armour vvhensoever they had lost them, so it were not through their owne fault: and in so doing, his liberalitie vv as vvell ordered.

The liberality
of *Bellisarius*.

Prullius denied not any man his request, but was gracious

Caligulae prodigalitie.

in giuing, and made himsef familiar with his men of warre ; but all that was done to attaine to the imperiall dignitie . It was otherwise with *Titus* , who also denied not ought to any man , for hee was emperour by birth, and had great means wherewith to maintaine his liberalitie . In the one was seene verie great kindnesse , and true loue towards men, which was the cause of that his facilitie and liberalitie : in the other appeared ouer-great facilitie, matched with vniustice and prodigalitie , as he well shewed in his ouer-sumptuous feasts, inso much that he could abide his owne brother to make him a feast full of all excesse, wherein there were 2000 fundrie sorts of fishes, and seuen thousand sorts of foules. *Caligula* was prodigall in all his feasts, he drunke vp pearles dissolved with vineger, he would be serued with loaves of gold, and hee caused so precious ointments to bee made for his bathes, that hee was esteemed to haue surmounted all the prodigall persons of his time ; saying, That it behoued a man to bee either thriftie , or an emperour . And to maintaine so excessiue expenses, he caused men that departed the world, to bequeath vnto him some part of their inheritance and goods, and of such as bequeathed him nothing, he disanulled their last wils . With this excessiue prodigalitie, he was extreamely couetous, and so desirous to feele monny, that he would walke bare-footed vpon heaps of coïne, and when he had so done a good while, he would lie downe and wallow in it. *Nero* was so prodigall, that he neuer wore one garment twice : but in the end, by reason of his excessiue expenses, he wated wherewith to pay his men of war, & was constrained to draw monny out of offices, saying to those whom he placed, Sirs ye know what I need ; wherein yet he was more modest, than those that sell them openly at the outcrie .

Heliogabalus was extreamely prodigall, and when one blamed him for it, he answered that he would spend all, & leaue nothing for other men to receiue after him. Was it not a goodlie sight to see an emperour in the street begging his gifts and presents, causing men to bequeath legacies vnto him vpon

paine

paine of disanulling their testaments, and receiuing vnmeasurable legacies to the preiudice of the lawfull heires. By these examples we see what prodigalitie is, how it pretēdeth it selfe to be liberalitie vnto those that looke not neerly vnto it, because the prodigall and the liberall doe both of them deale largely, howbeit with great differēce: for the one doth it with iudgment and profit, and the other without discretion. *Cicero* in his bookes of Duties saith, that there be two sorts of those that spend largely, whereof the one is called liberall, and the other prodigall. The liberall are such as ransome prisoners out of the hands of enemies and wightriders, or pay their freinds debts, or helpe them to marrie their daughters. And the prodigal are they that spend their monie in feasting, to feede idle people, in rewarding fensers, and in furnishing plaies, and such other things whereof the memorie perisheth by and by after, and doth more harme than good. For (as *Plutarch* saith) he that first made common feasts and gaue monie to the vulgar people, was a defacer of his own authoritie, and an ouerthrower of the common-weale. He therefore that spendeth without aduifement and skill, not considering how or to whom he giueth, or how his liuing is able to maintaine it: is counted a prodigall person, which is a very dangerous vice. For it causeth a prince to take from his subiects by force, wherewith to maintaine his prodigalitie; and it is vnpossible that he which cannot husband wel his own, should husband well that which is another mans. As for the priuate person, he is soone cured of that disease, when he hath no more to spend. And here I will not passe ouer with silence, a mery conceit of *Diogenes*, tending to this purpose, who vpon a time asked of a prodigall man a peece of gold, as it were a French crown, or a ducat. Wher at the prodigal person maruelling, (for *Diogenes* was not wont to aske aboue a small peece of coine, such a one as a duple or a liard) desired to know why he asked so great a value: because (qd. he) at other mens hands I hope to haue oftentimes, but of you I loke for no mo but this. As touching them that excuse their ouer great expenses, by the greatnes of their reuennues, let them

Prodigalitie
is a counter-
seite of Libe-
ralitie.

If a man will
be welthie, he
must not be
too lauish.

vouchsafe to consider the answer of *Zeno*, who telleth them that by the same reason, cookes may excuse their ouer-salting of their sauces, and the ouer-poudring of their meats, vnder pretence that they haue store of salt. The dutie of liberalitie consisteth in distributing a mans goods measurably, to such as haue neede: if he go beyond that, it is a vice, whether it be in the ouermuch or in the ouer little. For in the one consisteth prodigalitie, and in the other nigarship, which is an incurable disease, whereas prodigalitie may be changed into liberalitie, or into nigardship; or else the lauishnes may vtterly cease, for want wherewith to vphold it. For (as saith *Democritus*) the desire of getting, (if it be not bounded by some reason) is more dangerous than extreame pouertie, because the ouergreat greedines of getting, causeth great want of al things, and is as little stanchd by the comming in of abundance of riches, as a burning fire is by the casting on of wood: insomuch that on the contrarie part, the comming in of riches, doth the more sharpen the desire of hoording vp, and of coueting stil to haue. The Scythians on a time said thus to *Alexander*, What need hast thou of riches, which do enforce thee to couet euer more and more? Thou art the first that of abundance hast made penury, insomuch that the more thou possesslest, the more eagerly doest thou couet that which thou hast not. *Plutarch* in his booke of Couetousnes, saith that all other lusts doe helpe toward the assuaging of thēselues, but this vice doth euer withstand it. For there was neuer any glutton that through gluttony forbare the pleasant morsels that hee liked, nor drunkard that through drunkenesse forbare the good wine: but the couetous mā through couetousnes forbearth to touch his monie; which is as strange a thing, as if we should see a man refuse to put on a good gowne, because he quaketh for cold, or to refuse meat, because he is ready to die for hunger. Couetousnes cōpelleth men to get, and forbiddeth them to enioy that they haue gotten: it stirreth vp the appetite, and bereaueth the pleasure. In so much that the couetous person wanteth as well that which he hath, as that which he hath not. And he like-

neth

Of Couetous-
nesse.

Couetousnes
withstandeth
the assuaging
of it selfe.

neth them to mules, which though they carrie great store of gold and siluer on their backs, yet they themselues doe feed vpon hay. Yet dooth not this import, that a man should not make account of money, and prouide therewith for his necessities, but that it ought to be done after a reasonable maner, and of purpose to bestow it wel in due time and place. And herevnto relieth the answer of *Simonides*, of whome when one demanded why he hoorded vp money towards the end of his old age; Because (quoth he) I had leauer to leaue my goods to mine enemies when I am dead, than to haue need of the reliefe of my friends while I am aliue. To the same purpose *Bion* the Boristhenit said, that riches are the sinews of mens deeds; and that (as it is said in the prouerbe) Without goods goodnesse is maimed; that is to say, it cannot well shew it selfe. But yet must a man beware that he set not his heart too much vpon them, ne vse them too basely, in banishing the pleasure of them, to indure all the miserie.

For it is the vse that maketh riches. If you take your part of them, they be yours: if you reserue them for your heirs vntill that time, they be none of yours. For he that is a slaue to his money, can haue no good of his riches. But a man of vnderstanding taketh the present vse of his goods, and hee that will not vse them, is needie of all things. And as *Plutarch* saith in his booke of the Desire of riches, Richnesse consisteth in the not hauing of superfluous things. For niggardlinesse commeth of an inordinat coueting to haue: and we see how such as sometime had neither bread nor drinke, nor house nor home, as soone as they came to bee rich, haue occupied their minds about gold and siluer, horses, and hounds, changing the desire of things needfull, into the desire of things dangerfull, rare, hard to be gotten, and vnaccustomed. Therefore whosoever possesseth more than is behooffull for him, and is still desirous of more, it is neither gold, nor cattell, nor horses, that can cure his disease, but he hath need of a vomit and a purgation. For his disease commeth not of penurie, but of vnatiabable loue of riches, proceeding of a corrupt iudgement.

It is vse that
maketh riches

Couetousnes
breedeth
theu erie.

Of this vice proceedeth robbetrie, a foule and filthie sin, expressly forbidden of God in the ten commaundements: howbeit that *Licurgus* permitted it to the Lacedemonians, to the intent they should be the warier in keeping their things, but yet they were punished for it, if they were taken with the fact.

There are that excuse their couetuousnesse by the multitude of their children. And soothly it is a sufficient cause to restraine ouer-great expenses, and to hold a mans hand from selling, for feare he should leaue them poore. But to pine a mans selfe for their sakes, and to hoord vp heape vpon heape to make them rich, I count it neither husbandrie nor thriftinesse, but the very desire of hauing, which we call Couetousnesse. And for that cause doth *Plutarch* in the same treatise of the Desire of riches, say thus; Why desire we so great riches for our children? Surely to the end that they also should conuey them ouer to their children, after the maner of conduit-pipes, which keepe not any liquor resting in them, but conuey it forth from pipe to pipe, vntill some backbiter or some tyrant come, that curteth off this good keeper, and breaking his conduit-pipe, conueieth the water-course of his riches another way; vntill the veriest vnthrift and naughtipacke of all his race, come and deuour all those goods alone. For as the emperor *Constantine* said, All the treasures that are hoorded vp by the couetous, shall be spent by the hands of the prodigall. But for as much as of couetuousnesse commeth the desire of riches, and there is no man but he esteenieth it a great happinesse to be rich, it were for our behalfe to know what richnesse is, and what is the meane to become rich. This question is not now first of all demaunded; for it was demaunded on a time of *Socrates*, Whom he esteemed to be the richest man? Euen that man (quoth he) that needeth fewest things; meaning that richnesse is to be measured by the vse of riches. And he said, That a man was thē rich, whē he had sufficient wherewith to liue honestly, accounting those to be most poore, which hauing store of goods, wanted wit and will to vse them.

The goods
that are hoord-
ed vp by the
couetous, shall
be wasted by
the prodigall.

Who is rich,
and who is
poore.

For pouertie consisteth not in the small quantitie of goods, but in the vn satiablenesse of the mind. *Cicero* saith in his Paradoxes, That the fruit of riches is in the abundance of them, and that sufficednesse sheweth that there is abundance, and that to be contented with the goods a man hath, is the surest richnesse.

One demaunded of *Alcameses*; What means a prince should vse to keepe well his realme? The best (quoth he) is, not to set his mind vpon mony, nor to make his reuenue ouer-great. *Plutarch* in the life of *Marcus Cato* saith, There is not a more needfull prouision for them that intend to deale with the gouernment of a common-weate; than riches; but yet there is a sufficiency, which being contented with it selfe, without desiring particularly things superfluous, doth by that means neuer distract the partie that hath it, from minding and intending the publike affairs.

What a prince is to doe for the well-gar-ding of his kingdome.

Anacharsis said, That the couetous person and the nigard, is vnable either to conceiue any good doctrine, or to giue any good and wise counsell. *Lucrece* said, It is great riches, when a man liueth trimlie of the little that he hath: because that of that little, there is not any want. *Horace* in his twelfth Ode, saith, That a man may liue well and merrily of a little, without breaking his sweet sleep through feare of hope. For the affectionat minding of riches (saith *Ecclesiasticus*) pineth the flesh, and the carke therof bereaueth a man of sleepe. The same *Horace* writing to *Crispus Salustius* saith, That that man is rich, not which is a great king, but which hath his lusts in subiection; and that the thirst of him which is diseased with the dropsie, is not to be stanchd, but by drawing the waterie humor out of the veins, and by remouing the cause out of the disease. Hereby it is easie to decide the other question, namely, By what means a man may become rich? For *Socrates* teacheth it in one word saying, Ye shal easily become rich, if you impouerish your lusts and desire. *Epicurus* said, That he that will make a man rich, must not increase his goods, but diminish his lusts. For there is no riches so great as contentment.

The miserable case of the couetous.

The meane to become rich.

And

And therefore the Philosopher *Crates* beholding how folke did buy and sell in the market, said; These folke are counted happie, because they doe things contrarie one to another, and I thinke my selfe happie, that I haue rid my hands of buying and selling.

The true way then to become rich, is to couet nought, and to be vnmindfull of gaine, specially of vn honest gaine; for that is no better than losse, as saith *Hesiodus*. For like as the liberall man is loued of all men, (according to this saying of *Salomon* in the nineteenth of his Prouerbs, Euery man is a friend to him that giueth) so the couetous person is hated of all men; For the one helpeth the poore with his goods, the other is loth to giue any thing. In this respect *Socrates* said, that a man must not require either talke of a dead man, or a good turne of a migard. But there is nothing so royall and princely, as to doe good vnto many, as saith *Cicero* in his booke of Duties. And it is found, that there is more pleasure in giuing than in taking, as saith *S. Paul*, and also *Hesiodus* in his booke of Works and Daies. And *Ecclesiasticus* saith, Let not thy hand be open to receiue, and shut to giue. *Dauid* esteemeth him happie, that lendeth and hath pitie of the poore, saying, That he shall euer haue wherwith to doe good without failing, but he that stoppeth his eares at the cry of the needie, shall crie himselfe, and not be heard. The same doth *Salomon* also say in the xxj of the Prouerbs. And the Psalmist saith thus; I haue bin young and now am old, yet saw I neuer the righteous man forsaken, nor his seed driuen to begge their bread; but hee is still giuing, lending, and releening, and his of-spring is seene to grow in good fortune and foyzon. On the contrarie part, The vnrighteous shall be driuen for verie hunger to borrow, and not be able to pay; but the righteous shall haue wherwith to shew their burning charitie. *Virgil* in his sixth booke of *Aeneas*, putteth those persons in hell, which haue done no good to their friends, kinf-folke, and neighbours, but haue bin wholly wedded to their riches, without imparting them to other folks. *Achem* king of Elis, was slaine by his owne subiects for couetousnesse,

Nothing so
royall as to be
helpfull to
many.

couetousnes, & for his ouer-charging them with impositions. *Ochus* king of Persia, was blamed, for that by reason of couetousnes, he would neuer go into the country of Persland, because that by the law of the realme, he was bound to giue to euery woman that had born children, one French crowne, and to euerie woman with child two. The only vice that *Vespasian* had, was that he was extremely couetous, & deuised many taxes, & moreouer bought things to sell thē again, dealing more neerly for gain, than a poore man would haue done, which was great pitie, for this emperors other vertues were defaced by that vice, wherof princes ought to be wel ware. For as *Plutarch* saith, neuer shall any ciuil matter proceed wel without iustice; & without refraining from the lust & desire of getting. Hereby we see, that as liberalitie is called iustice, so couetousnes is nothing els but vniustice, the which *Bion* the Sophist termed the principall towne of all vngriuousnes. And *Timon* said, That couetousnes & ambitio are the groundes of al mischief. *S. Paul* in his first Epistle to *Timothie*, calleth it, The root of all euill; & saith, That such as are wedded to it are false from the faith. Whosoever hath an ambitious or a couetous mind, (saith *Euripides*) saureth not of any iust thing, neither desireth he it, and moreouer he is cumbersome to his friends, and the whole citie where he dwelleth; I am of opinion (saith the same *Euripides* in his *Heraclides*) that the righteous man is borne to the benefit of his neighbour; but as for him that hath his heart turned away vnto gain, he is vnprofitable to his friends, and hard to be delt with. *Salomon* in the 15 of his Prouerbs, saith, That he which is giuē to couetousnes, troubleth his own house, but he that hateth gifts shall liue: for gifts do blind the wife. And in the 29 he saith, That vnder a good king, the land shall flourish, but vnder a king that is couetous, or loueth impositions, it shall soon be destroyed. And in the xxiiij againe he saith, Labor not to be rich, neither cast thine eies vpon the riches which thou canst not haue. For they make theselues wings like eagles, and flie vp into the aire, that is to say, they vanish away. Againe in the xxviiij he saith, The faithfull

Couetousnes is nought else than vniustice and wickednesse.

A couetous king vndoeth his realme.

man shall haue abouondance of blessings, but he that hasteth to be rich, shall not be guiltlesse, neither knoweth he what want shall befall him.

The oracle of *Apollo* had foretold, that Sparta should not perish, but by couerousnesse; and so it came to passe. In like maner befell it to the citie of Athens: For about the end of the wars of Peloponnesus, *Amintas* began to corrupt the iudges with bribes, and thence soorth they neuer prospered. No other thing was the ruine of Rome. Which thing *Ingurth* perceiuing, who had bribed a great part of the senat with his monie, said this; O faire citie set to sale, if a chapman were to be found for thee. *Plutarch* in the life of *Coriolane*, saith; That after that bribes began once to preuaile in the election of officers, it passed from hand to hand; euen to the senators and iudges; and from the iudges to the men of war, insomuch that in the end, it caused the common-weale to be reduced to a Monarchie; and brought euen the men of arms themselves in subiection to monie, so as the Pretorian souldiers sold the empire to them that paid faire gold for it, and proceeded so far as to set it to open sale by the drum, to him that offered most, and was the last chapman.

CHAP. V.

That Gentlenesse and Courtesie be needfull in the ordering of affairs, the contraries whereunto be sternnesse and roughnesse.



OF Liberalitie procedeth courtesie and Gentlenesse, or rather Liberalitie procedeth of kindheartednesse and good will; for (as saith *S. Paul* in the second Epistle to the Corinthians) Ready good will goeth afore liberalitie. Therupon it commeth, that ordinarilie the liberall man is kindhearted and gentle, so as Liberalitie, Kindnesse, Affabilitie, and Gentlenesse,

Gentlenesse, resemble either other, and may all be reduced vnder the name of Charitie, which cōprehendeth them all, and much more; the which *S. Paule* hath so described in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, that a man cannot tell how to adde more vnto it, saying; Charitie is patient, meeld, and gentle, she seeketh not hir owne, she enuieth not, she dealeth not forwardly, she imagineth no euill, and so forth. Now then wee call kindnesse a certaine good will and loue towards men, and a certaine naturall goodnesse which extendeth it selfe further than vprightnesse, because nature teacheth vs to vse vprightnesse and iust-dealing towards men only; but kindnesse and good-will sometimes euen to the brute beasts, in cherishing them when they be tired, forworne, and broken with trauell and labour in our seruice: which doing proceedeth from the fountaine of gentlenesse and kindnesse, which neuer ought to drie vp in a man. And therefore *Salomon* in the fourteenth of his Prouerbs, saith, That he which disdaineth his neighbour, sinneth; but he that pitieth the afflicted, is happie. And *Dauid*, Blessed is he that considereth the poore in his need, or which hath a care of them which are in distresse; for surely God will relieue him when he is in distresse. We call that man gentle and courteous, which behaueth himselfe familiarly towards all men, and is easie to be spoken to, as were the emperor *Titus*, *Philip* king of Macedonia, *Scipio*, and many others; for ordinarily he that is kind-hearted, that is to say, which hath a care of his neighbor, and is willing to do him good, must yeeld him his eare as well as his purse, specially seeing that of both it is the lesse to his owne cost.

Kindnesse or Kindheartednesse reacheth further than vprightnesse.

There be fiue sorts of kindnesse or gentlenesse. The first is, that which we terme by the generall name of kindnesse, which is a certaine meeld, charitable, and louing disposition of mind towards men; as when a man pitieth the poore, the oppressed, or the needie; and generally when a man behaueth himselfe courteously towards all men, be they poore or rich, according to the example of our Maker, who delighteth to be among the children of men, to doe them good. The second sort

Fiue sorts of Gentlenesse or Kindnesse.

of kindnesse may be called Familiaritie or familiarnesse. For there be that are kind-hearted, and ready enough to do good to euery man; and yet notwithstanding they haue a certain nature fullnesse that barreth men frō hauing accessse to them. But they that are gentle in all points, are also meeld and easie to be delt with, perswading themselues that the way to doe men good, is to heare their requests. And they that haue intended to shew themselues yet more kind and courteous, haue gone further, as *Alexander Seuerus* did; who blamed his good seruants, for that they required not recompence at his hand. Some other princes to draw men the more vnto them, haue called men by their names. For it doth the subiect good, when he seeth that his prince knoweth him, because he gathereth therby that his prince loueth him. And for that cause did *Cirus* call al his men of war by their names, howbeit that was a thing that could not be done without a diuine memorie. And to the same purpose I will not omit *Scipioes* answer to a certaine Romane which vaunted, that he could call mo men by their names, than *Scipio* could. You say true (quoth *Scipio*) for my studie hath not bin to know many, but to be knowne of all.

The third sort of kindnesse, consisteth in Clemencie, that is to say, in forgiuing offences, or in making light of them, which thing God hath commaunded vs in the fift chapter of saint *Mathew*, and in the xxv of the Prouerbs, If thine enemy hungar (saith he) giue him bread to eat, and if he thirst giue him water to drinke, for so shalt thou heap coales vpon his head, and God will pay it thee againe. But let vs leaue the handling of this point to Diuines, and take vs againe to the examples of the heathen. It was asked of *Cleomenes* king of Sparta, What a good king ought to doe? To his enemies (quoth hee) all euill, and to his friends none at all. Then *Aristo* replying, Nay sir (quoth he) how much more beautifull and comendable a thing is it, to doe good to his friends, and of his enemies to make friends? Wherof the prince reapeth such profit, that he maketh himselfe beloued of all men.

And

The subiect is desirous to be knowne of his prince.

A prince ought to make his enemies his friends.

And therefore *Traian* said vnto a freind of his, That the thing which made him better beloued than his predecessors, was, that he did easly pardon such as had offended him. *Agessilaw* by his good doing, made those that were his enemies to become his friends. *Augustus* made one his seruant that would haue killed him. *Lesus* the eleuenth assaied by all means to draw those to his seruice, that had bin his enemies, if he knew them to be men of seruice; but he was moued therto more for the profit that he hoped for by their seruice, than of any meeld disposition of nature. *Iulius Cesar* being worthilie commended for his clemencie and mercie, was no sooner reconciled to any enemies of his, but he would by and by vse them as friends; insomuch that he would euen set them at his owne table the same day. While *Bibulus* was in *Aegypt*, a certaine man killed two of his children by mischance; wherof *Cleopatra* being aduertised, sent him the two offenders with a couple of hangmen, to take such punishment of them as he listed: but he would not touch them, but sent them backe againe, saying, That the punishing therof belonged not to him, but to the people of Rome. When *Philip* king of Macedonia had lost one of his eies at the siege of *Modon*, he became neuer the more rigorous to his enemies for it, but receiued them to mercie vpon reasonable conditions. King *Francis* the first being dangerously wounded in the head with the stroke of a firebrand, would in no wise be informed who it was that threw it at him, saying, That seeing he had committed follie, it was good reason he should tast his part therof.

The fourth sort of kindnesse may be called Mercie, when such as haue offended you doe crie you mercie. For it is Gods will that we should haue pitie vpon them that submit themselves to our mercie, and that (as the earle of *Derbie* was wont to say) He that crieth mercie, should mercie haue. *Plato* saith, That the greatest sin which we can commit, is to vse outrage towards them that humble themselves to vs, and that he which doth such folk euill, shall neuer go vnpunished. The fift kind of kindnesse is Meeldnesse and Moderation,

He is to be pitied which submitteth himselfe to our mercie.

as when a prince hauing ouercome his enemies, doth vse them gently. For such dealing serueth to win the hearts both of subjects and of enemies.

When *Alexander* saw *Darius* dead, he fell not to dauncing, laughing, and singing, as one that had made an end of a great war, but what did he then? he tooke off his owne caske, and couered therewith the body of *Darius*, philosophicaly hiding (as saith *Plutarch*) the royall off-spring. *Alcioneus* the sonne of *Antigonus* vnderstanding that one had cut off the head of *Pirrhus*, went to see it, and required to haue it; the which as soone as he had receiued, he ran to his father, and cast it downe before him. But as soone as *Antigonus* had seene it and knew it, he draue away his sonne with strokes of a cudgell, calling him cruell, a murtherer, barbarous, and vnnaturall; and therupon hiding his face with his cloake, he began to crie for compassion sake, and afterward caused the head to be honourably buried. Within a while after, *Alcioneus* met *Helen* the sonne of the aforesaid *Pirrhus* in very poore estate, apparelled in a very simple cloake, and receiuing him courteously with gentle and amiable speeches, brought him to his father. Whom when *Antigonus* saw, he said to *Alcioneus*; My son, this deed of thine is much better, and pleaseth me far more than the other; but yet thou hast not done altogether as thou oughtest, in that thou hast not taken away this courseloche that hangeth vpon his shoulders, which doth more dishonour to vs that haue gotten the victorie, than to him that hath lost it. Therwithall he embraced *Helen*, and hauing set him in good apparell, sent him home into his kingdome of Epire; and being possessed of the army of *Pirrhus*, he delt very courteously with all his seruants. But in Gentlenesse as in all other vertues, a man may offend in too much or too little; as they doe, which through shamefastnesse do condescend to all things; of whom *Plutarch* speaketh in his booke of Misshamefastnesse, and as soothers and flatterers doe, which sooth men in all that they say, as *Grato* doth in *Terence*: The other sort is of them that denie all requests that are made vnto them

Of the excellence of Gentlenesse.

them, be they neuer so iust, and which through a froward disposition of gaine saying that accompanieth them, doe encounter all things that are spoken to them: or else are so rough and sterne, that they neuer laugh, neither can a man tell how to be acquainted with them. And so kindnes or gentlenes matched with meeldnes, is a vertue that represseth the excesse and moderateth the default; keeping men frō exceeding in ouermuch pliantnes, like the soother & the flatterer; and frō the default of vnplianenes like the clowne and the churle. For oft-times ouer-great familiaritie, maketh a prince to be had in contempt, and ouergreat sternnes & grauity make him odious, hard to be intreated, and not to be come vnto. Therefore it behoueth him to hold the meane, and to cōsider what may best be seeme him. For (as the Preacher saith) All things haue their times; there is a time to laugh, & a time to weepe, a time to graunt, and a time to refuse. The which some not considering aduisedly, doe either counsell princes to make themselues too familiar, and to deny nothing; or else to refuse all things, and in no wise to giue their subiects easie accessse vnto them: saying, that if a king make himself too gentle, & too easie to be spoken to, he shalbe despised, and consequently ill obeyed of his subiects, because that ouermuch familiaritie breedeth contempt. And therefore the Englishmen, Spaniards, Turks, and Scithians, do reuerence their kings well neere as gods, and dare not prease into their presence. For they that suffer themselues to be comne vnto, do oftentimes promise more than they can perform, as *Titus* did, who often promised more than he was able to doe; saying that no man ought to goe away sad and discontented from the presence of a prince. In so much that many mē allowed the apophthegme of *Brusus*, who said, That that man had mis-spent his youth, which graunted all things. *Caligula* made no nicenesse to deme all mens request, saying, That there was nothing in his owne nature that he esteemed so much, as impudencie and stoutnes of denying all things. The which point the emperor *Maximilian* practued vpon a poore man that craued an aimes of him, and told him that the emperor and he came both of

Whether a
prince ought
to be meeld
or sterne.

one father, to wit of *Adam*, and so consequently were brethren, and therefore he desired him to deale brotherly with him and to do him some good. The emperor consented, and gaue him a small peece of siluer. Wherat when he saw the poore man discontented, hee told him that hee ought to take his gift in good woorth, saying that if euery of his brethren would giue him as much, he should be richer than he himselfe was. A certaine courtier whom *Archelaus* loued well, praied him to giue him a certaine goodly vessell: by and by *Archelaus* commanded one to giue it to *Euripides*. Wherat the party marueling that had craued it, receiued none other answere but this; thou art worthy to aske it and to goe without it; and he is worthy to haue it without asking. Meaning that he had giuen the courtier accesse to aske what he would, but that the goodnes of *Euripides* was such, as deserued some gift without asking. *Philip* counsell'd his son, *Alexander*, to behaue himselfe gently and graciously to his subiects afore he were king: for were he once king, he could not be so gracious. Deeming very wisely, that as there is not a better thing to stablish a kingdome, than the loue of the subiects, so it is very hard for him that reigneth, to be gentle to all, as well because the state of a king, is subiect to enuy, as also because it cannot maintaine it selfe against it, vnlesse it punish the wicked. For it behoueth a king so to temper his goodnes and gentlenes, as therewithall he retaineth his authoritie and grauitie. For oftentimes ouer-great gentlenes causeth men to make no account of a prince. And as *Plutarch* saith in the life of *Pericles*, It is very hard for a prince to keepe a seuered grauitie, for the vpholding of his reputation, and therewithall to suffer all men to haue familiar accesse vnto him. After the time that *Pericles* had the managing of the publicke affairs, he was neuer seene abroad in the streets, nor at any feasts. They that would haue a prince to be familiar, defend their cause by reasons and examples, saying that gentlenes maketh a prince wel beloued, well-willed, and acceptable.

For as *Terence* saith, he that is a man, ought to be a partaker.

It is hard for
him that reigneth,
to be
gentle to all
men.

tenance said vnto him ; Knowest thou not my souldier, that you Macedonians liue after another sort vnder your king , than the Persians doe vnder theirs ? For vnto them it is a deadly crime to sit in the kings chaire ; but vnto thee it hath bin life . Hee banqueted oftentimes priuately with his friends, and so did also king *Lewis* the eleuenth, notwithstanding that he was feared and drad , which thing procured him great good will . The like also did *Hismaell Sophy* king of the Persians, taking his repast openly in a great companie of his lords, with whome likewise hee tooke his pleasure in hunting , continuing alwaies gentle , easie to bee come vnto, and willing to heare such as were desirous to speak with him.

Iulius Casar was singularly beloued and liked of the common people, for his gracious maner of saluting, embracing, and conferring with all men, priuately and familiarly . And on a time , when hee saw a friend of his sicke , hee gaue him his chamber and bed, because there were no mo beds nor chambers in the Inne but that, and went out and lay himselfe xpon the hard ground. And whē his host one day gaue him old oile in steed of new, & they that sate at his table with him were offended therewith, he to saue his host frō shame, did maruelously praise it, & ate more therof thā he was wont to doe. *Antonie* was highly esteemed & cōmended of his soldiers, because he ordinarily exercised himselfe, & ate & drāke often with them, & sent them gifts according to his power & abilitie. He was so obeyed , that in the vōyage of *Parthia*, a' though the world went against him , yet notwithstanding his men of warre followed him, & neuer forsooke him, because he went to visite them from tent to tent, comforting the sicke & wounded with great compassion, insomuch that he could not forbear weeping ; whereas they on the contrarie part made good countenance vnto him, calling him with great reuerence, their Generall, & praying him that he wold not disease himselfe for their sakes . Insomuch that his kind'y simplicitie & liberalitie, his familiar manner of playing and making mirth in company, and specially

The great
princes of
old time ban-
queted priua-
ly with their
friends.

The visiting
of the sicke.

pecially the pains that he tooke at that time in succouring, visiting, and bemoaning them that were sick or wounded, wrought such effect, that he made the sicke and wounded men, to continue as affectionat towards him, and as resolute to doe him seruice, as those that were whole and sound. The Emperor *Adrian* had the good wils of the Romans, because he visited as well his enemies as his freinds that were sicke, and releued them all that he could. Also he would goe to the houses of old and auntient folke, that by reason of their yeares could not goe abroad, of whome he would enquire how they had liued, where they had dwelled, what customes they had seene, and what distresses and dangers they had indured. By doing wherof and by shewing charitie towards them, he profited himselfe, because that oftentimes, he serued his owne turne in matters that befell him, by the examples which those good old folke had told him of the time forepast. *Cimon* was greatly accepted of the common people for his plaine dealing, and for the same was aduanced to great offices. Contrariwise *Nicias* for his ouergreat sternnesse and hardnesse to be acquainted with, was enuied of most men, and but for his great vertue and integritie, which caused men to reuerence him and feare him, he could neuer haue weelded his affairs as he did. *Lucullus* for want of behauing himselfe courteously and gently inough to his souldiers, and for want of skill to entertaine them, could not make an end of his wars, which he had so happily begun, and brought almost to the point of perfection. For his souldiers became heady, and would not follow him. *Dion* was blamed, not only of the Sicilians, but also euen of *Plato*, for his manner of dealing, in speaking more roughly vnto such as sued vnto him, than the state of his affairs could beare. The Macedoniās forsooke *Demetrius*, because he was vneasie to be delt with, and very hard to be spokē to. *Coriolanus* was hated of the people for his sternnesse, notwithstanding that he was a wise captaine. Contrariwise *Alcibiades*, notwithstanding that he was full of vice, yet was he welbeloued and esteemed of all men, for his courteous behaiour towards all sorts. Among the good parts that were

in *Aristides*, one of the best account was, that he could wel skill to win and allure mens hearts vnto him, which thing (saith *Plutarch*) cometh of gentlenesse: but as for grauitie, it is accompanied with solitarines, that is to say, such kind of men haue few to follow them, and are forsaken of all men. The gentlenesse of *Pompey* was so great, that he contented all men that spake with him: insomuch that euen they that complained vnto him, of the wrongs done vnto them by his freinds and seruants, were perswaded to beare them patiently; so greatly did he content them. And that was the very thing, that procured him so many honorable offices of great charge. *Suetonius* reporteth *Augustus* to haue ben so gentle, that he caused his dores to stand open to as many as would come and salute him, and receiued their petitions with such meeldnesse and courtesie, that after a sibilin maner, he reprovued one for making too much meenes in preferring his sute vnto him; as though he had shewed a peece of come to an Elephant. The people of Rome purposed to haue kept *Crassus* by force, from going to make war against the Parthians. Which thing *Crassus* fearing, praied *Pompey* to accompanie him. When the people saw *Pompey* comming before him, with a smiling countenance and amiable looke, they were altogether appeased; and opened themselues to make way for him to passe. Yet notwithstanding hee could not alwaies hold this natiue gentlenesse of his: for the honourable offices of great charge which he had, made him often-times too graue. In so much that *Crassus* by behauing himselfe lowly and courteously, and by admitting men easily to his speech, doing pleasure with good will, to as many as sought it, defending his friends in places of iudgement, lending monie to such as stood in need, and assisting and furthering such as sued for offices, made himselfe in the end more acceptable than *Pompey*, who towards the end of his life altering his naturall gentlenesse into a certaine seueritie, became more difficult to be spoken to, and did lesse for his friends. And although *Crassus* had not the like authoritie and reputation, yet notwithstanding he obtained his sutes, and most commonly preuailed against

Crassus being of lesse authoritie than *Pompey*, got the fauour of the people against him by Gentlenesse and Courtesie

gainst *Pompey*. *Pyrrius* is highly commended for his gentlenesse and familiaritie with his household folke and friends. *Plutarch* saith of him in his life, that hee had wooon the good fauour of the people of Sicilie, by speaking more graciously than any other had done: and that afterward when he fell to be rigorous and sharpe, he soone lost the realme of Sicilie. As soone as he went about to compell the Tarentines to the discipline of warre, by and by he lost their hearts. *Cimon* by his gracious speeches, and by his gentle harkening to the Greeks, recouered the principalitie of Greece out of the hands of the Lacedemonians. Contrariwise, *Lisander* king of Lacedemon, by his hard dealing caused the confederats of Greeks to depart from the Lacedemonians, and to allie themselues with the Athenians.

Plutarch reporteth that the gentlenesse of *Quintus Flaminus*, was the cause that the Greeks submitted themselues to the Romans; for had he not bene meeld, gentle, & tractable, vsing reason rather than force, Greece would neuer haue submitted it selfe to the dominion of the Romans.

Totilas hauing many prisoners of the Roman campe, handled them so courteously, and with so good entertainment, that many of them did put themselues in his pay, for the courtesies sake which they knew to be in him. *Demetrius* did a deed of great courtesie to the Athenians, when they had rebelled against him; for when he had ouercome them, he gaue them a great quantitie of corne, whereof they had then need, and in his offering it vnto them, committed a solicisme, wherof being reprobued by one of the, he said that for that correcting of his speech, he would giue the people as much corn more; shewing therein his goodnes toward the vanquished, and his gentlenesse and meeldnes towards his corrector. *Paulus Iouius* speaking of *Lewis Sforcia*, who of a gouernour vngraciously made himselfe duke of Millan, saith he was very courteous (which thing wan him the good wil of the people) and redie to admit such to his presence & hearing, as sought it at his hand. He saith as much of *Lawrence Medicus*, who could well skill to win the hearts of

The gentlenesse of *Totilas* drew the soldiers to him that had warred against him.

the Florentines, by gracious speeches, courtesie, and meeldnesse. And likewise of the Marquis of Mantua, who appeased a mutinie that was betweene the Italians and the Almans. For the Almans regarded him for his gentlenesse, because hee kept company with the meane souldiers in vncredible familiaritie, and yet notwithstanding held his honour as generall of the host. *Bellisarius* was beloued of all men for his gentlenesse, because the poore as well as the rich had accesse vnto him, and he imparted himselfe equally to all men. The Cardinall of Medices (who after ward was Pope *Leo*) by giuing courteous intertainment vnto all the Florentines that had to doe at Rome, and by admitting them fauorably to his speech, made the Florentines to forget the hatred which they had borne vnto his brother *Peter*, and so by conforming himselfe in qualities agreeable to his citicens, opened the passage for his familie, to enter into the citie of Florence. The constable of France vsing the like fashion at the campe before Auinion, and talking by the way est with one and est with another, did by that means draw to obedience a troupe newly assembled of fundrie and diuerse nations.

Fabius was wont to say, That he maruelled that men delt better with horses, hounds, and other beasts, in taming them by gentlenesse, than with men; for euen by faire and gentle means, are froward men also to be wooon and tamed. And we ought not to be more hard-hearted towards them, than husbandmen are towards wild vines, who doe not cut them vp for their harshnesse, but doe make them become sweet by grafting them. And euen so must euill men be by benefits appeased, and good men by the same means be maintained. *Cleomenes* said, That the pampering of men with monie was grosse, void of policie, and full of vniustice; and that to his seeming, the most honourable and the most royall means, was to allure them by courtesie of delightfull entertainment and communication, wherein both grace and faithfulnessse went matched together. For he was of opinion, that there was none other difference betweelie a friend and an hireling, but that

Men are to
be tamed by
gentle means
as well as
brute beasts.

the friend is gotten and kept by gentlenes of nature and good vsage, and the hireling is caught by mony. Herevnto we may ad that which *Plutarch* saith in the life of *Artaxerxes*, namely, That the tyrant which is most coward, is most cruel and thirstie of blood. And contrariwise there is no man more gentle and kindhearted, or lesse suspicious, than the valiant and hardie man. And therefore the beasts that are not to be tamed, are commonly cowards and fearfull; whereas on the contrary part, those that be noble and full of courage, doe thinke themselves sure, and acquaint themselves with man, because they be void of feare, and refuse not the allurements and familiar vsages, which man proffereth vnto them. Euen so when princes yeeld themselves gentle to their subiects, their subiects also by that means become meeke towards them, in hope that their king will hearken to them, whensoever they request it. And that kind of demeanour is oftentimes a cause that the courtiers keepe themselves in right mind, for feare least they should be complained of to the prince, if they doe amisse. And the princes that deale otherwise, are subiect to this saying of *Dioclesian* the emperour, That onely the emperour knoweth that which he should not know, and is ignorant of that which hee should know; because there are three or foure about him, which keepe him from knowing the truth. But to eschew the falling into this inconuenience, *Antonie* the meeke, one of the best emperors that euer was, gaue easie access vnto his presence, and willed that his pallace gates should be open euery day, to all such as listed to come in, to craue iustice of the emperour; as I haue said already in the title of Iustice. Moreouer he had good and discreet men about him, of whom he would enquire in secret what men reported of him, and if he found that their speaking euill of him was for iust cause, he endeoured to amend his fault. And therefore it is better that a prince should be too gentle, than too sterne; howbeit, that it is to be considered, that the excessse in any of both waies, cannot be without vice, and that as well in this as in all other things, the best is to be followed, which is

The tyrant
that is a coward,
is most
cruell and sus-
picious.

the meane, in matching grauitie and gentlenesse together; as the Athenians said of *Pericles*, that no mans nature could be more moderated in grauitie, nor more graue with meeldnesse and gentlenesse, than his was. And as *Gueuara* saith in his first booke, Princes ought to endeour to get the good wils of men by courteous conuersation, and also to be feared and re-douted for their maintaining of good iustice, as we read of *Liberius Constantine* the emperor, who was both feared of many, and loued of all.

Too great
gentlenesse
and too great
seueritie are
both verie
dangerous.

God enfor-
ceth not men
to obedience.

Plutarch in the life of *Phocion* saith, That too rough seueritie, as well as too meeld gentlenesse, is a verie slipperie and dangerous downfall; and that the middle way of yeelding sometimes to the peoples desire, therby to make them the more obedient otherwise, and to grant them the thing that doth delight them, therby to require of them the things that are for their profit, is a wholsome meane to rule and gouerne men well, who suffer themselues to be led to the executing of good things, when too lordly authoritie is not vsed ouer them. Therefore when maiestie is ntingled with courtesie, there is no harmonie so perfect & musick-like as that. For it is the thing wherein the prince may resemble God, who enforceth not vs to any thing, but doth sweeten the constraint of obedience, with demonstration and perswasio of reason. *Chilo* said; That princes must match gentlenesse with puissance, to the intent they may be the more reuerenced and feared of their subiects. For this reuerence is accompanied with loue, but feare is accompanied with hatred. Now it is both more sure & more honourable to be loued than to be feared. Therefore a prince must moderat his behaviour in such sort, as he may be neither too much feared of the meaner sort, nor too much despised of the greater. For to be too much feared of his subiects, belongeth vnto a tyrant. But yet must he also beware that he be not despised of the great, he must keepe his estate, & be graue, howbeit, such grauitie as is accōpanied with gentlenes, so as when he is abroad he shew a princely maiestie, & when he is to heare requests, he shew himselfe affable & easie

to be delt with. After that maner did *Iulius Casar* behaue himselfe in his dictatourship, but that was to his own ouerthrow, because he had taken vpon him that preheminance by force of arms, and had altered the state of the citie, in which case it is more safety for a prince to be feared than to be loued. For it cannot be but that the prince which hath changed a state, hath many enemies. *Augustus* his successor was better aduised than he, for at the beginning he was cruel, & put those to death who he thought able to impeach his doings at any time after. But whē he once saw himselfe throughlie settled in his tyranny, & that the most part of the citizēns that had bin brought vp in libertie were dead, then began he to be a gentle, affable, & gracious prince. *Antigonus* did the like in the beginning of his raigr, dealing roughlie at the first, & afterward becōming meeld and gentle. And whē it was asked of him, Why he had altered his maner of dealing: he answered, That at the beginning he needed a kingdome, & now he wanted but fauor and good wil, because a new dominiō is gotten by force of arms, & by austeritie, but it is maintained by loue and good will. But in lawfull kings loue is more available than feare. The kings of France demeanethemselues better in that behalfe than all other kings. For their attendance representeth a great maiestie, & yet notwithstanding no man is barred frō preferring his sute vnto him after he is out of his chāber, specially in the moiring when he goeth to masse, where certain masters of requests attend vpon him, & deliuer him the petitions that are brought vnto them. There is a kind of gentlenes that is hurtfull to a prince, and his granting of euerie mans request, may breed manie great inconueniences. For by granting some point of fauour in case of iustice, wrong is done: and by granting monie, the prince his purse is emptied, whereby hee is driuen to take where he ought not, or else where he can. The lawes of France haue well remedied that matter. For the king hath set downe by his ordinance, that he will not haue his letters regarded which concerne not iustice, & for the view of thē he referreth himselfe to his iudges, for his checker matters: more-

He that altereth a state, must haue force to make men feare him, vntill he be surely settled in his tyrannic.

A new dominiō is to be gotten by force, and to be maintained by gentlenesse.

To be ouercasily intreated may be hurtfull.

ouer, there is his court of parliament, and a chamber of accounts which controlleth the kings gifts: so as no man can go away discontented from him, because he granteth all things that are demanded of him, and yet those gifts are without effect, wherof the ministers only doe beare the disgrace, as *Machiavell* hath very well marked in his booke of Princes. And so long as this law stood in force, the affaires of France did alway prosper.

Of Enuie.

Now let vs speake of Enuie, which extendeth it selfe further than roughnesse or austeritie, which properly is contrary to Gentlenes and Courtesie. For the rough & sterne person is contrarie to the gentle and kind-hearted, as *Terence* teacheth vs in his comedie of the Bretherē, vnder the persons of *Mitio* and *Demea*. But Enuie containeth in it churlishnesse, hatred, ambition, & man-slaughter, according to the saying of *S. Iohn Chrysostom* vpon the xxvij of Genesis, where he saith, That Enuie is the root of man-slaughter, and man-slaughter is the fruit of enuie.

S. Ambrose in his Duties, maketh no great difference betweene the wicked and the enuious, saying, That the wicked man delighteth in his owne welfare, and the enuious man is tormented at the welfare of another: the one loueth the euil, & the other hateth the good; so as he that desireth the good, is more tollerable than he that would the mischiefe of all men. Enuie then is nothing else but a sorinesse conceiued at the prosperitie of another man.

Bion the Boristhenit speaking to a certaine enuious man, whom hee saw sad, said vnto him; I cannot tell whether some harme hath happened to thy selfe, or some good to some other bodie. For Enuie is not sorie for another mans harme, but contrariwise is glad of it. The Greeks call it, *Epicairacian*, as ye would say; *A ioying and reioicing at other mens harmes*. *Themistocles* said; Hee had not yete done any thing woorthie of praise, seeing that no man enuied him. Hereby we see, that as charitie extendeth further than gentlenesse, so enuie extendeth further than hatred, which seemeth

seemeth contrarie to loue and charitie. For enuie (as *Plutarch* teacheth vs in his booke of Enuie and Hatred) neuer departeth from those whom it hath once caught hold of, neither in prosperitie nor in aduersitie: whereas hatred vanissheth away in the extremitie of either fortune. Furthermore, when a man is perswaded that he hath receiued no wrong, or taketh an opinion that those whom he hateth as wicked persons, are become honest men, or if they haue done him some such pleasure as is a cause to dissolue the former iniurie, the hatred ceaseth. But as for the enuious person, although no man do him harme, yet ceaseth he not to be spitefull. And if he see an honest man, or a man of good qualities, or if he receiue a good turne, it doth but prouoke him the more to enuie, so as he is exasperated by the things whereby hatred is assuaged. Enuie is vndeterminable, and resembleth diseased eies, which are offended at all brightnesse and light. But hatred is determinable, and is alway founded and setled vpon certaine grounds, in respect of it selfe. By enuie came death into the world, for through *Satans* enuie were we deceiued, through that deceit became we disobedient, and through that disobedience came death vpon vs. It is a very perilous vice, which seizeth not onely vpon mens states and liuings, but also vpon their liues, as we read of *Abell*, who was murdered through the enuie of *Cain*; and of *Ioseph*, who was sold through the enuie of his bretheren. Saint *Iohn Chrysostome* in his 44 Homilie, saith; That this vice in respect of other vices is vnexcusable: for the lechor excuseth himselfe by lust, the theefe by pouertie, and the man-sleear by choler; but the enuious man can find no excuse at all. God commaundeth vs to loue our enemies, and the enuious man hateth euen his friends. And in his fise and forthith Homilie, and likewise vpon the one and twentieth of *Genesis*, he saith; That as the worme marreth the timber wherein it breedeth, afore it goe out; euen so doth enuie marre the man. *Arriethene* said, That as rust eateth yron: so the enuious are consumed by the fretting of their owne enuie. For the enuious (saith *Horace*) pineth away at the prosperitie

The difference
betweene ha-
tred and En-
uie.

Enuie is vn-
determinable.

The sin of
Enuie is vnex-
cusable.

of another . And *Alexander* said vnto *Meleager*, That the enuious man carrieth his owne torment with him . *Salomon* in the fourteenth of the Prouerbs,saith, That as a sound heart is the life of the bodie , so enuie is a consumer of the bones. *Plutarch* likeneth enuie to smoke, For afore the flame breake out, it mounteth vp great, but as soone as the flame sheweth it selfe, the smoke vanissheth by little and little, and in the end is no more seene. *Plato* in his booke of Lawes, saith ; That the enuious man imagining to vaunt himselfe the more by finding fault with others, can neuer attaine to true vertue, and is a hinderer of those whom he spighteth, by the wrongfull slaunders which hee reporteth of them. *Plutarch* in the life of *Lisander*, saith ; that in the pursute of vertue, the enuious and ambitious men doe hold those for their aduersaries whome they might and ought rather to serue and helpe , in the doing of great and goodly things. For through their iea-lousnesse of glorie, they commonly enuie their like. Where-vpon commeth this saying of *Martiall*, That there no account is made of them that are aliue.

It is Enuie that causeth vs to esteeme more of men of old time, than of men now liuing. And as *Ouid* saith, We take no pleasure in reading mens books, vntil the authours of them be dead, because enuie hath accustomed vs to wound the li-uing with venemous tooth. For enuie feedeth vpon vs so long as wee be aliue, but be we once dead she ceaseth, and then is praise giuen according to desert. Some man will say, that this discourse may well be directed to common persons, but princes are out of enuies reach. For if a prince be enuied, it cannot hurt him ; and therewithall he is too great to beare enuie to his subiects. The enuie that *Saule* had vnto *Dauid*, for fighting with *Goliath*, sheweth sufficiently that kings are not exempted from enuie. For albeit that he receiued right great good by that deed of *Dauids*, yet notwithstanding for as much as he was blinded, and as it were drunken with enuie, he held him being his benefactor as his enimie. *Abimelech* was a king and a great lord, and yet when he saw *Isaak* a stranger prosper

Whether a
prince be sub-
iect to Enuie.

and

and grow rich in his realme, he draue him out. When *Laban* saw *Jacob* his son in law growne richer than himselfe, he could not afterward giue him a good looke. Wherefore it is not to be doubted, but that a prince may be enuious, & also be enuied, & thereby receiue harme. For man, whatsoeuer he be, the more goods & power he hath, the more enuie beareth he on his back. *Dennis* the tyrant kept himselfe not only from his enemies, but also from his friends, yea euen from the wisest of them, saying that there was none of them which had not rather raign than serue. Had *Dion* & *Iulius Caesar* done as he did, it had bin the better for them: but they said, they had leuer die than to distrust their friends. And ye must not thinke that a prince can be priuiledged from being enuious, as who wold say, there were no person whom he could or ought to enuie, for enuie is a disease of the mind, as well as ieaousie is. The ieaous person forgoeth not his ieaousie by hauing a discreet wife, that giueth him no occasion to misdout her, for he is ieaous of all that he seeth: euen so the enuious man must needs feed his own fancie, though there be no apparent matter wherwith. *Othanes* said that kings do enuie good men, yea & hate them deadly, & that vertue is commonly hated of kings. His so saying was to serue his turne in pleading against regalitie, as I haue said in the 1 booke. For a good king loueth vertue & vertuos folk, but an euill king doth both hate & enuie them. And as *Manlius* said in *Titus Livius*, Enuie serueth but to speake euil of vertue, to deface the honor thereof, and to bereaue it of reward. *Plutarch* saith in the life of *Cato*, That all the great men were enemies to *Cato*, because they saw him to be vpright in iustice, & they were ashamed of their own vniu-
 sice. This was but an enuie that they bore vnto *Cato*, & there-
 fore they were enemies vnto him. *Caligula* was desirous of his
 own ease, & yet was he enuious toward those that were at ease
 as well as he. In the voyage that he made into Germany, so ha-
 stilie that the ensignes were folded vp & caried vpon sumpter-
 horses, that the bands might march with the more speed, albeit
 that himselfe went in a goodly couch, and made plain paths all
 the way that he went, yet notwithstanding he wrat vnto Rome
 that

Wherto enuie
 serueth.

The Enuie of
Caligula.

that seeing he was in such danger, and readie to giue battell, he maruelled that they gaue themselues to feasting, to haunting of the theatres, and to make pastimes in the fields and gardens. This doing of his proceeded of nothing else, but of an inordinat and vnrasonable enuie, that fretted his braine, the which he shewed sufficiently towards the noblemen, in bereauing thē of their cote-armors, and of the antient cognisances of their houses. And if hee spied any faire boies that had faire haire, he caused the hinder parts of their heads to be shauen. And he was so spitefull, that he enuied euen *Homer*, the greatest Poet that euer was: insomuch that being determined vpon a time to abolish the remembrance of him, he said he might well haue as much power as *Plato*, to weed him out of his common-wealth.

The inconueniencies of Enuie.

Alexanders enuie was the chiefe cause of the death of *Clitus*. For hee so enuied the high exploits of *Philip* his father, that he fell into a rage when any man compared him with him. *Lisander* accompanying *Agesslaus* in the voiage into Asia, was so honored of the men of Asia, because he had had the government of them aforesometimes, that in comparison of him, they made no reckoning of the king: by reason wherof, *Agesslaus* bare him such enuie, that in all that voiage he committed not any honourable charge vnto him, but employed him about such things as a man would not haue employed the meanest of Sparta, and it was thought that that would haue cost the citie of Lacedemon dearly: For had not death preuented *Lisander*, he would haue ouerthrowne the king. Enuie made *Socrates* to be put to death; and *Aristides*, *Themistocles*, and others to be banished. Also it was the death of *Coriolane*, because the chiefe princes of the Voltes enuied his vertue and his greatnesse. And by his death, the Voltes were vanquished of the Romanes. Through enuie, *Dion* was slaine by *Calippus*; and *Sertorius* by *Perpenna*: and by their death were they themselues vanquished and disappointed of the fruit of their former enterprises. The enuie that was rooted betweene *Themistocles* and *Aristides*, hindered the Athenians from doing

many

many goodly enterprises; inſomuch that *Themistocles* ſaid, that it was vnpoſſible for the affairs of the common-weale of Athens to proſper, vntill they were both of them caſt into the barather, which was a deepe dungeon, whereinto men were throwne headlong, that were condemned to death. And no doubt but the affairs of Greece had gone to wrack, if *Aristides* had continued his enuie againſt *Themistocles*. But when he ſaw the danger whereinto all Greece was like to fall, if hee and *Themistocles* did not agree: he beſpake him after this manner; *Themistocles*, if we be both wiſe, it is high time for vs to leaue the vaine ſpight and iealoſie which we haue hitherto borne one againſt another, and to take vp a ſtrife that may be to the honor and welfare of vs both; that is to wit, which of vs ſhall doe his dutie beſt for the ſafegard of Greece; you in commanding and doing the office of a good captaine, and I in counſelling you and in executing your commandements. Hereunto *Themistocles* answered: I am diſpleaſed *Aristides* in this; that you haue ſhewed your ſelfe a better man than I; but ſith the caſe ſtandeth ſo, that the honor of breaking the yce is due to you, for prouoking me to ſo honourable and commendable a contention: I wil ſtrain my ſelfe henceforth, to outgo you by good continuance. The enuie that was borne to *Peter Saderin Gonſalonnier* of Florence, for the great credit and authoritie that he had in that citie, cauſed the returne of the Medices, and the viter ruine of the common-weale.

Now we muſt conſider what remedies there be, to defend a man from this maladie, that a man may not be enuious, nor enuied. As touching the firſt, the curing therof is by the contrarye, that is to ſay by being meeld, gentle, and charitable: for he that loueth men, cannot enuie them. And that is the cauſe why we be commanded to loue our neighbor as our ſelues, to the end we be not enuious againſt him, but rather glad when he hath good ſucceſſe in his affairs. And (as *S. Paule* ſaith in the 12 to the Romans, Reioice with them that reioice, and weepe with them that weepe; and beare well in mind, that enuie doth more harme to the enuious man himſelfe, than to

Remedies a-
gainſt enuy.

the partie whom he enuieeth, remembering how *Salomon* in the seuentene of the Proverbs saith; That he which reioiceth at another mans fall, shal not be vnpunished. And in the four and twentieth of the Proverbs he saith, Reioice not whē thine enemy hath a fall, neither be thou glad that he stumbleth: least perchance the Lord doe see it and be displeasēd therat, and turne away his wrath from him. If this be spoken of enemies, what ought we to do concerning freinds? I will not alledge the infinit precepts and examples touched by Diuines. I will take but the only example of the Heathen *Aristides*, of whom I haue spoken. When his enemy *Themistocles* was banished, he neither spake ne did any thing to his prejudice or disaduantage, neither reioiced he any more to see his enemy in aduersitie, than if he had neuer enuied his prosperitie. Enuie is eschewed or diminished by modestie, as when a man that is praised, challengeth not such honour to himselfe; but referreth it ouer to those that praise him. Wherof we haue example in *Pirrhus*, who after many victories, when his men of war called him Eagle, I am (qd. he) an eagle by your means, being caried vp by your knighthood and chiuarie, as the eagle is caried vp by his fetters: and so he cast back the honor and title to his men of war. So also did *Philip* abase the praise that was giuen vnto him for his beautie, his eloquence, and his good skil in hunting; saying, that the one belonged to women, the other to sophists, and the third to sponges. Other some doe attribute this answer to his enemy *Demosthenes*. Contrariwise, *Alexander* for enforcing men to worship him, and to esteeme him as a god, began to be hated in his campe. *Augustus* disallowing al such doings of *Alexander*, did the cleane contrarie. For when he was entred into Rome in triumph, as lord of the whole world in peaceable possession, and one in a certaine comedie said, O good lord, and euery man turned that word vnto *Augustus*, flattering him and clapping their hands for ioy: he gaue a token presently that he liked not of it, and the next morning made prohibitions, that men should not vse the terme of lord vnto him, neither permitted he any man, no not euen his owne children, to call him by

How to es-
chew enuy.

by that name, either in iest or in good earnest. There is another way to auoid enuie, which was practised by *Dennis* the tirant; which is, that he aduanced a man that was wicked and hated of the people: and when he was asked why he did so; because (quoth he) I will haue a man in my realme, that may be more hated than my selfe. *Casar Borgia* to auoid the enuie of his cruell deeds, did put the partie to death by whom he had executed the same, to the end that the enuie should light vpon his minister, and die with him. For such is the disposition of the common people; that they can the better indure a hard prince, when they haue vpon whom to discharge their furie. *Alcibiades* to auoid the ouer great enuie of the people, and to turne aside the euil speeches that they had of him, did cut off the taile of a dog that he had bought very deere, and draue him through the citie, to the intent to busie mens heads about talke of his dog, and not about other matters. For they that set their minds vpon small things, are not so enuious as they that deale in great matters.

CHAP. VI.

That Modestie or Meelnes wel becometh a prince, and that ouerstateliness is hurifull vnto him.



Here is yet one vice more that maketh a prince irkesome, and vneasie to be delt with; and likewise one vertue that maketh him gentle and easie to be conue vnto: the one is Pride, and the other is Lowlinesse or Humilitie. Pride maketh him sower, waiward, cholericke, ambitious, enuious, vnpatient, hard to beleue counsell, & full of vniustice. For arrogancie is a spice of vniustice, exacting more honor at mens hands than is due, whereupon riseth the despising of them, as *Christosome* hath very well noted vpon the fourth Psalme of *David*. The other maketh a man courteous, gentle, patient, and free

Prouerb. II.

from all euill. Therefore humilitie maketh a man wise, & wisdom maketh a prince to gouerne his people well. On the contrarie part, nothing is so much against wisdom, as ouerweening is. For the proud man is so farre in loue with himselfe, that he cannot in any wise endure any man to be equall with him in vertue or power. And because that cannot be, needs must enuie issue out of that spring. And because he is of so small patience, and esteemeth none but himselfe, the least thing in the world setteth him in a choller; whereas the lowly minded man, hauing small opinion of himselfe, and beholding his owne infirmitie, is not so easilie in a chafe with his neighbour, as saith *S. Chrysostome* in his Homilie of Fasting. The lowly is at rest both in bodie and mind, but the proud man hath no rest in neither of both. And therefore our Lord saith thus, *Learne of me, for I am meeke and lowly of heart, and you shall find rest vnto your soules.* And among the blessednesses, he setteth this formost in *S. Mathew*, saying, Blessed be the poore in spirit; that is to say, the lowly minded, vnto whose praier he hearkeneth. Of whom shal I haue regard (saith he) but of the meek & lowly? Lowlines then is the root of al vertue, & pride is the ground of all sin, as saith the Preacher: **He that holdeth of it shal be filled with cursednes, & it shal overthrow him in the end.**

A Definition
of Pride.

S. Austin in his fourth booke of the Citie of God, calleth pride, a froward lust or desire to be great: so as we may define pride to be a certaine ouer-lostinesse of mind, that maketh vs to despise euerie man, & to esteeme none but our selues. This sin cometh of self-soothing, & of too much selfeloue, as *S. Peter* hath noted, in that he calleth the proud men a Selfe-pleaser, because he which is in loue, is blinded in him whom he loueth, as saith *Plato* in his Laws: wherby it cometh to passe, that the man that is in loue with himselfe, thinking that he ought to be more honored, than in truth he ought, deemeth euil of that that is righteous, good, & faire. Therefore he that is desirous to be great (saith he) must not be in loue with himselfe, but with the thing that is iust, whense soeuer it come. This sinne maketh

keth him to imagine his ignorance to be wisdom: and when we will not forbear to doe that vnto another, which we cannot doe; we be constrained to faile in doing it. And he concludeth in the end, that we must refraine from louing our selues too much, & follow our betters without restraint of shame. *Sa-lomon* in the sixteenth of the Prouerbs, saith that the Lord abhorreth all loftines of heart; and in the xv, That he breaketh downe the houses of the proud. There is no health in the house of the proud, for the seede of sin is rooted in them. And in the seuenteenth of the Prouerbs, Loftines of hart (saith he) presupposeth a fall, but lowlines and humilitie goe before honor and glorie. And in the nine and twentieth, the pride of a man abaseth him, but glory and honor shall be heaped vpon the lowminded. And in the tenth of Ecclesiasticus, God hath cast downe the seats of the proud, and in their steads hath made the meeke to sit in their rooms. God hath dried vp the roots of the proud, and in their place hath planted the humble in glorie. And in the eighteenth Psalm, Thou wilt let the lowly lue in thy protection, & the springs of the presumptuous thou wilt drie vp. On the contrarie part, the lowly and meeke shall inherit the earth, and without trouble they shall haue all the pleasure that man can get. And in the 40 Psalme, Blessed is the man that maketh God his defence, and hath no regard of the proud. King *Lewis* the eleuenth said, That whē pride rode foremost, shame and losse followed after. *Esdra*s is specially commended of the angell, for his humbling of himselfe as he ought to doe, and for that he deemed not himselfe greatly worthy to be glorified among the righteous. But as for them that haue walked in great pride, they shall haue great store of miseries. The angell would not suffer *St. Iohn* to worship him, saying that he was a seruant of God, as he was; and bearing in mind that for the vice of pride the wicked angels fell. *St. Peter* did as much to *Cornelius* the Centurion, not suffering him to kneele down before him. This vice commeth of the want of iudgment, that is to say, of the want of knowing a mans selfe, and of the want of the bearing in mind of the goodly precept

God abhorreth all loftines of heart.

Whereof pride cometh

written in the temple of *Apollo* at Delphos, whereof I haue spoken so oft afore. For as the great *Mercurie* sayth, The first disease of the mind is Forgetfulnesse. And the man that forgetteth himselfe, is compared to the vnreasonable beasts, and becommeth like them, as *Dauid* saith in the 48 Psalme. The prince therefore must descend into himselfe, and know himselfe. To know himselfe is to view the nature, as well of his bodie as of his soule, and to consider that he is no better but man, as *Dauid* saith. For whosoever knoweth what hee is, will beware that he forget not himselfe, and not suffer himselfe to be cast into sin, the which *Bion* the Boristhenit did rightly affirme to be a hinderance to profit, and a more hinderance to the fruits of righteousnesse. For if we speake of becomming righteous to Godward, we cannot attaine thereto, but by Humilitie. The lowly heart and repentant soule, are an acceptable sacrifice vnto God, as witnesseth vnto vs the parable of the Publicane, who went home iustified by humilitie, and for acknowledging himselfe a sinner, in accusing himselfe to God, of which accusation ensued immediatly reward, cleane contrarie to the iudgements of men, vvhovpon accusation and confession, doe by and by giue death. And therefore that we may be iustified, vve be commanded to tell our sinnes: and in old time (as *Macrobius* reporteth) the priest afore he made sacrifice to his idols confessed that he vvas a sinner, and thereat began his ceremonies, as we also doe in our religion. Our Lord commaunded his disciples to say, that vwhen they had done all maner of good, they vvere vnprofitable seruants; to the end they should not seeme to haue any trust in their good vworks. Wherewith agreeth the doctrine of *Plato* the heathen Philosopher, Whosoever (saith he) vwill be good, must beleue that hee is euill. *Philo* expounding the lawes of *Moses*, which ordaine aboute all things, That men should abstaine from Pride, telling vs that it is only God that inableth vs to vtter our power; saith that he which hath receiued strength and power of Gods meere gift, and bethinketh himselfe of the weakenes that was in him afore he enioied that grace, wil put away that proud stomach,

and

Pride a hinderance to al the fruits of righteousnesse.

He that wil be good, must beleue himselfe to be euill.

and yeeld thanks to him that is the cause of his better state. Now then, the mind that acknowledgeth the grace that is giuen vnto him, is enemie to pride: whereas the vnthankfull is linked in with pride. *Salomon* forbids vs to iustifie our selues before the Lord, likewise *Dauid* shunneth to enter into iudgement with the Lord, saieng that no man shalbe iustified before him; which is to be vnderstood of trusting to any other thing than only Gods mercie. Humble your selues (saith *S. James*) in the presence of God, and he will exalt you. And *S. Peter*, Be ye apparelled with humilitie; for God resisteth the prowd, and giueth grace to the lowly. *Philo* sayth, That the prowd person prouoketh God to wrath. Also *Moses* giueth him no temporall punishmēt, but reserueth him to Gods iudgement; because Pride is a sinne of the soule, which is not seene and perceiued but of God. If we speake of the righteousnesse that is to be vsed towards men, it is hard for a prince to applie himselfe thereto, vnlesse he be humble. For this vertue maketh a prince meeke, readie to heare poore mens requests, and to doe them reason, and loath to giue eare to flatterers and tale-bearers; it skorneth not any man, but maketh account both of poore and rich, behauing it selfe louingly and gently towards both, giuing easie accesse vnto either of them. *Iob* among his complaints protesteth that he neuer despised the iudgement of his seruants, were they man or woman, but esteemed of them as of himselfe. But hee that is too high-minded, will heare none but flatterers and tale-bearers; hee regardeth no counsell, he despiseth the poore, he disdaineth euery man, and easily taketh leaue to do wrong and iniurie, according to this saieng of *Dauid*, The froward are set on fire through their pride, to trouble the lowly that maketh small account of himselfe. To be short, hee is full of vainglorie, enuie, and trouble, according vnto this saieng of *Salomon*, Among the prowd there is alway debate. *Plato* in his Lawes sayth, That hee which is prowd of his riches & honour, & burneth with a glorieng in himselfe as though he needed no prince or guide, bearing himselfe on hand that hee is able enough of himselfe,

The prowd
prouoketh
God to wrath.

is by and by forsakeirof God, and so left, and then finding as verie fooles as himselfe, hee triumpheth and turmoileth all things, seeming vnto many not to be a man to be despised. But within a while after, being punished by Gods iust iudgement, he ouerthroweth himselfe, his house, and his whole commonweale. Also there is another spice of pride, whē yong men despise their elders, & beleue not their coucell. For it is a yong mans dutie (saith *Cicero* in his booke of Duties) to yeeld honor to his auntients, which thing was inuiolably obserued in *Ægypt* and *Lacedemon*, when vpon rose the prouerb, It would doe a man good to be old in *Sparta*. Of the said vice springeth the disobedience of some yong folkes to their fathers and mothers, contrarie to *Moses* precept, which commaundeth the honouring of the father and mother, with promise of reward. In the temple of *Eleusis*, there were but three precepts set downe to be read of all men; the first concerned the praising of God; the second the honoring of father & mother; and the third, the forbearing to eat flesh. And (as *Cicero* saith in his Duties) youth is first of all to be enioyned modestie and kindnesse towards their father and mother. *Plato* in his fourth booke of Lawes, doth in honor such as seeke to please God in two things: first in worshipping God with praiers & sacrifices, and secondly in honoring their father and mother. And he saith, That the child ought to beleue, that all that euer hee hath belongeth to those that bred and brought him vp, so as he ought to succour them with al his goods, whether they be of fortune, of the bodie, or of the mind, and to recompence them in their old age, for the things which they haue endured for them in their yonger years, & to be short, that they ought to yeeld them reuerence both in word and deed, and to giue place vnto them in all their doings both in word and deed, and to thinke that a father is not an grie without a cause, when he perceiueth that his sonne doth him wrong. Generally we may well say, That all disobedience and all mis-behavior commeth of pride, as *S. Iohn Chrysostome* witnesseth in his 45 Homilie, and *S. Luke* speaking of the rich man, who was damned.

A proud person ouerthroweth a whole citie.

He that honoureth not his parents, is proud.

Aff disobedience commeth of Pride.

ned for taking too much delight in his riches and braue apparell, and for his despising of the poore. *Salomon* in the 17 of the *Prouerbs*, saith; That proud, froward, and skornfull, are the names of him that dealeth arrogantly with anger. For bloudshed is in the report of the proud, and their curse is greuous to heare, saith *Ecclesiasticus*. As for Ambition, no doubt but it proceedeth of Pride, for it is nothing else but a desire to be great, and to be had in honor.

Ambition
springeth of
Pride.

Antonie the meeke said, It was vnpossible for that man to gouerne a cuntry well, which was atteinted with pride and ambition. My meaning is not in speaking of pride and ambition, to take from a yoong man the desire of honour, and a vertuous emulation that may make him to glorie and delight in his wel-doing. For (as saith *Theophrast* by the report of *Plutarch* in the life of *Agis*) vertues doe bud and flourish in that age, and take the deeper root for the praises that are giuen vnto them: proceeding still in growing and increasing, after the measure of the growing of their care and courage. But whereas too much is dangerous of it selfe in all other things; it is most pestilent and deadlie, in the ambition of those that put themselves in the managing of publike affaires. We see how *Alexanders* ambition, wrought the ruine of all Asia; & for one *Alexander* that made profit of his ambition (howbeit with the losse of his reputation among all good men) infinit numbers were brought to ruine, as *Pompey*, *Cesar*, *Crassus*, *Marius*, and others innumerable. *Pirrhus* might haue bin a great prince, if he had not bin too ambitious, and it had bin better for him to haue credited the counsell of *Cineas*, who being desirous to haue diuerted him from his voiage into Italie, asked him to what purpose that so far voiage shuld serue him for the getting of one citie? Whervnto he answered, That frō Tarent he would go to Rome. And when you haue taken Rome (quoth *Cineas*) what will you doe then? We will goe to Sicilie, answered *Pirrhus*. And when we haue done with Sicilie, whether shall wee then? Wee will to Carthage, said *Pirrhus*. And when Carthage is become yours, what will you doe then? I will
make.

make my selfe (quoth he) lord of all Greece. And when we haue done al this, what shal we do afterward. The wil we rest our selues (qd. *Pirrhus*) & make good cheer. And what letteth (quoth *Cineas*) that we should not fal presently to this making of good cheere, sith we haue inough wherwith to do it. Princes therfore must not only beware of ambition, but also withdraw themselues from all ambitious persons. For they be neuer satsified. And as *Plutarch* saith in the life of *Silla*, Pride and ambition are two vices that neuer wax old, and are very dangerous to a state, like as it is dangerous to faile in a ship, where the pilots be at strife who shall gouerne it.

Ambition is neuer without quarrelling, for euerie man fals to heauing at other, and seeks to take his fellowes place: As for example, *Pompey* to take *Lucullus*, *Marius* to take *Metellus*, and *Silla* to heaue out *Marius*; vntill in the end they brought the state to ruine. As for Enuie, no doubt but it proceedeth of pride, as *Alexander* shewed very well, who would needs be the perfectest of all men, and was sorie that his father did so many goodly exploits, esteeming it as a be-reauing him of occasion to purchase himselfe reputation. Hee would not that *Aristotle* should publish the books that he had taught him, to the end that he himselfe might passe all others in skill and in feats of war. Now as pride is the first and greatest sinne, so also commonly it seeketh not any other than the most excellent things, be it in vertue, in prosperitie, in riches, or in dignitie. And therefore *Salust* said, That pride is the ordinary vice of nobilitie; and *Claudian*, That it cometh ordinarily in prosperitie. For aduersitie, pouertie, and sickenesse, do lightlie cut off the occasions of arrogancie, and there is nothing worse than a poore mā that is proud, as *Salomon* saith in his Prouerbs. *Darius* the father of *Xerxes*, said; That aduersities and troubles make a man the wiser. *Antigonus* seeing himselfe sicklie, commended his sickenesse, saying; that it had done him great good, by teaching him not to aduance himselfe aboue measure, considering his infirmitie. It is no sinall benefit, when a small disease driueth away a great. And therefore *David* boasteth

Pride and Ambition neuer grow old.

Enuie proceedeth of pride.

Pride is the ordinary vice of estates.

steth in the 119 Psalme, That God had done him a great
 good turne in bringing him low. And a little after, Afore I
 was afflicted (saith he) I went astray, but now I keepe thy
 word; now lord I acknowledge that thy iudgements are iust,
 & that thou hast humbled me of very loue, that is to say, thou
 hast afflicted me to a good end. And in the 131 Psalm, Lord I
 am not high-minded, I haue no loftie looks, I haue not delt in
 things that are greater and more wonderfull than becōmeth
 me. Secondly, the vertuous and wise are more assailed with
 pride, than are the vicious, and the painfull more than the
 idle. And therefore S. *Paule* said, That God had giuen him an
 angel of *Satans* to buffet him, least he shuld be puffed vp with
 his reuelations. For the mischief of pride comes of ouerful-
 nesse. And as S. *John Chrysostome* saith in his homilie of Hu-
 militie, Like as too much eating ingendreth an inflammation
 of humors in our bodies, which inflammation brēdeth the
 ague, and of the ague often commeth death: euen so is it with
 pride, which commeth not but of too much ease, & too much
 welfare. The same author in the same place saith, That other
 vices steale vpon vs, when we be idle and negligent, but this
 vice presseth & assaulteth vs whē we be doing good. And like
 as they that intend to goe vpon a cord, doe by and by fall and
 breake their neckes, if their sight goe astray neuer so little, so
 they that walke in this life, doe cast themselues downe head-
 long out of hand, if they take not great heed to themselues.
 For the way of this cord is without all comparison far more
 narrow & streight out than the other, for so much as it moun-
 teth vp vnto heauen, and therefore it is the more danger to slip
 or to nusse footing, because the feare is woonderfull to
 them that are mounted so high, whereof there is but onely
 one remedie, which is, neuer to looke downward, for
 feare of dazeling. Hee maketh yet one other goodlie
 similitude, saying, That like as Sea-rouers passe not to as-
 saile merchants when they set out of the hauen to fetch
 merchandise, but when they come loaden home: so when
 the mischieuous enimie seeth our ship full of precious stones;

Pride assaulteth good men, and such as are best occupied.

of.

Pride step-
peth in euen
in deuotion.

of all sorts of godlinesse, then doth he bend all his force to light vs of our treasure, to sinke vs in the hauens mouth, and to leaue vs starke naked vpon the strond. And as saith *S. Ambrose* in his epistle which he writeth to the virgin *Demetrias*, *Satan* watcheth to cast in a collup of pride, in place of our deuotion. And hee findeth not a better occasion to tempt vs, than by our vertues, which are the cause why we be of good right commended.

After that maner befell it to *Ostias* king of Iuda, a good man, for in the end his heart was puffed vp, and he would needs offer sacrifice to God, wherypon ensued that he was by and by punished with a leprosie. Through pride & ouerweening *Dathan*, *Coree* and *Abiron*, moued sedition against *Moses*, and would needs be equall with him, but the earth swallowed them vp quicke. *Herod* taking pleasure in the flatterie of the people, which said, That his words were the voice of God and not of man, was eaten vp of lice; so odious is that vice vnto God. Thereof it commeth that it is said, not that God forsaketh the proud, but that he resisteth them; to shew that he will fight against them with his power, so greatly doth he abhorre that vice, according to this saying of the Psalmist, Thou didst cast them downe when they aduanced themselues. *Virgill* seemeth to appoch hereunto, when he saith, That they which humble themselues are to be pardoned, and that the proud are to be encountered and subdued. For as *Herodotus* saith, God will not haue any other than himselfe to report or make himselfe great. The proud man neuer escapeth vnpunished (saith *Seneca*) and whensoever yee see any man praise himselfe out of measure, and more than is due vnto him, yee may assure your selfe, (saith *Euripides*) that Gods vengeance followeth hard at hand. *Froisard* saith, That *Philip* king of France, and *Iohn* his sonne, and the prince of Wales, lost Gwyen by their ouer-haughtinesse, and that king *Charles* recouered it by gentlenesse, bountifulesse, and humilitie. *Dauid* was proud of the multitude of his people, but God to humble him, bereft him of a great part of them, and made

God wil haue
none to be
great but
himselfe.

made him to vnderstand in good time, that hee was offended therat, to the intent to set him in right course againe, and to reforme him afore his fall were growne too great. And for as much as it is hard to be raised out of so foule a fall, because the proud man wil not acknowledge it, it standeth vs on hand to seeke all means to keepe vs from it. *S. Paule* giueth vs an excellent one in his Epistle to the Philippians, where he saith, That we must go through with the worke of our saluation in feare and trembling, because it is God that worketh in vs, and therefore the more good we doe, the more cause haue we to stand in fear. And *S. Peter* in his first epistle, giueth vs the feare of God for a remedie, When any man speaketh (saith he) let him speake as the words of God, that God may be honored and glorified.

The way to
keepe a man
from Pride.

The second meane to keepe vs from this vice; is to make little account of our selues, and to humble our selues when we be aduanced to dignitie, according to *Ciceros* precept in his Duties, and to the principle of the Gospell, which saith, That he which humbleth himselfe, shall be exalted, and hee that exalteth himselfe shall be brought low. And in *Ecclesiasticus* it is said, The greater that thou art, the more see thou that thou humble thy selfe in all things, and thou shalt find fauour at Gods hand. Wherefore we must take humilitie for a bit, and for a bridle to tame this ouer-weening of ours, and to subdue vs to reason, as many heathen princes could well skill to doe. When *Philipp* spake more loftily after the winning of a battell than he was wont to doe afore, one willed him to measure his shadow, and he should find that it was no greater after the battell, than it was afore. This saying caused him to humble himselfe so well, that thenceforth he spake not more loftily than he had bin wont to doe, giuing one of the grooms of his chamber charge to put him in remembrance euerie morning, that he was a man. For there is none so insolent (saith *Plutarch*) as he that is carried away with an opinion of being happie. And as saith *Guicciardine*, men haue not a greater enemy than ouergreat prosperitie; for it maketh them vnpatient,

Humilitie or
lowlinesse is
as a bit or a
bridle against
ouer weening,
to subdue it to
reason.

full

full of loosenesse, bold to doe euill, and desirous to trouble their owne welfare by attempting new deuises. *Epaminondas* perceiuing himselfe to be somewhat at too much ease after the battell of Lewstra, and somewhat the prouder for so goodlie a victorie, came forth the next morning homelie apparelled, and as it were in some grieffe. And when it was demaunded of him, Wherof that sadnesse proceeded? he said, He had no cause of heauinesse, but did it because he had bin too well pleased the day afore, and therefore intended to chastise and moderate the intemperance of his ioy by that meanes. There are manie that do now adaies as *Epaminondas* did, and are outwardlie modest, but inwardly they burne with ambition and desire of glorie. For that vice is not discouered alonlie by the outward pomp and brauery; it lurketh within in an hypocritish and ambitious mind. And such are they that affect the glorie and estimation of modest, religious, & honest men, who haue none other reward at Gods hand, than that which they gaine of the world, which is very small, for in the end they be noted for such as they be indeed. And therefore *Dauid* reputeth him to be blessed, in whose heart there dwel- leth no hypocrisie, nor any point of deceit. In the time of *Alexander*, the world did wonderously commend the frugalitie of *Antipater*, who led a stoure life, without any delicatnesse of meat and drinke or apparell. But *Alexander* said of him, That outwardly he was clad all in white, and inwardly all in purple; meaning that it was but a counterfait kind of sparing, and that within he was ful of ambition. Of which sort also was *Diogenes*, who vsing a streight kind of life, as much for ostentations sake, as for loue of vertue, did wash himselfe often with cold water in wintertime: wherof when folke hauing pitie, desired him to vse no such hardnesse any more; *Plato* said vnto them, If ye will haue pitie vpon him, go your way frō him. For he saw that he did it not so much for loue of vertue, as to be famous amōg the people. Likewise at another time he verie well encountered him when he trode vpon *Platoes* beds which were finely decked, for diuers men of

good

Pride lodgeth
in them that
seeme modest
and mecke.

good calling to take their refection at. For when *Diogenes* vaunted himselfe to tread *Platoes* pride vnder foot : you doe so indeed (quoth *Plato*) but with another greater pride; meaning that *Diogenes* had more pride and presumption in his pouertie, than *Plato* had in his wealth. The same *Plato* beholding one day a braue Rhodian passing by, cried out; O what a vanitie and pride is here. And anon after seeing another come like an hypocrite in a verie simple Philosophers robe, Behold here (quoth he) another kind of pride. For he knew that the Philosopher burned with ambition vnder his habit. Also he said, That pride was like a gilt armour, the which is faire without and farre otherwise within. Euen so the prowd person carieth a good countenance, though hee haue no good at all within him, for it is nothing but vanity and meere follie. And as *Socrates* said, like as an emptie bladder seemeth great when it is puffed vp with wind, so fooles are puffed vp with nothing but opinion, neither can they agree with any but with flatterers, as *Terence* sheweth vs in his Comedie entituled the Eunuch, vnder the person of *Thraso*. And if there happen any of thē to be a man of valour, as there are some, that only vice hindereth all their welldoing. *Plutarch* in the life of *Coriolane*, saith, That the proud and stoure nature of *Coriolane*, was the cause of his ruine, notwithstanding that therewithall he was one of the absoluteft men of all the Romanes. For whereas pride of it selfe is odious to all men, surely when it is matched with ambition, then becommeth it much more sauage and vtollerable. *Philo* saith, that the proud man is like to him that is sicke of the falling sicknesse, who is altogether vnsetled in his countenance and in all his gestures and mouings.

Pride is like a bladder puffed full of wind.

The proud man resembleth him that is sicke of the falling euill.

The presumptuous opinion that *Pompey* had of himselfe, surmounted the reach of his reason; by means whereof forgetting the heed that hee was wont to take in standing vpon his guard, whereby he had alwaies assured his prosperitie afore, hee changed it into rash and bold brauerie. *Gaulter Brenne* hauing conquered the greatest part of the kingdome

of

of Naples, and holding *Diepold* an Almane besieged within Sarne, happened to be taken in a salie that *Diepold* made out vpon a desperate aduenture, and being prisoner was vsed courteously by *Diepold*. Who hauing caused him to thinke vpon the curing of his wounds, would haue sent him home againe, and haue put the kingdome into his hands. But *Gaulter* hauing too lordly a heart, answered, that there was not so great a benefit, nor so great an honour, that he would receiue at the hands of so base a person as he was: with which words *Diepold* being prouoked to wrath, threatned him that he should repent it. Whervpon *Gaulter* fell into such a furie, that he opened his wounds, drew his bowels out of his bellie, and within foure daies after died for very moode. Had hee beene lowlic-minded, his imprisonment had profited him, and he had gotten a faithfull seruitor of *Diepold*, who would haue made the kingdome of Naples sure vnto him, wheras now through his passing pride, he lost both kingdome and life. *Alfons* of Arragon dealt not so, for when he was prisoner, he did so much by his gentlenesse and humilitie, that he made his enemies to loue him, and practised with them in such sort, that they helped him to win the realme of Naples. *Taxilles* gained more at *Alexanders* hand by his humilitie, than hee could haue conquered in all his life, with all his forces and men of arms. And yet notwithstanding his humbling of himselfe vnto *Alexander*, was after a braue and princelie maner, somoning him to the combat with such words as these: If you be a lesser lord than I, suffer me to doe you good; If you be a greater lord than I, doe by me as I do by you. Well then (qd. *Alexander*) we must come to the encounter, and see who shal win his companion to do him good: and therewithal imbracing him in his arms with all gentlenesse and courtesie, in steed of taking his kingdome from him, as he had done from others, he increased his dominion. *Herod* by humbling himselfe before *Augustus*, saued and increased his kingdome. *Plutarch* saith, That *Pirrhus* could verie well skill to humble himselfe towards great men, and that his so doing helped him verie much

The fruits of
Humilitie.

to the conquest of his kingdome. *Lois* the eleuenth, king of France led the countie of Charrolois with so sweere and lowly words, that he got the thing by humilitie, which he could neuer haue obtained otherwise, and by that means, wound himselfe from all his enemies, and setled his state in rest and tranquillitie, which had bin in great hazard, if he had vsed bravery towards him. The lowlines of *Aristides* did maruellous great seruice, to the obtainment of the victorie which the Greeks had of the Persians, at such time as he agreed to the opinion of *Miltiades*, and willingly yeilded him the soueraigne authority of commanding the armie: For there were many captaines, which had euery man his day to command the whole armie as generals; but when it came to *Aristides* turne, he yeilded his preheminance into the hands of *Miltiades*, thereby teaching his other companions, that to submit a mans selfe to the wisest and to obey them, is not only not reprochfull, but also wholesome and honorable; after whose example, all the rest submitted themselues to *Miltiades* likewise. I told you in the chapter going afore, how he submitted himselfe to *Themistocles* his enemy for the profit of Greece. And I wil say yet further of him, that beeing sent with *Cimon* to make war against the Persians, both of them behaued themselues gently and graciously toward the Greeks that were their allies: on the other side, *Pausanias* and the rest of the captains of Lacedemon, which had the soueraigne charge of the whole armie, were rough and rigorous to the confederate people. In doing wherof he bereft the Lacedemonians by litle and litle, of the principallitie of Greece, not by force of arms, but by good discretion and wise demeanor. For as the goodnes of *Aristides*, and the gentlenes and meekenes of *Cimon*, made the gouernment of the Athenians well liked of the other nations of Greece; so the couetousnes, arrogancie and pride of *Pausanias*, made it to be the more desired. *S. Iohn Christostom* saith in his nine and thirtith homilie, That honor is not to be had, but by flying from it. For if we seeke after it, it fleeth from vs, and when we flee from it, it followeth vs. And as *Salom. n* saith in the xvij of the Prouerbs,

To haue honour, a man must flee from it.

T

The

The heart is puffed vp against a fall, and lowlines goeth afore glory. Not without great reason therefore is pride esteemed the greatest of all vices, and humilitie set formost among all the vertues. And as *S. Austin* saith in his thirteenth booke of the citie of God, For as much as the glorifieng and exalting of a mans selfe refuseth to be subiect vnto God; it falleth away from him, about whom there is not any thing higher: but humilitie maketh a man subiect to his superior. Now there is nothing higher than God, and therefore humilitie exalteth men, because it maketh them subiect vnto God. And as *S. Chrysostom* saith, It is the mother, the root, and the good of all goods. The Centuriō was esteemed worthy to receiue the Lord, because he protested himselfe to be vnworthie. And *S. Paul* who counted not himselfe worthy the name of an Apostle, was the cheefe of all the Apostles. *S. Iohn* who thought not himselfe worthy to vntie the Lords shoes, laid his hand vpon his head to baptise him. And *S. Peter* who praied the Lord to depart far from him wretched sinner, was a foundation of the church. For there is not a more acceptable thing vnto God, than to muster a mans selfe among the greatest sinners. Hereby we see the profit that is gotten of the small esteeming of a mans selfe. For the lesse a man esteemeth himselfe, the more is he esteemed; first of God, and secondly of men. Also we see that ordinarily, the lowly prince is loued of euery man, and the proud is hated of all. And therefore let such as haue the gouernment of yoong princes, teach them cheefly among other things to be lowly and courteous towards all men; as knowing by experience, that nothing winneth mens hearts so much as humilitie, which killeth vainglorie, Insolencie, Impatiencie, Enuie, Ambition, and all manner of vices.

CHAP. VII.

Of Fortitude, Valiancie, Prowesse, or Hardinesse: and
of Fearfulnesse or Cowardlinesse.



Et vs come to the third cardinall vertue, which the learned call Fortitude, Prowesse, or Valiantnesse, the which the Poet *Ho-*

Plutarch in
the life of
Pirrus.

mer said to be the only morall vertue that hath as it were salies and outmouings inspired into it of God, and certaine furors that

A definition
of Prowesse.

came a man out of himselfe. This vertue is more generallie followed of princes, than any of the other, as we haue seene in *Alexander, Pirrus, Hanniball, Pompey, Iulius Caesar, Themistocles, Alcibiades*, and manie others, who were not so curious of other vertues, as painfull to excell in Prowesse and greatnesse of mind. *Cicero* in his *Tusculane* questions sayth, that valeantnesse or Prowesse, is a skill to endure; or an affection of the mind fitlie disposed to sustaine aduersitie; or else a certaine stable or stedfast purpose, to vndertake or repulse the things that seeme to be dreadfull. *Plato* in the fourth booke of his *Commonweale*, bringeth in *Socrates*, saying thus; I say that Prowesse is a certaine fastholding. *Glaucus*. What maner of fastholding? *Socrates*. Of the opinion which a man hath conceiued by trainement and education, whereby he iudgeth of things terrible. *Glaucus*. And after what sort shal we call a man valeant? *Socrates*. Whē the force of his choller or anger is so ruled, that he continueth resolute in his opinion betweene pleasure and grieffe, not deeming otherwise of that which wee call terrible or not terrible, than reason willeth him. *Aristotle* saith, It is the dutie of Prowesse to be vterlie vndismaid with the feare of death, to be constant in suffering aduersitie, to be void of dread of danger, to chuse rather for to die with honour,

The dutie of
Prowesse.

than to liue with dishonour, or to be conquered in battell. At a word, it is the dutie of prowesse, to be vnafraid of any dangers, which reason sheweth that we ought not to feare. *Cicero* in his Duties setteth downe three sorts of Prowesse: the first consisteth in not fearing any thing; the second, in not making account of worldlie things; and the third, in beleewing that there is not anie aduersitie, which a man is not able to endure. The same author in his first booke of the ends of good and bad, saith, That the strong-hearted and high-minded man, is free from all care and grieffe; considering that he despiseth death, and is so fully resolued concerning sorrowes, that he alway beareth a mind, that the greatest miseries are ended by death, the smallest haue euer some release, and the meaner sort we ouer-master, either induring them if they be tollerable, or patiently passing out of this life as from a stage, if they be vntollerable. Which passing out of this life, wee must so vnderstand, as it must be without hastening our owne end. For (as *Plato* saith) wee must not depart hence, without the commaundement of our captein generall, that hath set vs in ward. And to kill a mans selfe to auoid pouertie, loue, or trouble, is not the propperie of a noble and stout courage, but of a base, fearfull, and cowardly heart.

It is no point of Prowesse to kill a mans selfe, to eschue mischiefe.

Aristotle lib. 8. Moral.

Appendants of Prowesse.

Of Trauell.

The Lacedemonians were about all things trained vp to valiantnes, and had but three principall precepts, the first to obey magistrats, the second to endure trauel, & the third to get the vpper hand in battell, or else to die. Vpon Prowesse doe depend, trauell, resolution, strength, boldnesse, magnanimitie, confidence, and sufferance. Not without cause doe we put trauell into prowesse, for as *Diogenes* said, No trauell is praiseworthy, which tendeth not to magnanimitie, and such trauell is to bee vnderstood, as well of mind, as of bodie: For in strength (saith *Socrates*) and in prowesse, there goeth a mouing both of bodie and mind. And commonly all good captiues haue put themselves to trauel as much as was possible, both with body and mind, as we read of *Alexander*, who of a great courage

rowed

rowed ouer waters, scaled towns, and put himsele foremost in perils and pains-taking, *Pirrhus, Hannibal, Sertorius*, and *Iulius Cæsar* did the like, and so did many emperors also, who sticked not to march fīue or six leagues on foot with their armies, put themselves into the water vp to the knees to passe a large marsh of a two or three leagues ouer, ate of the same bread that their souldiers did, endured hunger and thirst, and slept vpon the hard ground, as I haue said hertofore.

Next I say, that Resolution is requisite in a man of prowesse and valor: for the very substance of prowes, is to be resolut. For resolutenes keepeth a man from wauering, so as hauing determinatly set honor and vertue before him as his marke to shoot at, he feareth not any impediment that may crosse him. *Zenonidas* chose rather to die with three hundred men whom he had all resolute to die with him, than to abandon the place which he had taken to keepe, notwithstanding that he was sure he should be ouerlaid with force: And when one said vnto him; the sunne was hidden with the shot of the Persians; So much the better for vs (quoth he) for then shall we fight with them in the shadow. One asked of *Agis* how many Lacedemonians he had to the wars; Enow (quoth he) to chase away the wicked. Also he said of them, That they demanded not how many their enemies were, but where they were. *Scena* a Jew hauing long time defended euery man, at the last after much slaughter by him made, abode still hauing his eies stopped, his head, his armes, and his thighes broken, and his shield striken through in six score places. I see no resolutenes comparable to the *Machabees*, who to maintaine their lawes, offered themselves to all perils, and in the end rebelling against *Antiochus*, did with three thousand men discomfit forty thousand. Likewise *Eleasar* thinking to kill the king, whom he tooke to haue bin him that was mounted vpon the greatest Elephant, opened the throng, and did so much that he killed the Elephant, and died himsele vnder him. And *Iudas Machabeus* chose rather to die than to flee in battell, though he had but few men in comparison of his enemies. Likewise *Ionathas* the third bro-

ther, renewed his armie being broken, and carried away the victorie. The Christian martyrs were resolute to die, rather than to doe sacrifice to idols: and with that resolution they endured death, and all maner of torments with wonderfull constancie.

Of Strength.

Strength also is needfull to prowesse, so as it behoueth good courage to be accompanied with strength, that it may put in execution that valeancie and noblenes of heart. *Antisthenes* said, That a man ought to will al the good in the world to his enemies, sauing only prowesse: because all his godds should come one day to him that is valeant. And whensoever he saw a braue dame, and well appareled, he was wont to go to hir husband, and to pray him to shew him his horses and armor: and if he found them good and well prouided he said no more to the woman: but if he were not well horsed and well armed, he would desire him to take from hir all hir goodly iewels, for feare least they became a pray vnto some other, for want of a man to defend them.

Of Boldnesse.

Likewise Boldnes is necessarie to prowesse. And doth in some sort resemble it. Neuertheless as saith *Plutarch* in his *Protagoras*, there is a difference betweene prowesse and boldnes. For ordinarily euery man of prowesse is bold, but euery bold man is not valeant and ful of prowesse. For boldnesse may come by art, by furie, or by choler: but prowesse commeth of good education, and of a certaine inworking secret force and goodnes of nature. *Cato* seeing his sword falne among his enemies, tooke it vp againe as boldly and constantly, as if his enemies had not ben there. We call this a Boldnes, howbeit not simply a boldnes, but rather a prowesse, because it had ben a shame for him to haue left his sword to his enemy. So then, there was a cause of this boldnes; otherwise it had ben but rashnes. Likewise the deed that *Robert de la March* did at the iourne of Nouara, was full of yettuous Boldnes accompanied with prowesse and naturall kindnes: for his fatherly affection made him to enter bareheaded but with one squadron of horsemen into the thickest of the Smitzers that had already

The difference
of Boldnesse
and Prowesse.

gotten the victorie, to saue his two sonnes *Florange* and *Iamais* captains of the Lanceknights, who lay fore wounded vpon the ground, where he fought with such furie, that the Suitzers themselues maruelled greatly that hee could recouer them aliue out of so great danger. *Iulius Caesar* perceiuing the *Neruians*, that is to say, the people of *Turney*, to haue the better hand, caught a buckler out of a souldiers hand that began to quail, and taking his place, did such feats of arms, that all his armie tooke courage againe, and got the victorie. The same *Caesar* seeing his standard-bearer readie to flie, caught him by the throte, and shewed him the enemies, saying, Whether wilt thou? Behold, these bee the enemies with whome we haue to deale. And he did so well by his Boldnesse, valiantnesse and words, that he woon the victorie. And in that case boldnesse was needfull. When *Cinius* the yonger was about to giue battell, *Clearchus* counsell'd him to hold himselfe behind the *Macedonians*; What say you *Clearchus*, qud. *Cyrus*, would you haue me to seeke a kingdome, and to make my selfe vnworthie of it? To put a mans selfe in perill to no purpose, is rash boldnesse: but if need require, a man must not be afraid, and he that is not so afraid, is deemed both bold and valiant. And as *Plato* sayd in his defence of *Socrates*, the man that is valeant and full of prowesse, is without feare. So that they are in an error, which say that prowesse is a moderating of feare. As for *Magnanimitie*, it is the selfe same valiantnesse which hath respect to nothing but vertue, as shall be declared hereafter.

As touching Confidence, it is annexed to valiantnes, and Of Confidence. victorie doth often depend thereon. For the beginning of conquest is an assuring of a mans selfe that he shal conquer, as *Plutarch* saith in the life of *Themistocles*. Wee haue seene with what confidence *Alexander* went to make war against *Darius*, hauing but a handfull of men in comparison of him: *Agessilaus* hauing but ten thousand men, not only defended the *Lacedemonians*, but also willingly made war vpon the king of *Persia*. As *Hanniball* stood looking vpon the great and

braue armie of the Romanes, at the battell of Cannas, one *Gisco* said vnto him; That it was a wonderous thing to see so many men; It is yet much more woonderfull (answered *Hanniball*) that in all that great host there is not one like vnto thee. This confidentnelle made the Carthaginenses the more assured, when they saw their Generall take so great skorne, and so little regard of the Romane armie. Therefore it is neither rashnesse to bee confident, nor prowesse to thrust a mans selfe into perill without cause, after the manner of that Lacedemonian which had leuer to overthrow his armie through his rash boldnesse and vain-glorie, than to shun the battell; not considering that in loosing himselfe, he lost a great number of his countrymen, whom *Scipio* would haue held so deerè, that hee would rather haue saued one of them, than haue discomfited a thousand enemies.

Paulus Emilius being readie to giue battell to *Perseus*, retired his people without doing any thing, and lodged them in his campe, the which he had fortified. And when *Scipio Nasica* and other yoong noble men of Rome, desired him to make no delay; I would make none (quoth he,) if I were of your age: but the victories that I haue gotten in time past by deliberation, haue taught me the faults that are committed by such as are vanquished, and doe forbid me to goe so hotly to assaile an host, readie ranged and set in order of battell, afore I haue rested my people that are but newly arriued. *Pericles* neuer hazarded armie where he saw great doubt, or apparent likelihod of danger. And he thought them no good captains which had gottengreat victories by aduenturing ouer-far, but was wont to say, That if none other than he did lead them to the slaughter, they should abide immortall. Vpon a time when he saw the Athenians desirous to fight with the Lacedemonians whatsoeuer perill came of it, for wasting their territorie; When trees (quoth he) be cropped or cut downe, they grow again within a while after: but when men are once lost, it is vnpossible to recouer them.

Also in prowesse there is Sufferance, and as *Epaminondas* said, To beare with things in matters of state, is a spice of prowesse. For it behoueth oftentimes to put vp iniuries, and to heare mis-speeches of himselfe, without making account of them, which is the proprietie of Magnanimitie, as I shall declare hereafter. In somuch that the goodly precept of *Epictetus*, which commaundeth to beare and forbear, is to be vnderstood of nothing else than Valiantnesse, meaning that men must beare aduersities with a constant mind, and princely courage, not suffering themselues to be dismayed by them, or to be corrupted by prosperitie. And for as much as this vertue doth ordinarily follow difficult things, because great things will not bee had without great danger, (as saith *Herodotus*) and the daunger of war is greatest: we attribute Valiantnesse chiefly to chualrie and warre, as wherin the conceit of death is greatest. For commonly we conceiue not death so much when we be sick, because the mischiefe is hidden; nor when we be in perill on the sea, because by the touching of the water, we feele not the inconuenience that cometh by the touch of the sword in the maiming of our members, which causeth vs to conceiue the violentnesse of death so much the more, as it lieth in vs to auoid it by flight. Wherevpon it cometh to passe, that few men resolue themselues to die the death that lieth in them to eschew. But such as resolue themselues to it, do get themselues great honor and reputation among men.

When one demaunded of *Agessilaus*, What was the way to archieue honour? hee answered, To make no reckoning of death. For he that is afraid to die, can doe nothing worthie of praise. This vertue is the meane betweene fearefulnessesse and fool-hardinesse; for it represseth feare, and moderateth boldnesse. True it is, that it is harder to restraine feare, than to moderat boldnesse. For to abide daunger, time and custome be requisit for the enduring of the inconuenience: but when a thing is to be aduentured vpon, it is done vpon the sodaine, and with a speedinesse, the which is easier to be moderated

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Wherin Prowesse doth chiefly consist.

The definition of Fearfulnesse.

derated than feare. Therefore the state of Prowesse consisteth chiefly in the contempt of greefe and death. And that man is counted a man of noble courage, which when an honest or honourable death is offered vnto him, is nothing afraid of it. But for to put a mans selfe in daunger vpon a brunt of sorrow or anger, cannot (as saith *Aristotle*) bee counted valiantnesse. Fearefulnesse is the contrarie to valiantnesse, and a corruption of the lawfull iudgement, concerning the things that are to be feared, or not feared; or rather an ignorance of that which is to be feared, or not feared. *Aristotle* saith, It is a vice of the couragious part, wherethrough a man trembleth for feare of danger, specially of death, beleeuing that it is more commendable to saue life, by any maner of means, than to die honestlie. And as saith *Ecclesiasticus*, Like as chaffe and dust in the aire cannot stand against the force of wind, so a cowardly heart in the conceit of a foole, cannot stand against the violence of feare. Generally we feare all that is euill, for feare is an expectation of euill, as of pouertie, sicknesse, and such other things, whereof we be afraid, because of their hurtfulnesse. The bold man is cleane contrarie to the fearfull, for he is not afraid, neither of death, nor any other thing. He doth not offer, but rather cast himselfe headlōg into danger, afore danger come, & oft-times in danger he is lasie, & repenteth him that he hath cast himselfe into it. But the man of prowesse is cold afore he vndertaketh, but ready and sharpe in doing & vndertaking. Which thing *Thucidides* declareth fitly and elegantly in saying thus, This we haue aboue all others, that not only we be hardie, but also we deliberate of the things which we be to take in hand, whereas others are bold through ignorance, and lasie and slow to vndertake, by reason of their vncertain consultations. But those men are aboue all others most excellent, who hauing foreconsidered both the good and the euill, the pleasure and the displeasure, doe not for all that shrink away from danger. On a time one proised in *Catoes* presence, a rash-hardie man for a valiant man of war; whervnto *Cato* answered, There

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The difference betwene the valiant and the foole-hardie.

was great odds whether a man made great account of vertue, or none account at all of his life : esteeming those men to be of noble courage, nor which despised their life without purpose, but rather which made so great account of vertue, that in respect of that, they passed not for life. At what time *Epaminondas* besieged Sparta, and was gotten by force into the towne, a certaine Lacedemonian named *Isadas*, being not only vnfurnished of armor to defend him, but also of apparell, came annointed all ouer his bodie with oile, as one readie to wrestle, and holding in the one hand his Partifane, and in his other a sword, went and thrust himselfe into the presse of them that fought, laying about him, and beating downe all his enemies that he found afore him, and yet was neuer wounded himselfe. Afterward the Ephories gaue him a crown in honor of his prowesse, but they amerced him by & by at a fine of an hundred crowns, for being so rash as to hazard himselfe in the peril of battel, without armor to defend him. *Cicero* in his Duties saith, That we must not shew our selues cowardly for feare of danger, and yet we must refraine from thrusting our selues into danger; but if necessitie require, we must not make account of death. And therefore when the Lacedemonians were afraid, least some hurt might befall them, for refusing to take part with king *Philip*, *Dannudas* said vnto the, Yee halfe men, what hanne can befall vs, which passe not for death? According to some men, there are seuen sorts of valiantnesse, which we may rather tearme Visors of valiantnesse. For they haue a resemblance of prowesse, but if ye plucke off their masks, ye shall find them an other thing than they seemed, The first sort is termed ciuil, which is when a man hazardeth himself for the honor, dishonor, & penalties set downe by the laws, vnto such as mis-behaue themselves in war, or otherwise. This sort hath more likelihood thā the rest, because the feare of transgressing the lawes, is a certaine kind of prowesse. And as *Plutarch* saith in the life of *Agis*, It seemeth that the men of old time, tooke prowesse to be not an vtter priuation of feare, but rather a feare of blame and reproch,

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Seuen sorts of
Prowesse or
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The feare of
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reproch, and a dread of dishonour, because that commonly they that are most afraid to transgresse lawes, are safest when they be to encounter with the enemy. And they that stand not in feare, to haue any reproch, are not carefull to endure any aduersities.

Prowesse is a skill.

Socrates said, That Prowesse is a skill, and that many are not noble-minded, for want of knowing what it is. For this cause lawes are verie needfull to set euerie man in his dutie, but they cannot make a coward hardie, no more than the punishing of lewd men by laws, can make all men good. But they hold all men to their duties, so as good men hate sin for vertues sake, and euil men are warie to offend for feare of punishment; but no whit doth that change their disposition vnto euill. Also the law may enforce a fearfull man to aduenture, but it dischargeth him not of his inclination. And as there be some bodies stronger than other some, so also be some minds stronger by nature to endure casualties, than other some.

Xenophon in his fourth booke of the doings and sayings of *Socrates*.

Another kind is called Slauish, which is, when neither for honour, nor for dishonour, but for necessities sake, a man becometh couragious, For necessitie maketh euen cowards couragious, (as saith *Salust*) or else for feare of punishment, as when *Iulian* the emperour in a battell against the Persians, slew tenne of the first that ran away, to restraine the rest from doing the like. For that punishment compelled them to fight whether they would or no. And *William* Conquerour, duke of Normandie, who caused his ships to bee set on fire, as soone as he was landed in England, to take from his people all other hope of safetic, than only in the sword. For the greatest meane of safety, is to bee out of hope of safetic.

Accustomednesse vnto perils, maketh thote to seeme hardie that be not.

The third sort is called Warlike, which is, when we see men of war that are expert in arms, doe deeds that seeme to be of hardinesse, to such as haue not the experience; and yet they faile not to retire when they see the danger. And that also cannot be called Valiantnesse, no more than mareners

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can be called Valiant, for they being accustomed to tempests, doe lesse feare them than doth the man of greatest magnanimitie in the world: and surely no man is ignorant but that a man of magnanimitie may die at the sea without feare, not after the maner of mariners.

Aristotle in his ninth booke of Morals.

The fourth is called Furious, when a man fighteth vpon hatred, choler, or passion. In so doing he seemeth couragious, because (as *Aristotle* saith) Choller is a great spurre to picke one forth to danger; yet notwithstanding he is not so: for as soone as his rage is ouer, he beginneth to wax lasie, and is willing to be gone at the least intreatance that can be. Now then, it is no valiancie to put a mans selfe into danger, when he is spurred with sorrow or anger. Likewise the foole-hardie seemeth of great courage though he be not so, because hee putteth himselfe forth to danger without cause. But men ought in all things to deale by reason: for that which is done with reason, is wel-beseeming and commended of all men, and that which is done otherwise, is blamed. Such as discern not good from euill, thinke a man to be of great courage, because he seemeth so, whereas indeed it is either rashnes, follie, or rage, that maketh him to seeme so: as we read of *Coriolan*, who when he was cōdemned of the people, shewed not any greefe and that (as saith *Plutarck*) was not through any drift or persuasion of reason, or through any calmenesse of disposition, that made him to beare his mis-fortune patiently and meedly, but through a vehement despight, and desire of reuenge, which carried him so forcible away, that he seemed not to feele his owne miserie: the which the common people suppose not to be sorrow, though it be so in deed. For when such grieffe is set on fire, then turneth it into despight, and then forgoeth it the basenesse, lasinesse, and faintnesse which is naturall vnto it. And therefore as he that hath a feuer, seemeth full of heat; so hee that is chollericke seemeth as though a mans mind were puffed out, and made greater and larger by his being in such disposition. The fifth kind is called Customarie, which is when a man hath alwaies bin woont to ouer-come, and ne-

Aristotle in the eight of his Morals. Sorrow and Anger make men to seeme hardie.

Despight maketh a man to forgoe the basenesse of a lasie and languishing mind.

uer bin foiled, such customablenesse maketh him to goe the more boldly to the encounter. But if he found resistance, then would he flie as well as other men, for want of resolute purpose in valiantnesse. The sixt sort is called Beastlie, which is, when a man goeth like a beast to find his enemy, not thinking him to be couragious; and that he will make resistance against him, whereby it may befall him as I haue said of the other. The seuenth sort is called Vertuous, which is the true and only kind of Prowesse, as when a man warreth or putteth himselfe in danger, not by constraint, nor vpon choller, experience, or ignorance, but because it is expedient and behooffull in reason to be done. As for example, a prince must not make warre, vnlesse it bee iust, and for the benefit of his realme, or for the tuition and defence thereof, and of his subiects, and not vpon ignorance, or for Ambition, or desire of reuenge.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Magnanimitie.



Magnanimitie approacheth vnto Prowesse and Valiantnesse, but yet it hath some thing greater. And like as magnificence being nothing else than liberalitie, is notwithstanding counted a greater thing, euen so is it with Magnanimitie, which ought to be proper & peculiar to princes who set their minds, or at least wise ought to set their minds, on none but great matters. For as *Demosthenes* saith, it is a hard matter for them that set their minds vpon base things, to haue a high and bold spirit, or for them that haue the managing of great affaires, to mind the small things. For such as the state of a man is, such is his mind, *Alexander* by reason of his valiant and hardie

They that haue the managing of great matters, ought not to set their minds vpon base things.

hardie courage, thought nothing to be impregnable, nor any thing too strong for a firme and resolute mind. Wherefore being about to assaile a place that was impregnable, hee demanded what courage the captaine was of, that was within it. And when he vnderstood, that he was the veriest coward of the world, that is well for vs quoth he, for that place is alwaies to be woon, which is held by a faint-hearted coward. And in verie deed he woon the place, by putting the keeper therof in feare.

Now then, Magnanimitie is a certaine excellencie of courage, which aiming at honour, directeth all his doings therunto, and specially vnto vertue, as the thing that is esteemed the efficient cause of honour; in respect wherof, it doth all things that are vertuous and honourable, with a braue and excellent courage, and differeth from valiantnesse or prowesse, in that prowesse respecteth chiefly the perils of warre, and magnanimitie respecteth honour. Insomuch that Magnanimitie is an ornament vnto all vertues, because the deeds of vertue, be worthie of honour, the which are put in execution by Magnanimitie. As for example, when it is said, That it belongeth not to a man of Magnanimie to doe wrong; this is a vertuous and iust deed, which bringeth honour to the man of Magnanimie, and therefore we say, That Magnanimie is an ornament to all vertues, because it maketh them the greater, in that the honor wheron the noble minded man setteth his eye, surmounteth all things.

But yet in this do Magnanimie and prowesse agree, that both of the are void of feare, & despise death, greefe, peril, and danger, not suffering themselues to be ouer-weighed by prosperitie or aduersitie. *Cicero* in the fift of his *Tusculane* questions, saith, That if a man bend himselfe to despise the things that are commonly had in estimation, as strength, beautie, health, riches, and honor, & regardeth not their contraries; he may go with his head vpright, & make his boast, that neither the frowardnes of fortune, nor the opinion of the comon people, nor sorrow, nor pouertie, shall be able to put him in feare, but

The definition of Magnanimie.

The difference betweene Prowesse and Magnanimity

but all things are in his hand, and nothing is out of his power. And in his first booke of Duties, We deeme it (saith he) the part of a noble courage and a constant mind, to be so firme and stable through the working of reason, as to make no reckoning of the things which other men esteeme to be goodlie and excellent; and to beare the things in such sort which seeme hard and bitter, as he swarue not from the state of nature, and from the dignitie which a wise man ought to haue: and that it is the point of a noble minded & constant man, not to be dismaied with aduersitie, nor to shrinke a whit from the place where he standeth, nor to step aside from reason. For it is a token of lighnesse, not to be able to beare aduersitie, as well as prosperitie. On the cōtrarie part, it is a goodly thing to keepe one selfe-same maner of dealing in all a mans life, yea and euen one selfe-same countenance.

The magnanimitie and constancie of *Aristides* was so great, that for all the honor that was done vnto him, he was neuer high-minded, nor for any reiection, putting backe, or rebuke, was neuer discouraged or troubled. *Metellus* hauing onely, of a great number of senators, refused vpon perill of his life, to be sworne to a wicked law that was proclaimed by *Saturninus* a tribune of the people: said vnto his friends that accompanied him, That to doe euill, was too easie and too loitering a thing; and that to do well, where no danger is, was too common a thing: but to doe good where danger is, that was the propertie of a man of honour and vertue. *Cicero* in the second booke of his Orator, saith, It is a great commendation to endure aduersitie wisely, and not to be discouraged by misfortune, but to hold a mans selfe vpright, and to reteine his dignitie in the time of distresse. For there is not a thing more befeeming a noble minded man, than to be of great courage and loftie in aduersitie, the which would ill-befeeme him in prosperitie. And as *Plutarch* saith, like as they that walke with a statelie gate, are accounted vain-glorious, and yet notwithstanding, that maner of marching is allowed and commended in them that goe to battell: euen so he that aduanceth his

The noble-minded man is not troubled either with prosperitie or with aduersitie.

He that hath a loftie courage in aduersitie is a noble minded man.

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mind in aduersitie, is deemed to be of excellent and vnanquishable courage, as hauing a braue port and stout countenance to encounter aduersitie, which in prosperitie would ill beseme him. For we reade that he which is of great courage, despiseth and maketh none account of all that may befall to man, ne esteemeth any worldly thing in comparifon of himselfe. They therefore that are endued with a great and loftie courage, are alwaies happie, as who doe know that all the turmoilings of fortune, and all the changes of matters and times, are light and weake when they come to encounter against vertue. Magnanimitie or noble mindednes is the meane betweene bacemindednes and ouerloftines. For he that applieth himselfe to great things, is called noble minded; and he that dareth not aduenture vpon them, is called baceminded. Likewise he that aduentureth vpon all things, though he can doe nothing aright, is called foolehardy. The noble minded man aduãceth not himselfe for honor, riches, or prosperity, neither maketh he the greater account of himself for them; if he fall from his degree or loose his goods, he stoopeth not for it; for he is vpheld with a certain force & stoutnes of mind. Contrariwise, the baceminded or faintharted man, becommeth wonderfully vainglorious of euery little peece of good fortune or aduancement that befallerh him, and at euery little losse that betideth him, he shrinketh and is cast downe like an abiect, as if he had lost al, because he hath not the force of mind; to beare his fortune either good or bad. The foolehardie is of the same stamp, sauing that without reason, he aduentureth vpon the things which the other dareth not vndertake. The noble minded man hath six properties: the first is, that he thrusteth not himselfe into perils rashly and for small trifles, but for great matters, whereof he may haue great honor and profit. As for example, *Alexander* liked not to haue the honor of winning the wager at the gamings of *Olimpus*, because there were no kings to encounter with him. This came of a noble and princely mind. But when he was to goe to the assault of a towne, or to giue battell: he was euer one of the foremost. The

A braue port and stout countenance is in aduersitie commendable, but in prosperity discommendable.

Noble mindednesse the meane betweene Fainthartednes or Bacemindednes, and Foolhardines.

The noble minded hath six properties.

Of Magnanimitie.

second propertie of the noble minded, is to reward vertuous persons, and such as haue imployed themselues in his seruice. Wherunto a king ought to haue a good eie, as I haue said in the title of righteousnes. The third propertie of the noble minded, is to do but little, and not to hazard his selfe at all times. For a man cannot do great things easily and often. The fourth property, is to be soothfast, and to hate lying and all the appurtenances therof, as flatterers, talebearers, and such others, which ought to be odious, most cheefly vnto princes, who should be a rule to other men, as I haue said alreadie in speaking of truth, and shal speake againe hereafter in discoursing of vntiuth. The fifth property of the noble minded, is that he is no great crauer nor no great borrower; assuring himself that nothing is so deerly bought, as that which is gotten by intreatance. Wherefore as for the emperors that hild out their hands at their court gates, to receiue presents and new year gifts of the people: they were so far off from being princely minded, that they were rather to be esteemed inferior to rogues and beggars and al such like rascals. The sixt propertie of the noble minded, is that he passeth not whether he be praised or dispraised, so long as he himselfe do well: of which sort was *Fabius Maximus*, who regarded not to be called a coward, but went forward continually with his platform of the ouerthrowing of *Hannibal*, without giuing him battell or hazarding any thing. *Pericles*, what outcries soeuer men made vpon him, forbare not to go vnto the multitude, but did like the good pilot of a ship, which giueth order for all things in the ship, without staying at the teares and shriekings of the passengers, tormenting themselues with the terror of the storm. For magnanimitie consisteth, not only in despising death, but also in not regarding the vaine discourses and turmoiles, of such as vnderstand not what the matters meane. In which behalfe *Pompey* made a great fault, when he yeelded so easily to go to battel, least he should displease the yoong captains of his army, and had leuer contrarie to his own determination, to hazard the victory which was as good as sure vnto him without stroke striking, than paciety to here the wrōgful railings that were cast forth against him.

C H A P.

Magnanimity
passeth not
for vaine tur-
moils.

CHAP. IX.

That Diligence is requisit in matters of state.



Orasmuch as valeantnes or prowesse cometh of a constant mind that is ready to aduerture without regard of danger, and magnanimitie spareth not it selfe in any thing, so honor may ensue, ne regardeth what men say or doe, so she may compasse hir affairs, for the attaining whereunto she forbearth not any pains: me thinks it is reasonable to treat here, of that braunch of Prowesse and magnanimitie, which is called Diligēce, a vertue very wel beseeming a prince, as without the which he cannot raigne happily. And as *Xenophon* saith in his first booke of the Trainemnt of *Cyrus*, It is agreeable to reason, that such should prosper in their affairs, as are skilfull in them, and be diligent in going forward with them, rather than they that are ignorant and slouthfull. And a little after he sayth, That a prince ought to indeuor to passe his subiects, not in sloth and idlenes, but in discretion and diligence. *Plutarch* sayth, That as water corrupteth that is not resored to: so the life of idle folke is corrupted and marred by slothfulness, because none are helped by them. *Thucidides* reporteth *Alcibiades* to haue said, That a citie giuen to idlenes did marre and corrupt of it selfe; but did vphold and amend it self in experience of many things by keeping it self occupied with diuers wars. We see ordinarily, that such as haue giuen ouer themselues in idlenes, haue had ill successe in their affairs: of which sort was *Galba*, who said that no man was to yeeld account of his idlenes, contrarie to the christiau doctrine, which teacheth vs that we must yeeld account of all our idle words, and that we must put forth our talent to profit, vnder paine of punishmēt, & also cōtrarie to the law of *Draco*, which punished

A prince
should passe
his subiects in
diligence,

In doing no-
thing men
learne to doe
euill.

idle folke with death. For (as the men of old time said) In doing nothing, men learne to doe euill. And as *Ecclesiasticus* saith, Idleness teacheth manie euill things. And therefore *Amasis* king of *Egypt*, commanded all men to giue a reckoning dailie of their daies labors. And *Solon* ordained that the high court of *Areopagus*, should haue authoritie and charge to enquire whereof euery man liued, and to punish those whom they found idle and vn-occupied. And *Cambyfes* forbad *Cyrus* about all things, to suffer his armie to be idle. Vpon a time one asked *Dyonisius*, whether he were at leisure and had nothing to do? God forbid (quoth he) that euer that should befall me; thinking it to be a foule and shamefull thing to be vnoccupied. And *Scipio* said he was neuer lesse alone, than when he was alone: because that when he was alone, he busied himselfe as well as when he was in the senat. Among the great affairs wherewith *Alexander* was occupied, he would now and then take some recreation; but during those weightie affairs, there was neither feast, nor banquet, nor play, nor marriage, nor any other pastime that he would stay vpon. *Iulius Caesar* obtained many victories by his diligence, in such wise that he amased the Carnuts, that had reuolted from him. For he passed the mountaines with such speed, that hee was in their countrie with his armie, in shorter time than a messenger could haue bin; and began to waste the countrie out of hand, afore they had any tidings of his comming: Wherewith, and with some losse that they had receiued in a battell; his enemies were so dismayd, that in the end they submitted themselues to his will. And as he was diligent in war, so was he not idle in the citie: but was occupied in pleasuring his freinds, in doing iustice to euery man, and in ordering the affairs of the state with great speed and skill; in so much that hee did bring the yeare into that order which we haue at this day, and was about to haue set the ciuill law in order of art.

An armie
must not be
suffered to be
idle.

The diligence
of *Iulius Ce-
sar*.

Albeit that the lord of Chaulmont had but few men, yet if he had gone speedily to the besieging of Bolonia, according to his former deliberation, hee had brought the Pope to such

a pinch, that he had driuen him to make peace, because there were but few people within the town. But by his ouerflow setting forth to the siege, he lost the oportunitie, for in the mean time there came in sufficient force to encounter him. Cōtrariwise, *Monſieur de Foix*, by his hardines and diligence, did within fiſteene dayes compell the armie of the Churchmen and of the Spaniards, to diſlodge from before Bolona, diſcomfited *Iohn Paule Baillon*, with part of the Venetian companies in Campaine, and recouered Bresse by force of armes, where eight thousand men were put to the sword, and the rest were made prisoners. *Hanniball* was not onelie diligent, but also a despiſer of all pleasures. *Traian* and *Adrian* were so diligent and skilfull in warre matters, that they knew the account of their legions, and called the most part of their men of warre by their names, the which they did so precisely, least vagabund strangers should intermeddle themſelues, with them that were Romans born. And they permitted not any man, which could not good skill to handle his weapon and to fight.

The harme of going slowly about a mans businesse.

Epaminondas neuer gaue himſelfe any reſpit from dealing in matters of the ſtate, ſaying that he watched for his countymens ſakes, to the intent that they might make good cheare at their eaſe while he trauelled for them. *Homer* ſayth, That it becommeth not a man of gouernment, and ſuch a one as is to commaund manie, to ſleepe the whole night. For too much ſleeping is a ſpice of idleneſſe, according to this ſaying of *Salomon* in his Prouerbes, *Slouthfulneſſe cauſeth ſleepe to come.* Whereof *Plato* ſpeaketh after this maner, **Ouermuch ſleepe** is not good, neither for the bodie nor for the minde, nor for the doing of any businesse; and that he that is a ſleeper, is as a dead man. Wherefore whoſoeuer will bee wiſe, and well aduised, muſt wake as much as he can, and take no more ſleepe than is requiſit for his health. For ouermuch ſleeping feedeth vice, as *Caro* ſayth in his paires of verſes. *Salomon* in the twentieth of his Prouerbs ſayth, Delight not in ſleepe, leaſt thou become poore, but open thine eyes that thou mayeſt haue foyzon of food. And in the 23. chap. he ſaith, That ouermuch ſleeping

Of ouermuch ſleepe.

maketh a man to goe in ragged clothes. For these considerations the king of Persia caused a groom of his chamber to waken him euerie day, and to bid him arise and intend to the affaires of his realme, as I haue said heretofore. Therefore the Prince that is wel aduised, will not giue himselfe to ouermuch sleeping, nor shut vp himselfe in a corner to do nothing, like to *Damitian*, who tooke pleasure in pricking flies to death, nor cast off all affairs to thrust out the time by the shoulders. For they that will disburden themselues of their affairs, haue commonly more to do than they would haue. And as the Greekes said in their common prouerbe, *Adoxia*, that is to say, The life that is without honour, or rather the life that is clendge and solitarie, is all one with the painfull life, because that they which thinke to liue without paine alone by themselues, are more troubled to defend themselues, from the wicked which be not afraid of them, and therefore do vex them, than those which folowing some trade, do trauel for the common weale. And as saith *Thucidides*, The rest that a man taketh through negligence, is more hurtful to a man than labor-some toile. That was the cause, why *Darius* would needs plunge the Babylonians into all maner of idlenesse, that they might not haue the heart to rebell afterward. The same policie vsed *Cimon*, to diminish the force and power of his allies, by granting them whatsoeuer they required. After that the Persians were driuen out of Greece, the allies of the Athenians ceased not to contribut both men and mony, towards the making of new warres, and the maintenance of an armie on the sea, wherof in the end they waxed wearie; & cōsidering with themselues that the Persians troubled them not, would not furnish them any longer with men and ships: well were they contented to pay monie for their fines; but the Athenian captaines inforced them thereunto, and condemned them at great fines if they failed. The which dealing made the dominion of Athens to become hatefull to their allies. But when *Cimon* came to the gouerning of the state, he tooke the cleane contrarie way. For he did not compell or inforce anie man

A solitarie life is all one with the life that is troublefull.

A policie of *Cimon*.

to the warres, but was contented to take monie and emptie ships of such as listed not to serue in their owne persons: and he liked well of it that they should wax lasie and grow out of kind, by the allurements of rest at home in their houses; and of good men of warre, to let them become labourers, merchant-men, and husband-men. And in their stead, he caused a good number of the Athenians to go into their gallies, in hardening them with trauell of continuall voiajes. Insomuch that within short time after, they became lords of those that had waged and intertained them, healing themselves at their cost. And in the end they made those to be their subiects and tributaries, which at the beginning had bin their fellowes and allies. The like hath come to passe of diuerse captaines that serued in the campe, and had the leading of armies: for in the end, of Captaines they haue made themselves dukes, kings, and emperors, as *Vespasian*, and other emperors without number. *Tamerlane* king of Tartars, *Othoman* king of Turks, *Sforza* duke of Milan, and other great lords whom it would be too long to number. *Nero* and many others haue by their wickednes and negligence lost their empires. *Sardanapalus* by his lasinesse, lost the kingdome of Assyria. So long as the kings of France suffered their affairs to be managed by others than themselves, they were lesse esteemed than an image, surely no more than liked the master of their Palace to allow thē, who at length draue out the kings without gainfaying, as men of none account and vnprofitable. For it was the opinion of all men, that those were vnworthie to raigne and to commaund men, which were themselves inferior to women, and by their vnweeldines had made themselves verie sots and beasts. For as *Anacharhis* saith, Idleness and sluggishnesse are cruell enemies to wisdom. But he that loueth vertue, shunneth not anie paines, saith *Theodericke*. *Plutarch* in the life of *Dion*, saith That the carelesnesse and negligence of *Dennis* the sonne, getting continually the vpper hand of him, caried him to women and bellicheere, and all vicious pastimes, & at length did break asunder his adamant chains, that is to say, the great number of his warlike soldiers,

Such as were but captaines, haue in the end made themselves Dukes, Kings, & Emperors, by their diligēce.

Sluggishnes is an enemy to wisdom.

A king ought
to be diligent
in looking to
his estate.

and his store of Gallies, of whom his father boasted that he left his kingdome fast chained to his sonne. And that is the reason why he that is the gouernor of a people, should intend to the state whereunto he is called, lest he receiue blame at a womā's hand, as *Philip* and *Demetrius* did; of whom the one being of his owne nature gentle and easie to be spoken to, yet at that time hauing no leisure to do iustice, and the other being hard to be come vnto, did either of them learne their lessons at two poore womens hands, who told it them in one worde, saying, Then list not to be kings. This free speech of the one, made *Philip* to do iustice vnto hir out of hād, & the same free speech of the other, made *Demetrius* to begin thenceforth to become more affable to all men. Although *Augustus* was as peaceable a prince as euer reigned, yet failed he not to intend continually to other mens matters: and sometimes to refresh his spirits, he would go from Rome to a pleasant house that he had neer vnto Naples, and yet euen there he could not be without doings. But the hypocrite *Tiberius* made his sojourning there to serue to cloke his lasinesse, or rather to discouer it. For whensoever he was readie to depart thither, hee gaue strait commandement that no man should be so bold, as to come thither to speake to him of any matters. And besides that, he set warders vpon the way, to stoppe such as trauelled thither. And he receiued the reward of his lasinesse. For as he was playing the drunkard in all excesse, newes was brought vnto him of the inuading of three of his Prouinces by his enimies. *Visellius* was so deepe plunged in voluptuousnesse, that he had much ado to bethinke himselfe that he was Emperour: and his end was like his life. All slouthfull princes haue either had a miserable or violent death, or else their names haue bene wiped out of the remembrance of mē. For as *Plutarch* saith, The manner of punishing those that haue liued lewdly, is to cast them into darknesse out of all knowledge, and through euerlasting forgetfulnesse, to throw them downe into the deepe sea of slouth and idlenesse, which with his wauiing bringeth darknes, and putteth folke out of knowledge. And as *Theodorick* saith to

The harm that
Tiberius took
of his lasines.

Slouth'nesse
bringeth dark
nesse, which is
a great pu-
ishment.

the Gothes, vnder idlenesse and slothfulnesse commendable
 proves is hidden, and the light of that mans deserts is darke-
 ned, which hath no life to put the same in prooffe. Contrari-
 wise, by aduenturing, by vndertaking, and by setting hand to
 worke, great things and of great value haue beene compassed,
 which to the carelesse and negligent seemed vnpossible, and
 not to be hoped for. And if the diligent and painfull haue hap-
 pened through their desire of honour, or by some misfortune,
 to end their daies with violent death: yet hath the remem-
 brance of their noble deeds flowne through all the worlde,
 and beene commended and honoured of posteritie. And as
Salomon sayth in the 12. of the Prouerbs, The hand of the dili-
 gent shall beare rule, but the idle hand shall be vnder tribute.
 And in another place, An idle hand maketh poore, but a dili-
 gent hand maketh rich. The slothfull person shall not gaine,
 nor haue whereof to feed, but the store of the diligent is pre-
 cious. The slothfull person wisheth, and his heart alwayes
 wanteth. The idle folke shall suffer famine, but the life of the
 diligent shall be maintained. And in the 21. of the Prouerbs,
 The thoughts of the diligent tend altogether to abundance,
 but whosoever is slothfull, shall surely come to penurie. And
 in the 36. Like as a doore turneth vpon the hinges, so doth the
 slothfull man wallow in his bed. The sluggard hideth
 his hand in his bosome, and is loth to put it to his mouth.
 And in the 21. of Ecclesiasticus, The slothfull man is like a
 filthie or mirie stone, whereof all men will speake shame. *He-
 sodus* sayth, That men grow rich by trauaile and diligence.
 For not paines taking, but idlenes is vn honest. And he sayth
 moreouer, that slothfulnesse is accompanied with scarcitie,
 which feeding it selfe with vaine hope, ingendreth manie e-
 uils in a mans mind, and keepeth a man idle in fower wayleete
 without getting wherewith to liue. *Aeschilus* sayth, That vnto
 such as watch, god reacheth out his hand, & liketh wel to help
 them that take paines. We see how goods do melt away be-
 tweene the hands of the slothfull, without his spending of
 them, and that oftentimes hee hath as little as the prodigall
 person

Sloth and id-
 lenesse ouer-
 whelm prow-
 esse.

Great things
 are done by
 diligence.

William Bel-
 lay in his
 Ogdoades.

The hand of
 the diligent
 shal bear rule,

The slothful
 man cometh
 to penurie.

Not trauaile
 but idlenes is a
 foule thing.

To them that
 watch, God
 reacheth out
 his hand.

Mens minds
wax rusty and
forgrowne by
doing no-
thing.

person that is diligent, according to this saying of *Salomon*, in the 18. of his *Proverbs*, That he that is slothful at his worke, is brother to the scatter-good; therefore men must beware of idlenes. For as saith *Theodorick* writing to *Festus*, Like as mans nature is furnished by pains taking; so by sluggish idlenesse it decayeth and becommeth beastly. *Plutarch* saith that mens minds do rust and forgrow through idlenes; and that as the waters that stand vnoccupied in the shadow, do gather filth and infection: so the life of them that liue in idlenesse, if it haue any thing that may auaille, yet because it is not deriued vnto others, that other men may tast thereof, the natiue force and vertue thereof becommeth corrupt and stale. And by and by after, I am of opinion (saith he) that whereas we liue and are borne, and grow to be men, it is giuen vs of God to make vs to know him. Now if this be spoken of all men, who ought to employ themselues to all vertuous actions, and make their talent profitable: what shall we say of Princes, who haue that charge of purpose, not to hide themselues in a chamber, but to be alwayes doing, and to tra-
uell for those that are vnder their charge.

CHAP. X.

Of Temperance.

The definitiō
of Tempe-
rance. *Cicero*
in his second
booke of the
Ends of good
and bad.



Now remaineth the last cardinall vertue,
called Temperance, which in the things
that are to be sought or eschewed, warneth vs to follow reason, and is nothing
else but a naturall and interchaungeable
agreement, of those parts of the Soule
which haue the rule of delights; the which
vertue *Socrates* called, The brideler of bodilie pleasures;
because

because all passions are moderated by that Vertue. And long time afore him, *Mercurie* in his *Pimander*, in the chapter of *Regeneration*, calleth it *Staidnesse*, a vertue contrarie to all lustings, the which he termeth, *The foundation of Righteousnesse*.

Plato in his *Phædo* saith, That when Reason guideth a mans opinion to that which is best, that power is called Temperance. Like as on the contrarie part, wee call it Intemperance, when lust without reason draweth vs. to our delights, and ouermaistreth vs. *Pythagoras* said, that Temperance is the strength of the mind. For as the bodie that is well compacted together, indureth heat and cold: so they that haue their minds and vnderstandings well disposed, do easilie beare the passions of the soule, as anger, ioy, sorrow, and such other affections.

Temperance
the strength
of the soule. . .

Philo the Jew saith, That the soundnesse of the soule consisteth in the good temperature of the irefull, lustfull, and reasonable powers; whereof the reasonable, as ladie and mistress, by means of Temperance, brideleth the other two as restie horses. *Democritus* was of opinion, that Valiantnesse consisteth not onelie in ouercomming enemies, but also in subduing desires. And as *Cicero* sayth in his *Duties*, It is no reason that he which cannot be ouercome by feare, should be ouercome by his lusts: or that he which hath not shrunk for pains taking, should yeeld to his delights. An euill commaund is he (saith *Cato*) that cannot commaund himselfe. For the patient man is better than the strong; and he that ouermaistreth his owne heart, is better than he that winneth a citie by force, saith *Salomon* in the sixteenth chapter of the *Prouerbes*. Neuerthelesse, this vertue differeth from Valiantnesse in this, that Valiantnesse vndertaketh things great, terrible, and difficult, and the other withdraweth men from the things that are pleasant and delectable. And like as Valiantnesse holdeth more of boldnesse than of feare, though it be the meane betweene them both: so Temperance being the meane betweene sensuall delightfulness, and insensiblie, approacheth.

The difference
betweene Va-
liantnesse and
Temperance.

Temperance
maketh vs
happie.

Intemperance
vterly con-
foundeth the
state of the
minde.

approcheth nearer to insensibilitie, because it represseth the sensuall delight. *Socrates* said, That no man could be wise, which was not temperat. *Saint Paule* saith, That a good life consisteth in three things, namely Godlinesse, Vprightnesse, and Sobrietie; which sobrietie is nothing else but Temperance, when we abstaine from all lustes, and suffer not our selues to be ouercome by our desires. *Mercurie* saith, that temperance is a vertue that bringeth ioy, because wee become happie by abstaining from our lusts. Among the beasts that are good or euill to eate, *Moyse* doth chiefly commend the *Lopiomache*, which representeth vnto vs Temperance, which hath continuall and deadly warre against Intemperance and voluptuousnesse, termed of *Moyse* a Serpent, because the one imbraceth frugalitie, by contenting it selfe with that which is necessarie for this life without superfluitie, and the other is giuen to a kind of sumptuousnesse, which maketh the body effeminat, and the mind troubled and beastly. And like as Temperance appeaseth all desires, making them obedient vnto reason: so Intemperance marreth the vnderstanding vterly. And as *Cicero* sayth in the fourth of his *Tusculane questions*, The fountaine of incumberances is Intemperance, which withdraweth and estraungeth vs from true reason, and is so contrarie vnto it, that it is vnpossible to gouerne and restraine the lusts and desires of the heart. And therefore in the ten Commandements, we be forbidden to couet or lust after any maner of thing. For of this coueting springeth Intemperance, the roote of all euils, as *Saint Paule* after manie others calleth it in his Epistle to *Timothie*. And *saint Iohn* saith, That in this world is nothing else but coueting and lusting after the delights of the flesh (vnder the which may be comprehended Lecherie, Slouth, and Gluttonie) and coueting after the delight of the eies (vnder the which are cōprehended the desire of riches) which containeth in it all maner of vsurie, robberie, niggardship and extorcion. And desire of honour which he calleth the pride of life, (vnder the which wee may comprehend all vaine glorie, wrath, and enuie) as I haue said
afore

afore in treating of enuy. There was a certaine yong man, that said it was a goodly thing to haue all that a man could wish. But a certaine Philosopher named *Monedemus*, answered, that it was a goodlier thing not to desire that whereof a man had no neede. *Plato* and *Thales* of Milet, counted that man happie, which was not couetous, because hee was maister of his lusts. And *Socrates* (as *Xenophon* reporteth) was of opinion that that man could not be vertuous, that was a seruant to his delights, and that none but they which haue stay of themselves, doe say and doe that which is best; who chusing the good, and refusing the euill, do make themselves happie. For he liueth well at ease, that is contented with a little. And *Epicurus* said, That that man had nothing at all, which could not away with a little. *Menander* called Temperance the storehouse; & *Socrates*, the foundation of vertue: because he which thrusteth downe voluptuousnesse, doth consequently and of necessitie acquire all vertues. As for example, He that is not nicè, daintie nor gluttonous, nor desirous of women, nor couetous of riches, nor reacheth out his hand to receyue rewarde, and can skill to bridle his anger, his hatred, his enuie, his sorrow, his feare, and his ioy: for ioy (as sayth *Plutarch* in the life of *Aratus*) beeing entered into a mans minde, maketh him sometimes besides himselfe, and worketh him greater incumbrance of minde, than either sorrow or feare doe. On the contrarie part, we call him an vntemperat man, which is vicious and letteth himselfe loose vnto voluptuousnesse, and which (as *Plato* saith in his *Phaedon*) suffereth himselfe to be ouerruled by his delights, the which a man ought to passe by, with his eares stopped, as if they were Meremaids. For they bee enemies to reason, impediments to all good aduice, and blindness of the vnderstanding. For where soeuer voluptuousnesse is, there vertue hath no place. Therefore *Ecclesiasticus* turneth vs away from it in these wordes, Go not (sayth he) after thy lusts, neither turnethee aside after thy pleasure. *Architas* the Tarentine said, That the greatest plague that euer Nature brought forth in this world, is delectation or voluptuousnesse.

He liueth most at ease, that is contented with least.

Temperance the foundation of all vertue,

Voluptuousnesse blindeth the eyes of the minde. *Cicero* in his duties.

ousnesse. For out of that fountaine come all the mischiefs that we haue. *Philo* the Iew saith, That voluptuousnesse is like a harlot, who to enioy the man whom shee loueth, seeketh bawds to set her loue abroch, the which are the senses whom voluptuousnesse winneth first of all, by them to subdue the vnderstanding afterward. For the senses reporting within what they haue seene without, do represent vnto the vnderstanding, whatsoeuer they haue seene, and imprint in it the same affection. *Antisthenes* affirmed that he had leuer to be senselesse, than to be surpris'd with voluptuousnesse; for voluptuousnesse bereaueth a man of his vnderstanding, no lesse than follie doth, and follie may be remedied by medicine, but so cannot the other. And when it was said vnto him, that it was a great pleasure to liue deliciously, I pray God (quoth he) that such pleasure may befall to the children of our enemies. At such time as *Fabricius* was Ambassadour vnto *Pyrrhus*, *Cineas* told him how he had heard a great Philosopher in Athens, counsell men to referre all their doings to pleasure. Which thing seemed so strange to *Fabricius*, that he prayed God to giue such wisdom to *Pyrrhus*, and the Samnites. When one asked of *Agessilaus*, what profit the lawes of *Licurgus* yeelded: The despising of pleasures (quoth he) meaning to declare thereby, that all commonweales, are more confounded by delicioussnesse, than by other things. And for that cause, when *Darius* had overcome the Lydians, he ordained that they should vse perfumes, and that they should do nothing but daunce, leape, haunt tauerns, and be finely apparelled, to the intent that by that meanes becoming altogether effeminate, they might not haue the courage to rebell afterward. *Pyrrhus* seeing the Tarentines to be too full of delicatenesse, and to set their minds to make warre with words more than with deeds: forbad all assemblies to feasts, to mummings; and to such other effects of ioyfulness, then out of season, and brought them backe to the exercise of armes, shewing himselfe seuerer to them that were inrolled in his muster-booke, and bound to go to the warres.

Voluptuousnes bereaueth men of their wit.

Voluptuousnes the plague of all commonweales.

When

When one wondered that all the Lacedemonians lived so soberly: Maruell not (quoth *Agessilaus*) for of this thriftinesse we reape a good crop, meaning freedome: as who would say, that libertie could not continue long with voluptuousnesse and delights. The Persians on a time would haue shifted their dwelling place, from the hill grounds into the plains: but *Cyrus* would not permit it; saying that as plants and seeds, so also mens maners altered according to the nature of the soile; deeming wisely, That the lesse delicate countrie, yeeldeth the best men. As for example, *Vlysses* said of Ithaca, That it was a poore countrie, but it bred verie good men. And so said the king of Scythia to *Philip* king of Macedonie: Thou reignest (quoth he) ouer the Macedonians, who be great warriors; and I reigne ouer the Scythians, who be wont to endure hunger and thirst,

Libertie is maintained by frugallitie.

Mens maners change according to the countries.

Sandaris a well aduised lord of Lydia, would haue staid *Crasus* from leading his host into Persia against *Cyrus*. You go to make warre (quoth he) against a people whose cloathing is but of leather, whose food is not such as they list, but such as they can get, whose drinke is water, who eat not figs, or anie other such dainties. If ye ouercome them, ye can take nothing from them, because they haue nothing: and if you be ouercome, consider well what goods ye shall lose. As soone as they shall haue tasted of our goods, they will hie them apace hither, and we shall not be able to driue them away. It is verie hard, yea and vtterly vnposible, that persons tenderly brought vp, should vanquish them that be temperat & inured to trauell and pains-taking. And no maruel though *Epictetus* had this saying alwayes in his mouth, *Beare and forbear*: that is to say, we must with patience beare and indure things hard and euill, and by the vertue of Temperance forbear our delights and pleasures, for that is the thing wherein the vertue consisteth. And as *Plato* saith, He that is a staid man, is a friend to god, for he resembleth him. And whosoever is vntemperat, is contrarie to God, and vnrighthouse. I say not that pleasure is not to be sought at all: but (as *Plato* saith in his *Gorgias*)

To beare and forbear.

The vntemperat man is vniuist.

After what maner pleasure is to be sought.

it

it is to be sought so far forth, as it is matched with profit, as health and strength of bodie are, the which we seeke for the benefit of them, and not the benefit for the pleasures sake. And as *Aristippus* saith, That man moderateth pleasure, not which abstaineth vterly from it, but which vseth it in such sort, as he is not caried away with it, as we gouern a ship or a horse, when we lead them whether we list. For Reason (as saith *Demosthenes*) must be the mistresse of lusts. Also a man may take pleasure of the five senses of nature without offence, as when a man taketh delight in eating and drinking, because hee is well a hungred and a thirst, for the pleasure that a man taketh in his tast, commeth of sobrietie: and when a man scratcheth where it itcheth, that touching is not faultie; as for example, *Socrates* tooke singuler delight in rubbing himselfe after hee had indured the stocks. Yet notwithstanding, ordinarily these two senses are most dangerous about all the other, when a man taketh more pleasure of them than he should doe, the which befallerh not to the other: as for example, if a man take pleasure in colours & paintings, albeit there be too much or too little, yet is he not therefore accounted either temperat or vntemperat; neither he likewise that is too much giuen to the hearing of accounts, or of songs; nor hee that taketh too much delight in sents and smells, but rather they that delight in the fauours of meats and drinks, because that those sents renew the remembrance of the things which they loue: as for example, the emperour *Claudius* at the onely sent of the roast-meat, that was prepared at a feast that was made for the Salian priests, did by and by leaue all his affairs, and went to dine with them. Also they that see or heare any speeches of the things which they loue, are tickled with some pleasure therof, which being entered in at the eies or the eares, taketh such root in the heart, that it is hard to put it away againe. For that cause when *Sophocles* beheld a faire yoong boy and commended his beautie, one told him, That it became him to haue not onely chaste hands, but also chaste eies. *Candaules* king of Lidia hauing a ladie of most excellēt beautie to his wife, shewed hernaked

The difference
of the five
senses.

to a friend of his named *Gyges*: but the sight of hir so inflamed the heart of *Gyges*, that he murdered the king, to marrie hir. The people of *Bisance* being besieged of *Philip*, sent Ambassadors vnto him to know what iniurie he pretended to be done by them. And he sent them back againe without any good answer, saying that they were great fools, & like to one that hauing a faire wife, demanded of them that resorted often to hir, wherfore they came thither: meaning that the beautie of their town, made him desirous to win it. And for that cause doth our Lord and lawgiuer say, that he which lusteth after a woman, sinneth as much as if he had to do with hir, by reason of the consent which he hath giuen to the sinne, the performance wherof ingendereth death. For when lust is once entred in, it is hard to keepe the rest from following after, or at leastwise to forbear to giue attempt to obtaine the rest, as the iudges did to *Susan*, *David* to *Bersabee*, and *Tarquin* to *Lucrece*. Well may we hear, see, and smel a far off; but we cannot touch or tast, but the things that are neere at hand. And that is the cause that we haue most delectation by those feelings. Moreouer, nature hath conueied into them, all the pleasantnes that she could, to the intent that that pleasure should maintaine al liuing wights, which cannot liue but by eating and drinking, nor be increased and continued without the act of copulation, specially the brute beasts, which would neither feede nor ingender, if they were not prouoked therto by nature. And as touching hounds which follow freshly vpon the sent of things, it is not for any pleasure that they haue in the hunting, but for the pleasure which they haue to eat it. The lion taketh no delight in the lowing of a bugle or an oxe, nor in the sight of a goodlie stagge, otherwise than by accident, that is to say for that he hopeth that it is meat prepared for him to dine vpon. Therefore I say that temperance, consisteth chiefly and most peculiarly in eating and drinking, and in vse of women. And as *Plato* saith, Al things seeme to depend chiefly vpon three necessities and inward desires; of the which being well ordered, springeth the vertue of temperance, or contrariwise the vice of intempe-

Concupif-
cence the
cause of verie
great sins.

Temperance
consisteth
most in ea-
ting and drin-
king and in
vse of women.

rance, if they be vnrulie. Two of them be in all liuing wights as soone as they be borne; namely, the desire to eat and to drink: and because euery liuing creature hath a naturall appetite, euen from his very birth, therefore is hee carried vnto it euen with a violent and forcible desire, and cannot abide to heare him that shall tell him he must doe otherwise. But the third necessitie, lust, or pregnant desire, which serueth for propagation and generation, commeth a certaine time after, and yet it burneth men with a hote furie, and carrieth them with a wonderfull loosenesse. These three diseases enforcing vs after that maner to the things that we most like of, must be turned to the better by feare, by law, and by true reason. *S. Ierome* writing to *Furia* sayth, That this lust is harder to subdue than the others, because it is within vs, whereas other finnes are without vs. As for example, Niggardlinesse may be laid downe by casting vp a mans purse a farre off: the railer is corrected, if he be commanded to hold his peace; a man may in lesse than an houre, change rich aparell into meane: only the desire which God hath endued vs withall for procreation, doth by a certaine constraint of nature, run to carnall copulation. Wherefore great diligence is to be vsed for the vanquishing of nature, that in the flesh a man may not liue fleshly. Some haue taken Temperance more largely, as *Anacharsis* the Scythian, who said that a man ought to haue stay of his tounge, of his bellie, and of the priuie parts. Which thing *Plato* hath declared more largely in his *Phædon*, saying of the inordinat appetits of Intemperance, that there be diuerse sorts of names of them, according as they themselues are diuers. For the lust of things about the nauell concerning foode is called gluttony, and he that is possessed of that vice, is called a glutton; he that is ouermaistered with drinking, is called a drunkard: that which forceth a man to the pleasurable and ouerliking of a beautifull visage, and surmounteth reason in the desire thereof, is called loue: and the like may we say of all lust that ouermaistretcheth the opinion which tendeth to well doing. *Pythagoras* said that we must chiefly moderat these things; namely the belly, sleepe,

The lust of women is within vs, and therefore hard to ouercome.

leepe, the desire of the flesh, and choler, wherof I will speake particularly hereafter, after that I haue exhorted princes to Temperance generally, as to the vertue which is most necessarie. For the desire of honour may lead a prince to prowesse, and withdraw him from cowardlines, but it is hard to reclaime him from couetousnes. For the desire of hauing more, is the ordinarie vice of princes and great lords; so that if they desire women, banquets, or feasts, no man pulleth them back, but rather flatterers allure them thereunto. Wherefore it standeth them on hand to withdraw themselues from them and to beare in mind, that a man may be temperat without danger, but he cannot attaine to prowesse without putting himselfe in perill of warre. And the cause why valeantnes is preferred before Temperance, is, that valeantnes is the harder to attaine vnto: But to haue the traine of vertues which consist in the sensitiue appetit, Temperance will obtaine more than valeantnes, which is peculiar to those that are hardie, and is hard by reason of the perill wherwith it is matched. But this vertue of Temperance is easie and void of all perill, and consisteth but in the contempt of voluptuousnes, the which as *S. John Chrysostome* saith in his xxij Homilie, Is like a dog: if you driue him away, he is gone; if yee make much of him, he will abide with you. *Democritus* saith that Temperance increaseth the pleasure of things. Which thing *Epicurus* considering, who placed all mans pleasure in voluptuousnes, dranke nothing but water, ne ate other than crible bread, saying that he did it according to his profession, because it liked him better to eat little, and to vse meats that were least delicat. And yet neuerthelesse he gaue himselfe to Temperance, granting the thing in effect which he denied in his words, namely that vertue was the chief cause of pleasure. Also it is most commonly said, that ther is not a better sauce than appetit. And to haue great pleasure of any thing whatsoeuer it be, a man must talte of his contraie, as of hunger to find meat sweet, and of thirst to feele drinke pleasant; after the example of *Darius*, who drinking vp a

Couetousnes an ordinarie fault in princes.

Wherin Temperance consisteth. Voluptuousnes like to a dog. Temperance increaseth pleasure.

glasse of water, good God (quoth he) from how great a pleasure haue I bin barred heretofore. *Ptolomy* in making a rode through the countrie of *Ægypt*, happened to want wherewith to dine, because his vittels followed him not, insomuch that for the hunger that pinched him, he was faine to eat a morsel of bread in a poor mans cottage, saying he neuer ate better bread nor with better appetite. *Diogenes* said, It was a strange thing, that wrestlers and singing-men despised their bellie and their pleasures; the one to haue a good voice, and the other to haue the stronger bodie: and that for temperance sake no man regarded so to doe. *Isocrates* in the exhortation which he giueth to *Demonicus*, giueth this precept for temperance worthy to be noted, Bethinke your selfe (saith he) to become temperat and staied, in the things which you would esteeme vile and shameful, if your mind were hild down in them, as lucre, wrath, sensuality, & sorrow. Now it wil be easie for you to haue stay of your selfe, if you set your mind to the obtainment of the things that may increase your renowne, and not your reuenues. As touching anger, you must vse no greater towards others, than you would that others should vse towards you. In the things that bring pleasure, you shall easily temper your selfe, if you consider what a shame it is for you to command your slaues, and in the meane while your selfe to be a slaue vnto voluptuousnes. Your sorrowes you shall be able to moderat, by beholding the miseries of other men, and by considering that you be a mortal man. And aboute all you shall be stirred vp to do good, if you consider that vpon that point dependeth pleasure. For in the idle life which seeketh nothing but feasting and cheering, the pleasantnes endeth forthwith together with the pleasure: but when a man intendeth to vertue and purposeth vpon a sobriety in al his life, it giueth him a true ioy and a longlasting. Therefore none other pleasure is to be sought, than such as bringeth honor: for the pleasure is noughtworth that is not matched with honor. *Alexander Seuerus* said T, hat an ill conditioned prince doth often spend his treasures in superfluity of apparrell & curiosity offeastts, which he needs for the maintenance of wars.

Againc.

A notable
precept for
Temperance.

What pleasure
is to be
sought.

Againe he ware no gold nor precious stones : saying that a prince ought not to measure himselfe by the things which couer the bodie, but by the goodnesse and vertue of his mind. *Plutarch* in the life of *Philopemen* saith, that by superfluitie and sumptuousnesse in household-stuffe, apparell, and fare, manie haue beene brought to seeke the delights, that make nice and effeminate the courages of such as vse them, because the tickling of the outward sense that is delighted with them, doth by and by soften and loosen the stoutnes & strength of the mind. I say (quoth *Agapete* to *Iustinian*) that you are now rightly a king, seeing that you can rule and gouerne your delights, by wearing on your head the diadem of Temperance. A king is lord of al, but then specially when he ouerruleth himselfe, and is not subiect to euil lusts, but (by help of reason wherthrough he ouerruleth the vnreasonable affections), maketh himselfe lord and master by meanes of Temperance, ouer the lusts that bring all the world in subiection, which thing those could well skill to do, which haue had most estimation in the world. *Scipio* was so temperat, that in foure and fiftie yeeres which he liued, he neither sold nor purchased nor builded: and hauing raised two great cities, namely Numance and Carthage, yet he enriched not himselfe with the spoils of them; insomuch that at his death, he left behind him no more but three and thirtie pound of siluer, and two pound of gold. *Paulus Aemilius* had such stay of himself, that he neuer tooke one penie of the treasure of *Perseus*, ne died richer than did *Aristides*. *Lysander* and infinit other Greeks and Romans famous in histories, and specially the Lacedemonians, were trained vp in Temperance from their youth, and taught to keepe themselues from being corrupted with monie, as *Herodotus* reporteth of one *Gorgo* a little daughter of *Cleomenes*, of the age of eight or nine yeeres. In the presence of this little wench, one *Aristagoras* intreated *Cleomenes* to do so much with the Lacedemonians, as to cause them to send an annie into Asia, promising to giue him ten talents for his labour; when *Cleomenes* refused, he offered him fiftie: The pretie wench hearing that, tooke her father aside,

Voluptuousnes maketh men nice and effeminate.

Lacedemonians trained vp from the shell in Temperance

and said vnto him, My father, if you get you not hence, this guest will corrupt you. Whereat *Cleomenes* departed presently, without hearkening to *Aristagoras* any more. The Temperance and staidnesse of *Titus Quintius*, gate mo countiees to the Romans, than all their forces had done. First of all after that he had woon the battell, although his vittels followed him not, yet made he his men of warre to march on still, in such sort as they tooke not any thing in the countiee where they went, notwithstanding that they found great abundance of goods, the which his forbearing he found anon after how greatly it auailed him: for as soon as he was come into Thesalie, the cities yeelded themselues willingly vnto him, and all the rest of the Greeks required nothing, but to giue theselues vnto him. *Demetrius* was subiect to his belly, & to women; and yet in the time of warre he was as sober and chaste, as they that be naturally giuen thereunto; rightly deeming that he could not ouercome his enemies vnlesse he were temperate. But yet at length, when he let himselfe loose to his pleasures, the Macedonians draue him out, saying that they were wearie of bearing armes, and of fighting for his pleasures.

Quintius won mo cities by Temperance than by the sword.

Demetrius expelled for his voluptuousnesse.

CHAP. XI.

That he that will dispatch his affaires well, must be Sober.



Said afore, that Temperance is chiefly ouer the bellie, and the priuie parts, the tongue, and choler. Now must I speake in order of these foure sorts of Temperance, and first of all I will speake of that which concerneth the bellie, that is to say, which concerneth eating and drinking, the which we call Abstinence or Sobrietie; the contrarie whereof we call Gluttonie, a foule and filthie vice, specially in a Prince,

Prince. For as saith *Mercurie Trismegistus*, It bereaueth a man of all goodnesse, whereas Sobrietie doth maruellouslie become him. For Sobrietie withdraweth him not from his affaires for chearing, and therewith it exempteth him from al diseases, that often come of fulnesse, through too much eating and drinking. It preserueth a mans wit the clearer, to iudge soundly of the matters that come afore him; whereas he that hath vapours in his braine through too much meat that is cast into the stomacke, cannot be so fit for the ordering of them, by reason of his distemperature. For it is hard to occupie our wit well, when we haue eaten and drunken too much. And *S. Ierom* saith, in his rule of Monks, We cannot applie our selues to wisdom, if we set our minds vpon the abundance of the table; and that nothing but belly-cheare & lechery do make vs to couet riches. For this cause *Salomon* esteemeth them vnhappy, that are vnder a king that is early at his feeding; that is to say, which is subiect to his mouth. *Cato* said, That we must take so much meat and drinke, as is requisit to maintaine the strength of the bodie, and not as shall accloy it. And as *Cicero* saith in his Duties, We must referre our feeding to the health and strength of our bodies, and not vnto pleasure. And *Socrates* saith, That we must so vse our feeding, as neither bodie nor mind be ouercharged therewith. And therefore Ecclesiasticus in the seuen and thirtith chapter saith thus; Be not greedie of thy meat, neither thrust thy hand into euery dish, for the multitude of meats procureth diseases, and of ful feeding breedeth choler. Many haue died of Gluttonie, but he that abstaineth shall prolong his life. Our Lord in the 21 of *Saint Luke* commaundeth vs to beware, that our hearts be not accloied with wine and meat. And *S. Paule* to the Ephesians, forbiddeth vs to take too much wine, as wherein lieth surfetting. *Horace* in the second of his sermons, describeth naturally the pleasure and discōmoditie of too much feeding. *Plinie* saith, That simple meats are most wholsom for the body, & that al sawfes and sawcepikets are dangerous ond deadly. Such as haue written of antiquities, say, That in the time of *Saturne*,

The sober mā
hath his wit
the more at
will.

Cicero in his
Tusculan
questions.

A man of
moderat diet
prolongeth
his life.

the world neither ate flesh nor dranke wine; wherein they agree with our diuines, who put vs out of doubt, that the vse of flesh and wine was vnknowne afore the vniuersall flood. The *Esseans* liued longest of all the *Iewes*, because they did most abstaine, and vsed least daintie meats. There were three sorts of feeding in *Persia*, wherof the excellentest contented them selues with hearbs and meale. *Saint John Chrysostome* in his fūe and fiftith Homilie saith, That a poore table is the mother of health, and a rich table is the mother of diseases, as of headach, of quaking of the limbs, of agues, of goutts, and of o-ther diseases more dangerous than hunger. For hunger killeth within few daies, but excesse rotteth a mans bodie by peecemeale, and pineth away the flesh with sicknesse, and in the end killeth him with a cruell death. Againe in the mind it breedeth testinesse, melancholie, slouth, and vnweeldinesse: and there is not any thing that driueth away so many diseases, as moderat diet. That which I say tendeth not to the vtter taking away of all feasts, for as *Plutarch* saith in his banquet of the seuen Sages, They that take away the vse of eating and drinking one with another, take away that which is strongest in friendship. And our bodies cannot receiue a greater pleasure, nor a more rightfull, familiar and agreeable to nature: because that by that means men communicat, and participat of the selfesame vittels. *Socrates* did oftentimes banquet and gather good companies together, whom he entertained well, howbeit soberlie and without superfluitie, delighting them more with his mirthfull and sweet talke, than with his meats and drinks. Infomuch that afterward, sober and merrie meals were called *Socratis* meals.

And this maner did *Plato* well hold still of his maister: For he entertained his guests well, but without anie superfluitie. Which thing *Timothie* of Athens marked well in him, who hauing had verie good and conuenient intertainment at his hand, howbeit without any great furniture of meats; at his meeting with him the next morning, thanked him for that his supper had done him pleasure, not onely for the present

time,

A poore table
is the mother
of health.

Of feasts and
banquets. 1

time, but also the day after. The Lacedemonians were wonderfull sober in eating and drinking, and had certaine publike places called *Phidities*, where they ate verie soberly; whereof it came, that when men would speake of a small pittance, they would liken it to a meale of the *Phiditie*. And when a certaine stranger asked them, Why they drunke so litle? To the intent (answered they) that we may counsell other men, and not other men counsell vs. Meaning to shew by that answer, that the greatest drinkers are not the best in counsell, but that Sobrietic breedeth good aduice. For temperate diet is the schoolmistresse of good and sage counsell, as said *Sophocles*, *Epicurus* said, That he should esteeme himselfe alway alike happie, so he might haue bread and water. For the appetite of eating and drinking, consisteth more in hunger and thirst, than in the delicatnesse of wines and meats. The Lacedemonians in stead of all other dainties, had for their first dish a broth that was blacke and of small taste, whereof notwithstanding they made great account. *Dennis* the tyrant would haue tasted thereof, because they liked it so well; and he had a Lacedemonian cooke that prepared thereof for him: but when he had tasted of it, he liked not of it. Then said his cooke vnto him, that it was not to be wondered, if he misliked it, seeing it was not seasoned as it should be, that is to say, with trauell in hunting and running, nor with hunger & thirst, which are the sawces that the Lacedemonians vse to season their meats withall.

On a time the queene of *Caria* gaue *Alexander* great store of delicate meats, for the which he thanked her: howbeit in raking them, he told her that he had much better than those, that is to wit, for dinner the iourney that he marched afore daylight, and for supper a small dinner. For a great dinner hindereth a good supper, as *Diogenes* said to a yong man that ate nothing to his supper but Oliues; If thou hadst dined (quoth he) after this maner, thou wouldest not feed as thou dost. Mo men die of eating too much, than of hunger, as saith *Theognis*. And as the comon prouerbe saith, The mouth killeth men

The Sobrietic
of the Lacedemonians.

A spare diet is
the Schoolmistres
of wise counsell.

The sawces of
the Lacedemonians.

men than the sword. *Cato* said it was hard for that common-weale to endure long, wherin a little fish, was sold deerer than a great oxe. *Socrates* said, That most men liued to eat, but he himselfe ate to liue. It was said of the emperor *Bonofus*, that he was borne to eat and drinke, the which hath a better grace in latin, *Non vt uiuat natus est, sed vt bibat*. He that listeth to see more thereof, let him read *Iuuenal* in his eleuenth Satire. Let

The pampering of the body starueth the soule.

A fat belly a fordeth not a good wit.
A Glutton.

A Drunkard.

vs ad hereunto, that which *Porphirie* saith, That the pampering and glutting of the bodie starueth the soule, and by increasing that which is mortall, it hindereth and casteth vs back from the life eternal. And as *Galen* saith, The mind that is choked vp with greace and blood, cannot vnderstand any heauenly thing. And *S. Ierom* saith, That a fat paunch cannot breed a good and sharpe wit. For *Plinie* saith, That such as haue great bellies, haue slender wits. Therefore we call him a glutton, which eateth either too much or too hastilie, or oftener than he needeth besides his ordinarie meales, or that seeketh delicate and daintie meats. And we call him a drunkard, which drinketh out of measure. For, to drinke wine moderatly, is not forbidden. And as *Anacharsis* said, The first draught serueth for health, the second for pleasure, the third for shame, and the fourth for madnesse. For as *Herodotus* saith, Drunkennes putteth a man out of his wits, and makes him mad. *Moyse*s forbiddeth the priests to drinke wine, or any other drinke that may make men drunken, during the time that they were in their course of sacrificing.

Plato in his common-weale forbiddeth magistrats wine, during the time of the executing of their office, and also children vtill they be eighteene yeares old, for feare of putting fire to fire. For great heed ought to be taken, that we driue not youth into a setled disposition of furie. And after that time he will haue them to vse wine moderatly. And when they be come to fortie years, then they may drinke the more liberally, as a remedie against the waywardnesse of old age. And in the same booke, He that is full of wine (sayth he) both draweth and

and is drawne hither and thither. And therefore a drunkard as a man besides himselfe, is vnmeet for generation; because it is likely that his procreation shall be vnequall, crooked and vnstable, as well in members as in maners. And therefore he saith, That a drunkard being set in any state of government, whatsoeuer it be, vndoeth and marreth all, whether it be ship or armed chariot, or any other thing whereof he hath the guiding and government. The Carthaginenses prohibited wine to their magistrats and men of warre, and so doth also *Mahomet* to all those that hold of his law. It was felonie for the magistrats of Locres to drinke wine, without the licence of a Phisition. And the yong Romans dranke no wine, afore they were twentie yeeres old.

The drunkard is vnmeet to beget childre.

Athenes saith, That the Greeks neuer dranke wine without water, and that sometimes they put fiue glasses of water to one of wine, and sometime but two of water to foure of wine. *Hesiodus* will haue men to put three parts of water to one of wine. *Sophocles* mocked the poet *Aeschylus*, for that he neuer wrote but when he was well drunken. For although he write well (saith he) yet writeth he vnadvisedlie. *Aristophanes* termed wine the milke of *Venus*, because it prouoketh men to lecherie. And *Horace* saith, That a cup of wine, is the companion of *Venus*. And for that cause, a certaine Iewish sect called *Essians*, who were holier and of better conuersation than the Pharisees, or than the Saduces who were heretikes; abstained from wine and women, as witnesseth *Iosephus* in his Antiquities. *Osee* saith, That wine and fornication bereaue men of their harts; that is to wit, of right vnderstanding and discretion. For wine hideth and darkeneth wisdom. And *Salomon* in the the 23 of the **Prouerbs**, saith, That the drunkard and the glutton shall become poore. And in another place, Who (saith he) haue misfortune, who haue sorrow, who haue trouble, who haue sighing, who haue stripes without cause, and who haue faintnes of eyes? Euen they that sit at the wine, and straine themselues to emptie the cuppes. Wine is alluring, but in the end it stingeth

Wine is the milke of *Venus*.

Wine dimmeth and ouercometh wisdom,

Ringeth like a serpent, and leaueth his sting behind him like an asp-worme. At that time, thine eies shall see strangers, and thy hart shall vtter fond things. *Plinie* in the 14. booke of his naturall Historie saith among other things, that it maketh the eies water, the hands quiuering, the nights vnquiet, lewd dreames, a stinking breath in the morning, and vtter forgetfulness of all things. Moderate wine helpeth concoction, and the sinewes; and abundance thereof hurteth them. *Esaus* by his gluttonie, lost his birthright. *Noe* by his drunkennesse became a laughingstocke to his owne children; and *Lot* delt shamefully with his owne daughters. Betweene a drunken man and a mad man, is small difference. And as *Cryssippus* saith, Drunkennesse is a peti-madnesse; as we read of *Alexander*, who in his drunkennesse was commonly furious. And as *Strabo* saith, Like as a small wind doth easily carie him away that is swaieng forward alredie, so a little greef doth easily make him mad, that hath taken in too much wine. And *Sophocles* saith, A drunken man is easily caried away with choler, and hath no vnderstanding: whereby it commeth to passe, that when he hath rashly discharged his tongue, he is constrained afterward whether he will or no, to heare of it at their hands of whom he railed in his lustinesse. For who so euill speaketh (saith *Hesiodus*) shall shortly after heare more of it than he had spoken. *Theognis* saith, That as gold is tried by fire, so is a mans mind by wine. For wine bereaueth him of all knowledge, and consequently of all aduisement and meane to dissemble, so as it is ill done to commit anie secrets to a drunkard. If a drunkard offended in his drunkennesse, *Pittacus* would haue him punished with double punishment, that he should the rather abstaine from drunkennesse.

The Romans did put them out of the Senate, that were drunkards. In old time a man could not put away his wife except she had beene an aduresser, a witch, or a wine drinker. To eschue this vice, we will take the remedie of *Anacharsis*; who counselled them that were subiect to that vice, to behold how drunken men behaued themselves, or rather (as

Pithagoras

The inconueniencies of drinking too much.

Drunkennesse is a peti-madnesse.

A mans disposition is bewrayed by wine.

A remedie for drunkennesse.

Pithagoras said) to bethinke them of the things that a drunken man hath done. That was the cause why the Lacedemonians made their bondslaues drunken, that their yong folk might learne to hate drunkenesse, when they saw those poore soules out of their wits, and scorned at all hands. Furthermore it is to be considered, what mischiefs haue come of drunkenesse, whereof all stories are full: as how the armie of *Thomiris* was discomfited by *Cyrus*, for that they hauing drunke too much, were laid downe and false a sleepe. How the citie Abida in Mesopotamia was lost by drunkenesse, because the men that were set to gard the tower of Hippomethere, hauing drunke too much, were false into so deep a sleepe, that they were surprisid by their enemies, and slaine afore they could awake. In general for frugality, we must haue the vertue of Temperance before our eies, which warneth vs to follow reason, and to eschue superfluitie of eating and drinking, vnder colour that we haue whereof to make good cheere; and say as *Alcarnenes* did, who being vpbraided that he liued so sparingly and poorely for the riches that he had, said, That he which hath great reuenues, ought to liue according to reason, and not at his pleasure. For frugality doth alway well beseme a Prince, so long as it proceed not of nigardship. Our former kings lost their kingdome, through following their delights. King *Charles* the seuenth, who was wont to sup with three yong pigeons, and a brest of mutton, raised the siege of the Englishmen before Orleans, and recovered the whole realme of France from them. *Antonie* and *Cleopatra*, who spent three or foure hundred thousand French crownes at a banquet in one day, were vanquished by *Octavius*, who was sober, and contented himselfe with common meats, eating and drinking but little. Also *Iulius Caesar* was sober, and a small drinker, and it was said of him, That he was the onely sober man that went about to ouerthrow the state; as who would say, the subuerting of states belonged rather to drunkards and giddi-headed persons, than to men that are sober and discreet. *Romulus* was sober, and a small drinker:

Of the sobrietic of diuerse princes.

drinker. And when it was said of him, That if all men did as he did, wine would be good cheape: Nay (quoth he) it would rather be deare if euerie man should drinke as much as I do, who do drinke as much as I list. *Tiberius* as if he had bene a very thriuing and sparing man, would be serued the next day, with the meats that had been dressed for his supper the night afore, with a pretence of nigardship: but to say the truth, it was but to mocke and deceiue the world: for at the last he would drinke well. By meanes whereof, when he was yet a yong man long afore he was emperour, being in the campe, instead of *Tiberius*, he gate himselfe the name of *Biberius*, and in stead of *Claudius*, he gate himselfe the name of *Caldius*, and in stead of *Nero*, he gat himselfe the name of *Mero*. And good cause why: for he bestowed two dayes, and one night together, in nothing else but eating and drinking with *Pomponius*, *Flaccus*, and *Lucius Piso*, to whom he gaue great presents, and committed vnto them the managing of great affaires, in recompence of their gluttonie, calling them men for all hours.

The way to
eschew glut-
tonic.

To eschue this vice, we must follow the counsell of *Socrates*, who would haue men to forbear all meats and drinks, that allure the appetite more than is behooffull for the staunching of hunger and thirst. For dilicat meats prouoke feeding, and make men tender and subiect to manie diseases. Contrariwise, they that vse no daintie meats, are more strong and lustie than the other sort, as we see in men of the countrie, seruants, and poore men, who without comparison are stronger than citizens, maisters, and rich men. *Democritus* said, There is not any man which doth not pray and make vowes to God for his owne health, and yet we do the contrarie to that which we sue for. For by our vnruinesse we bereaue our selues of the health which we might obtaine by Sobrietie. If we see a countrie infected with any daungerous disease, we flee from it a hundred leagues off, and as much as we can, we shun all contagious aires. There is no man but he shunneth blowes, and dreadeth death, vnlesse that
prowesse

Through dis-
order of diet
we depriue
our selues of
the health
which we
pray for.

proweſſe put him forward. And yet all men run into intemperance, which cauſeth death, and which (as *Hesiodus* ſaith) be-
traieth vs into a cruell old age, that is to ſay, to a ſwift, haſtie,
vntimely, and vniipe old age.

CHAP. XII.

Of Continencie, and Incontinencie.

He ſecond ſort of Temperance con-
cerneth women, which we may call
Continencie and Chſtitie : and the
contrarie we may call Incontinencie;
or lecherouſneſſe. *Terullian* calleth
Chſtitie the flower of maners, the
honour of the bodie, and the ground
of holineſſe. *Saint Cyprian* calleth it
the ornament of maners, the holineſſe of fathers, and the
crowne of concord. How great this vertue is, and how ac-
ceptable to God, thoſe holie perſons that haue vowed them-
ſelues vnto it, do witneſſe vnto vs; and alſo the excellen-
teſt Philoſophers, the moſt part of whom eſchewed both
marriage and women, to the intent they might haue their
minds more attentiuē & liſted vp to heauenly things, becauſe
that ſuch are meeteſt for contemplation, and beloued of God.
Which thing *Saint Iohn* intending to ſhew vnto vs; ſaith in
the fourteenth of the Apocalips, That he ſaw a hundred and
four and fortie thouſand men, which ſung a new ſong before
the throne of God; and that none other but thoſe hundred
and four and fortie thouſand could ſing that ſong. And theſe
(ſaith he) are thoſe which haue not defiled themſelues with
women, becauſe they be virgins, & follow the lambe whether
ſocuer he goeth. He magnifieth the martyrs & other holy cō-
feſſors, but of theſe only he ſaith, That they follow the lambe
wherſocuer he becom: giuing honor & prerogatiue to virgins.

The greateſt
perſonages
haue eſchued
marriage and
women.

And

And such as cannot be so, haue mariage for their remedie, wherein a man may liue chastly, when the man keepeth himselfe to his wife, and the wife to her husband, according to the precept of Saint *Paule*, and of *Salomon*, who saith, Let thy welbeloued seruant keepe companie with thee; meaning his wife. And let vs drinke of the water of our owne cup, of our owne pit, or of our owne well, to the intent to debarre the vice of adulterie, which oftentimes causeth the ruine of realmes and common-weals. *Nero* being wicked and incestuous, said, There was not a chast and continent person in the world, but onely that most men cloked the vice by subtiltie and hypocrisie. And because he was so much giuen to that vice himselfe, he thought it vnpossible for any man to be cleare. Yet notwithstanding it is said of *Lalins*, That in all his life he neuer had to do with anie other than his owne wife, and that after her death, he neuer knew anie other. *Iulian* the Emperour liued in continuall continencie after the death of his wife, notwithstanding that he was a yong man. There are manie men and women, both Greeks & Romans to be found, which haue beene maruellous chast and well staid. *Porcia* the sifter of *Cato*, said, That the chast woman neuer marieth more than once. Men attribute the continencie of *Xenocrates*, to a certaine insensibilitie: But he was too wise, and too great a personage, to be without any feeling: for he was a Philosopher of great renowme, temperat and well staid in all things, such a one as passed little for monie, women, and other pleasures, but continued alwaies as sad and graue as was possible; whom *Plato* counsell'd to offer sacrifice to the graces, that he might become more courteous and gracious. In his time there was the most beautifull and gentle courtisan of the world, named *Phrynee*. Now certaine yong men laid a wager with this *Phrynee*, that they would lay a man by her, that should not be moued by her beautie, nor by all her dalliances. When the wager was made, they made the said *Xenocrates* to be laid in a faire bed, and the curtisan taried not long after ere she came into the bed vnto him, where she forgate not any thing that

The continencie of *Xenocrates*.

that might serue to kindle a mans courage, though he had bin of marble: finally after many kissings, touchings, and wanton dalliances, all that euer she could win of him that night, was that she was faine to leaue him as she found him. The next morning hir paramours came to know whether they had won or lost. *Phrynee* confessed that the philosopher was not moued at all with her dalliances. And when they required the monie which she had lost vpon the wager; she answered them, that she had made her wager of a man, and not of a block: truly in the opinion of the couetous and vnchast, he was a very block & sencelesse; but in very deed he shewed himselfe to be well staied and a right philosopher, in that he could so well skill to ouermaister his affections; specially considering that the courtisan would haue triumphed ouer him and his philosophie, in maintenance wherof he stood so resolutely grounded, that it was not possible afterward for the courtisan, to make him to stoope to the feats of hir amorous temptations. And so this his doing proceeded not of any grosse insensibility, but rather of a gallant mind that stood resolute in his purpose. After which manner wee read of certaine saints and martyrs, which by the grace of God did wonderfull deeds of chastity, resisting such temptations with inuincible courage, whom we will omit for shortnes sake, after I haue set down the wonderfull staiednesse of *Isseph*, who could not be moued with the beautie of his mistresse, nor with the good that he might haue receiued at her hand, nor with the danger that he incurred by refusing. At whose continencie *S. Iohn Chrysostome* maruelling saith, vpon the nineteenth of Genesis, That it is not so great a wonder, that the three children ouercame the fire in the furnace at Babylon, as it is wonderful and rare that this righteous man, being in this furnace of the incontinencie of the *Egyptian* woman, far more dangerous than the furnace of Babylon, abode safe and sound, and so waded out of it, keeping the mantle of his chastitie pure and cleane. *S. Ierom* being halfe broiled with the heate of the sun in the desert, confesseth that he could not refraine, from thinking vpon the delicat delights

The continencie of *To seph.*

and beautifull dames of Rome. But yet the austeritie of his life restrained those lusts, from taking place in his head. I know well that some euen of nature are too cold, and other some againe be too whot, and too sore giuen to flesh: but yet reason and resoluteness aided by the grace of God, get the vpper hand. *Polemon* king of Licia was put away by his wife, for being to rough in dealing with her, as witnesseth *Iosephus* in his twentieth booke of his Antiquities. Among the greatest praises that *Mahomet* giueth to himselfe, he vaunteth in his Alcoran, that he had not his fellow in that feat. And *Iames Churre* reporteth, that in his time there was a woman that complained to the king of Arragon, of her husbands prodigious lecherie. Whereupon he was forbidden to haue to doe with her aboute six times a day, which was a restraint to the fift part of his ordinarie dealing; who so marketh and considereth this mans dealings, he shall find mo houres in the day, that the *Ægyptians* made, who ruled their houres by a certaine beast dedicated to *Serapis*, which pissed twelue times a day by equall distances: at leastwise if such as are hard of beleefe will not muster this in the same rank with the fable of *Hercules*, who is reported to haue defloured fiftie daughters of one man in one night. Now must I speake of the good that is reaped by chastitie, and of the harme that is receiued by vnchastitie: which good and harme extend themselues to the goods of the bodie, of the soule, and of fortune. As touching the goods of the bodie, it is certaine that a man cannot be beautifull and well disposed, if he be giuen to that pleasure. For as *Cicero* saith, An vnchast youth yeeldeth an ouerworne bodie vnto old age. As touching strength, nothing is so noysome to it as that, according to this saying of the Poet, *Venus* and *Bacchus* bereaue men of all strength. And *Menander* sayth, A woman is a shortener of mans life. *Cornelius Celsus* saith, That lecherie dissolueth the bodie. And *Hippocrates* saith, That nothing doth so much wither and wast a man as that, calling it an vnderkind of the falling sicknesse.

The prodigious lechery of a certaine Spaniaid.

The profit of chastitie and the harme of vnchastitie.

Women shorten mens liues.

Paulus Aegineta saith, that it maketh the bodie cold and feeble. And therefore *Clinius* and *Pithagoricall* philosophers said, That the companie of women was but then to be vsed, when men were desirous to fall into some disease: wherein he followed his maister *Pithagoras*, who prohibited the vse of women, vnlesse it were to make them the weaker and feebler. That is the cause why *Solon* in his lawes ordained mariage; howbeit with charge that the husband should not haue to do with his wife, aboue thrice in a month. *Licurgus* to make the Lacedemonians the stronger, prohibited them to lie with their wiues, enioyning thē to take them vnappareled and secretly, of purpose to take away the abuse of them & the ouermuch vse, whereby they might afterward become weake and lesse able to take paines. *Plutarch* among his precepts of health, setteth downe chiefly the conseruation of the vitall seede. *Plato* in his lawes, commandeth yong men to imploy their strength about other things than that, and to weaken the lust of the flesh by much trauell, which will easly be done, if a man vse it not too vnchastly. For if a man vse it rarely and with shamefastnes, lecherie shall haue the lesse power ouer him. Wherefore we must persuaide our selues to do so, by custome without law written, and think it a shame and note of infamie, to do otherwise. And if it could be, a law should be made, that no man might touch any woman but his wife, nor beget bastards vpon concubines, and that if any man kept a concubine, he should be proclaimed as an infamous person, and be deprived from all honor and offices of the citie or common-weale. As touching the mind, nothing doth so much abate it and make it to grow out of kind. It is euident how *Antoni* managed his affairs misse, after that he fell in loue with *Cleopatra*; namely how he made an vnfortunat voiage against the Parthians, and knit vp his doings with a mis-incounter at the journey of *Actium*.

The lawes of
Solon and *Li-
curgus* concer-
ning mariage.

Incontinencie
maketh men
to grow out
of kind.

It would require a whole booke, to number the mischieues that haue come thereof, and to shew the alterations that loue hath wrought in the minds of men. And as *Parmeno* sayth

in Terence, It is a strange thing, to see how men are altered by loue, and how a man that was well staid, and sterne, becommeth loose and ill disposed through loue. And for all, *Salomon* the wisest of all men in the world may suffice, who through loue became more fond and vnaduised than any man; insomuch that he left his religion, and became an idolater.

We read in the 19. chapter of the Iudges, what a bloodie battell there was betweene the Israelites and their fellows of the tribe of Benjamin, for a Leuits wife that was rauished by them; in which battell there died three score and fise thousand men on both sides, and in the end the Beniamits being ouercome, were faine to accept such conditions as their conquerours would giue vnto them. *Alexander* would neuer giue himselfe to loue, vntill he was lord of Asia, for feare of being vanquished. And therefore he would not see the wife and daughters of *Darius*, for feare to be caught in loue by them, saying commonly, that the ladies of Persia were eye-sores vnto him. And albeit that vain-glorie made him so to do, for feare least he should haue beene hindered in his enterprise: yet he saw well that a man which doth such things, could not prosper. And as long as he set not his mind that way, his affaires went well, and he purchased great praise, yea euen at the hand of *Darius* himselfe, who hearing of a truth how the world went with his wife and children, besought God that he might haue none other succesour but *Alexander*.

Thus ye see how Continencie doth good both to bodie, soul, & worldly state; that is to say, euen to the getting of kingdoms and empires, whereof there be so many examples, that a man cannot reckon them vp without wearying of his readers. I will but onely set downe the Continencie of *Scipio* towards *Indibilis*, because comparision is made betweene that and *Alexanders*. Now therefore *Scipio* hauing by the law of armes, taken prisoner the wife of one *Indibilis*, a noble man of Spaine, and a great enemy of the Romans, a
woman

woman of rare beautie, with diuers other faire ladies and gentlewomen of Spaine, would not shut his eies, but would haue a sight of them. And after courteous entertaining of them, sent them home to *Indibilis*, without doing any wrong to their honor. For which courtesie, *Indibilis* finding himselfe infinitely bound vnto *Scipio*, turned to the Romans with mo than five hundred Spaniards, and was the cause that *Scipio* became maister of the whole countrie. There haue bin few good captains which haue not abhorred, if not simple fornication, yet at leastwise adulterie, sauing only *Iulius Caesar*, who alwaies entertained some other mens wiues. But he was punished by the sonne of one whom he held in adulterie, who slue him in the senat. And when he entred into any citie, the souldiers would say, Ye chiefe men of the towne keepe well your wiues, for we bring vnto you the bald adnouterer.

Alexander shewed himselfe more staied in that respect; for he would doe no wrong, neither to mens wiues nor to their Lemans. Vpon a time hauing long waited for a certaine woman, when she was come, and he had asked her why she came so late, she answered, because I was faine to tarie till my husband was abed. Which thing *Alexander* hearing, commanded his men to conuey her home againe out of hand, saying that through their default, it wanted but little that he had become an Adulterer. He did as much to *Antipater*. For seeing a faire wench that *Antipater* kept, come to feast, he began to cast a fancie to her. But vnderstanding that she was *Antipaters*, Noughty fellow (quoth he) why takest thou not this wench hence, which enforceth wrong to be done vnto *Antipater*?

Francis Sforcia duke of Millane, being offred a very faire woman whom he had taken to lie withall, perceiued that as soone as he would haue come neere her she began to weepe and prayd the duke that he would not touch her, but that he would send her back to her husband, who also was a prisoner. Of whose request the duke had such regard, that hee cast himselfe downe from the bed for feare of touching her, and

deliuered her againe to hir husband the next morow.

Dennis the tyrant rebuked his sonne sharply for an adultery which he had committed, asking him if he had euer seen him do the like. When his sonne had answered no, for he had not a king to his father: hee could well skill to foretell him what would come of it, that is to wit, that he also should not haue a sonne that should be a king after him, vnlesse hee changed his manners, as I haue sayd in my first booke.

Agésilauus one day refused a kisse, whereat when all men maruelled: he said, He had rather to fight against such affections, than to take a good citie well fortified and well manned with men of war.

Alexander rebuked *Cassander* very sharply for kissing; and was angrie with *Philoxenus* for seeming to inuite him to vn honest things by his letters. *Antiochus* beholding a very beautiful religious woman, that was vowed to *Diana*, was by and by surprised with her loue: and for feare least ouer-great loue might inforce him to some incest, hee went his way by and by out of the place, for doubt least he should doe any thing that might not become him. *Heliogabalus* not only defloured, but also married a virgine vestall, saieng it was reason that priests should marie nuns, because that in times past he had ben priest to the sunne. But he was so wicked, that the remembrance of him ought to be wiped out of the world. When *Pompey* had put *Mithridates* to flight, he would not touch his concubines, but sent them all home to their friends. *Iulian* would not see the goodly ladies of Persia that were his captiues, for feare least he should be taken in loue with them, but sent them home euerychone. *Selim* the emperor of the Turks did as much in the same cuntry. For when he had wonne the field against the sophie, he found many noble women in his campe, whom he sent home without touching them, or without taking any ransome for them. *Dioclesian* hauing taken the wife and daughters of the king of Persia, did as *Alexander* had done. Which deed caused the Persians to render vnto the Romans, all that euer they had taken

Many exam-
ples of the
chastitie of
princes.

ken

ken from them. *Totilas* king of the Easterngoths, hauing taken Naples and many Roman ladies that were there, sent them all home to their friends, without doing or suffering any wrong to be done vnto them. He that would here rehearse the tragicall histories that haue ensued of Adultrie, should be faine to make a whole booke by it selfe. Let vs but only bethinke vs of the euening-worke of *Sicilie*, which befell vnto vs Frenchmen, more for our incontinencie than for any thing else; and let that be added vnto it, which was done by *Alexander* the sonne of *Amyntas* vnto the Persians. *Amyntas* made a banquet to the Persians, whereat were present the noblemens wiues of *Macedonie*. Whom when the Persians had before them, they would aproch vnto them; insomuch that when they were set downe by them, they began to feele their breasts and to doe diuers vnseemely things vnto them. Wherat *Alexander* being extreemly grieued, did neuerthelesse set a good countenance vpon the matter, and told them that he would make them cheere to the full. Whereupon when bed-time drue nigh, he desired that the ladies might go aside to wash themselves, and they should come againe by and by vnto them. Anon the ladies departed, in whose stead yong men attired like women, were brought in to the banquet; at whose comming, the Persians began immediatly to handle them ouerboldly. But the yong men set hand to their weapons, and slue them euery chone not one excepted. *Ioane* queene of Naples was hanged vp for her aduoutrie in the very same place where she had hanged her husband *Andreasse* afore, because he was not a lustie companion to her liking. I will forbear to speak of *Fredegund* and other vnchast women, and for this matter will alledge but only the guile of the *Madianits*, who perceiuing the children of *Israell* to be impregnable and vnuincible, so long as they sinned not: tooke of the beautifulllest yoong women that they had, and sent them afore to the camp of the *Israelits* to intice them to sin: which thing caused the *Israelits* to be ouercome by them.

The good
turne that *Alexander* the
sonne of *Amyntas* did.

The Troians were vtterly destroyed for the aduouerie of one man. And *Homer* maketh *Apollo* to send the pestilence into the campe of the Greekes, because the king had taken away the daughter of *Chryses* his priest. Let vs now speake of punishments ordained by lawes. The Persians were rigorous in punishing adulterers; and likewise the *Ægyptians*, who punished the adulterer with a thousand lashes of a whip, and the adulteresse by cutting off hir nose. And sometimes (as saith *Diodorus*) they did cut off the priuie members of him that had deflowred a gentlewoman, because of the corrupting and confounding of issue. *Herodotus* reporteth, That *Feron* king of *Ægypt*, did cause all the women in a citie to be burned, whom he vnderstood to be aduoueres. The same king had bene blind ten yeares, and the eleuenth yeare the Oracle told him, that he should recouer his sight, if he washed his eies in the water of a woman; that had neuer had to do with any other than hir husband. First he made triall of his owne wiues water, but that would do him no good: and afterward of infinit others, which did him all as little; saue onely one, by the rubbing of his eies with whose water he recouered his sight, and then put all the rest to death. By the law of *Moses*, adulterous persons were stoned to death, as appeareth in the one and twentieth of *Leuiticus*, and in the two and twentieth of *Deuteronomie*; and afore that also in eight and thirtith of *Genesis*. The law *Iulia*, punished both the offenders with death, whereof there is an expresse title in the *Digests*. *Ecclesiasticus* speaking of an adulterous woman, saith, That hir children shall not take roote, and that her branches shall not beare fruit. They shall leaue their remembrance accursed, and the shame thereof shall not be wiped out. Such as by reason of their greatnesse haue escaped the rigour of law, haue not failed to be defamed; as *Fausline* and the exceeding infamous *Messaline*, who in that trade went beyond all the courtians that euer were, returning from the brothel he rather tired than satisfied. And *Iulia* the daughter of *Augustus* was so shamelesse and chaste, that the emperor was neuer able to

The punishment of adultery.

reclaime her. And whē one thinking to haue good credit with her, desired her to leaue that life, and to follow chastitie as her father did: she said, That her father forgat himselfe, and considered not that he was *Cesar*, but as for her, she knew well she was the daughter of *Cesar*. Now must I treat of the means to auoid this incomuenience. Saint *Paule* giueth one, which is verie certaine, that is to wit, mariage. Another remedie is, to eschew occasions. For there is more pleasure in not desiring, than in enioying. When one demaunded of *Sophocles*, whether he gaue himselfe to women still in his old age, or no? No (quoth he) I haue withdrawne my selfe from it, and haue left vp that trade, as a wicked, wild and harebrained maister. Occasions are eschewed, by the eies, by the tounge, and by the eares. By the eies, when a man turneth them away from looking vpon faire women, as I haue said of *Alexander*, and diuers others. *Cyrus* would neuer see the beautifull *Pantea*: And when *Araspes* one of his courtiers told him, That her beautie was a thing worthie the beholding; Euen therefore (quoth he) is it best to abstaine from seeing her. The same cause (as witnesseth *Iosephus* in the eleuenth booke of his Antiquities) made the Persians not to shew their wiues vnto strangers. And as *Tertullian* saith in his treatise of the veiling of Virgins, The Corinthians veiled their maidens. Contrariwise, the Lacedemonians did let them go vnuiled, that they might get them husbands: And when they were married, then they veiled them. *Sulpitius Gallus* did put away his wife by diuorce, because she went abroad bare faced, as *Valerius* saith in his sixt booke: but that was but a slender cause of diuorce. It is said in Genesis, That *Rebecca* couered her selfe as soone as she saw *Isaac*. This was not done without cause. For as *Plutarch* saith, Loue is nothing else but a well-liking of beautie, which carieth vs with an ardent desire to the obtainment of that which we couer. And *Ouid* writing to a certaine woman, saith, Would God thou wert not so faire, for then should I not be so importunate, but thy beautifull face enforceth me to be bold. *Theocritus* termed a faire face a mischief of yuory,

The means to remedie Incontinencie. Cicero in his Cato.

Of the veiling of maidens and married women.

because

because it is pleasant to see to, and causeth manie mischiefs. It is a speechlesse commendation, for it commendeth it selfe sufficiently without speaking. It is a kingdom without halberdiers; for the beautifull commaund euen kings, and without force obtaine what they will of them, yea and they be of such power, that some haue said (as *Tertullian* and manie others) that euen angels haue beene in loue with them, alledging the sixt chapter of *Genesis*, howbeit misvnderstood by them, the which thing *Saint Iohn Chrysostome*, writing vpon the same chapter, *Saint Ambrose* in his booke concerning *Noe* and the Arke, *S. Austen* in his fifteenth booke of the citie of God, and all the right beleeuing doctors haue disprooued at large. If *Paris* had not seene *Helen*, the citie of *Troy* had not beene destroyed. If *Dauid* had not seene *Bersaba*, and *Gyges* the wife of *Candaules*: none of them both had beene murderers and adulterers both at once. If *Caracalla* had not seene his mothers thigh, he had not married her. *Suetonius* saith, That *Tiberius* caused manie boyes and girles to come to *Capree*, whither he had withdrawne himselfe, that he might not be seene of the Romans in such lewd dealings. And he caused them to do a thousand villanous things in his presence, to delight his sight withall, and to quicken vp his lust, which was almost dead vnto such things. So that the surest way for a man, is to withhold his eies from the sight of all vanities. Next, a man must keepe himselfe from speaking foule and filthie speeches, and from hearing them spoken, as such men and women will do, as list not to read vnchast bookes, nor to heare ribaudrie talke, nor to come in place or companie where such are read. For words spoken in least or in earnest, serue well to kindle the fire of loue, according to the answer that *Popilia* made, when one asked her why beasts endure not the male after they haue once conceiued, seeing that women endure them at all times: Because (quoth she) they be but beasts.

The emperour *Sigismundus* widow, intending to marrie againe, albeit that in so doing she did no vnlawfull thing,
yet

Sight is an
intisement to
adulterie.

Speeches is an
other inticement.

yet made she a meetly pretie answer, to him that would haue perswaded her to lead the rest of her life vnmarried, after the maner of the Turtle-doue, who neuer seeketh anie make againe, after she hath once forgone her owne. If you counsell me (quoth she) to follow the example of birds, why speake you not to me as well of pigeons and sparrowes, which after the death of their makes do ordinarily couple themselues with the next that they meet? A Vestall virgin named *Spuria*, because she was foule-mouthed, was accused of incest, and discharged by the censor, vpon condition that she should no more speake filthily as long as she liued. For it behooueth to be chaste in words, as well as in bodie. For by mens speech is it knowne how they be minded, as *Sacchis* saith in Terence.

By a mans
speech is his
disposition
knowne.

And *Iesus* the sonne of *Sirach* in his seuen and twentieth chapter, saith, That like as a mans labour maketh a tree to shew foorth his fruit: so doth a mans speech bewray the thoughts of his heart. *Socrates* said, That such as a man is, such are his affections: such as his affection is, such are his words; such as his words are, such are his deeds; and such as his deeds are, such is his life. *Hiero* king of Syracuse punished the poet *Epicharmus*, because he had spoken wantonly before his wife: and verie iustly, for his wife was a true mirror of chastitie. And vpon a time *Hiero* perceiuing himselfe to haue a strong breath, found fault with her that she had not told him of it. To whom she answered plainlie, That she had thought that all other mens breaths had had the like sent.

Aristotle in his seuenth booke of matters of State, saith, That lawmakers ought aboue all things, to banish all filthie and ribaudrie talke out of their common-weals; because the libertie of filthie communication, draweth vile and vnhoonest deeds after it. And therefore *Epictetus* said, That amorous talke was an allurement vnto whordome. And for that cause Saint *Paule* to the Ephesians would not haue anie corrupt word to passe out of our mouthes. By the lawes

Lawmakers
ought to banish
all filthie
talke out of
their common-
weals.

of

of *Romulus*, He that spake any filthie words before women, was punished as a mansleaver. In the Digests vnder the title of Injuries, we haue a notable book-case of *Vlpian*, who saith, That he which vttereth any filthie speech before women, although he staine not their chastitie, shall neuerthelessse be sued vpon an action of trespasse. And as men ought not to attempt the chastitie of women by lewd speeches: so likewise women must not prouoke men thereto, by too much decking and painting themselues. For, that is no better than an enticing of men vnto whordome. And like as hunters lay baits vpon their snares, to allure wild beasts vnto them, and to draw them in; so do adulterers (saith *Saint Chrysostome*) lay baits for the amorous, by their eies, by their speeches, and by their attires. And afterward they intangle them, and maske them in their nets, out of the which they suffer them not to scape, vntill they haue sucked out all their blood, and then they giue them a mocke for their labour. The ornaments of a good woman are meeknesse, shamefastnesse, and chastitie. *Poppa* the wife of *Nero* was misliked of, for her ordinarie vsing of asses milke, to make her colour the fresher. What would they haue said, if she had euerie day vsed the Spanish white, and vermilion? A wife ought to go cleanly and comely apparelled, but neither ought she to be painted, nor to be curiously attired: which thing *Homer* sheweth vnto vs, when he saith in his *Iliades*, That *Iuno* washed herselfe to do away the spots of her bodie, and then annointed her with oile after the maner of old time. But of the curiosities and fond tricks that are vsed now adayes, I will not speake at all. Secondly a woman must beware that she shew not herselfe naked: for that prouoketh men to do euill, and maketh women shamelesse.

The ornaments of a good woman.


A woman in stripping her selfe out of her clothes, strippeth her selfe of all shamefastnesse.

As touching the first, the example of *Caracalla* and others are a sufficient testimonie vnto vs. And as touching the other, *Herodotus* assureth vs in his first booke, That a woman in stripping her selfe out of her clothes, bereaueth herselfe of all shamefastnesse. And *Saint Cyprian* in his first booke of the apprelling

apparelling of maidens, will not haue them to be naked, or to be bathed; saying that in putting off their clothes, they put off also all shamefastnesse. And for that cause, Saint *Ambrose* rebuketh sharply one *Siagrius* bishop of Veron, for ordaining that a certaine maiden should be searched vpon a pretended deflourment. As for the Lacedemonians, their short apparell, beneath the which a man might see their knees, and some part of their thighs, was ordained to make them the stronger, and the more warlike. But in verie deed, that kind of apparell was light. We haue yet one other great remedie of loue; which is, to eschue idlenesse: for idlenesse nourisheth loue, the taking away whereof breaketh *Cupids* bow. Therefore hunting and all exercises of trauell serue well to that purpose. And for that cause *Phedria* in Terence, promiseth that he will toile himselfe as much as he can during the absence of his louer, that his trauell may make him to rest without thinking vpon her. Likewise, he that taketh paines, and is altogether giuen to studie, is not subiect to Venerie. And in verie deed the Poets feigne that *Diana* and the *Muses* are enemies to *Venus*, and care not for *Cupid*. For it is hard that the man which hath any great conceit in his mind, should haue leysure to thinke vpon the pleasures of *Venus*; or that he which hath his limbs tired with trauell, should desire any thing else than rest: howbeit that *Calius Rhodiginus* in his eleuenth book of ancient Readings, maketh mention of a man, that the more he was beaten, the more feruently did he desire womē.

CHAP. XIII.

Of refraining a mans tongue, of such as be too talkatiue, of liars, of curious persons, of flatterers, of mockers, of rascals and slanderers, and of tale-bearers.

 He third kind of Temperance consisteth in ruling the tongue, when a man keepeth himself from speaking too much. *Socrates* enioined his disciples to haue silence in tongue, demurenes in countenance, and

and discreetnes in heart. *Cato* in his paired verses, setteth downe the brideling of the tongue among the chiefest vertues, saying, That neuer man repented him of holding his peace, but many haue taken great harme of speaking. It is commonly said, That he which is lauish of his words, is a niggard of his deeds. *Numa* taught the Romans to reuerence one of the Muses more than all the residue, & her he named *Tacita*, as ye would say, Silent and speechlesse; to the intent they should highlie esteeme of silence. And in verie deed, they were verie secret in all their enterprises, as we read of their victorie which they had against the Persians, which was knowne of in Rome, afore it was vnderstood there, that the warre was begun.

Quintus Fabius Maximus, was rebuked by the consull, for giuing intelligence out of the counsell, of the third warre in Affricke. For there is not a more behoofull thing to a state than Secrecie. *Pythagoras* enioyned silence to his disciples aboue all things. And good cause why, For speech bewraieith what a man is, as saith Ecclesiasticus. *Periander* one day demanded of *Solon*, whether he held his peace for want of abilitie to speake, or follie. A foole (quoth *Solon*) cannot hold his peace: for the heart of the foole (saith Ecclesiasticus) is in his mouth, and the mouth of the wise in his heart. Therefore when *Socrates* saw an ignorant person sit mute at the table: Thou hast (quoth he) but this one token of a learned man. And as *Salomon* saith in the sixteenth of his Prouerbs, The man that is of vnderstanding and skill, is sober in speech; yea, and the foole while he holdeth his peace, is counted wise: but he is to be hated which is shamelesse in speaking, and which for a drop of wit, flasheth out a whole flood of words.

Macrobius saith, That an orator is seene by his speech, and a philosopher also is knowne by his holding of his peace, and by his speaking in their due times. And that could *Isocrates* well skill to tell one, which at a banquet desired him to say somewhat of the art of eloquence. For he answered him after this maner, I know not (quoth he) what time and place
require

The greatest speakers be not the greatest doers.

Secrecie a most behoofull thing to a state.

An orator is known by his speaking, and a philosopher by his silence in due time.

require to be said, and that which I know, is not meet for this time and place. For as the sonne of *Sirach* saith, Some man holds his peace, because he discerneth the conuenient time. And therupon it commeth that in the thirteenth of the Proverbs, *Salomon* teacheth vs that he which keepeth his mouth, keepeth his soule, and that he which openeth his lips rashly, shall feele hurt by it. And in the twelfth he saith, That he which keepeth his tongue, keepeth his soule from sorrow; and that he which bableth many words, woundeth his own soule. Againe in the same chapter he saith, That rash speaking is like the sting of an aspsworme: but the toung of the wise is health. And therefore he counsellet vs to hedge vp our eares with thornes, and not to hearken to a wicked tongue: and to set a doore to our mouths, and a locke to our eares: because that he which giueth eare to a man, inuited him to speake, as *S. Ambrose* saith in his Duties. And *Mercurie* in the tenth chapter of his *Pimander* saith, That the religious man is he, which neither speaketh much, nor heareth many things; and that he which intendeth to hearing and speaking, fighteth with his own shadow, considering that God is neither spoken nor heard; that is to say, cannot be expressed, neither by word nor by hearing, who aboue all things will haue vs to yeeld account of our idle words. *Sirach* in his 20. chapter saith, That he is to be hated, which is shamelesse in speaking. And in the 21. chapter, A babler defileth his owne soule, and shal be hated where he dwelleth; but the man that speaketh litle, and is well aduised, shall be had in honour. Who art thou O man (saith the Psalmist) that desirest to liue long, and to see good daies? Keepe thy tongue from euill, and thy lips from speaking guile. And therefore he praieth God especially, to set a watch before his mouth. And *Ecclesiasticus* saith thus, Who shall giue a watch to my mouth, and set a seale vpon my lips, that I fall not by meane thereof, and that my tongue destroy me not? And in another place, Weigh thy words (quoth he) and put a bridle on thy tongue, and consider aforehand, least thou sin with thy tongue: for in many words must needs be some fault,

He that giueth a man eare, inuited him to speake.

The man that speaketh litle shall be honoured.

Many words are not without fault.

And

And as *Salomon* saith in the third of the Prouerbs, The tongue reueleth secrets, but he that is of a faithfull heart, keepeth things close. And in the twelfth, A man shall be had in estimation for his wise mouth : for a wise heart (saith *Salomon* in the sixth of the Prouerbs) guideth the mouth discreetly, and shall put learning vpon his lips. But vpon the lips of the froward, there is as it were a burning fire. He that cannot refraine from speaking, is like a citie that is open without walles. When the Lacedemonians sat downe to their meals, the eldest of the companie, pointing to the doore, said vnto them all, Let no word go out yonder: meaning that if anie thing were spoken freely at the table, it ought not to be blabbed out abroad. *Sabellianus* in the fourth *Ænead* of his fourth booke, saith, That in old time it was the custome of the Persians, to concele and keepé close all secrets, as a thing inioyned them by their ancient discipline, vpon pain of their liues. And no vice was rather punished among thē than the vice of the tongue: for they deemed thē worthie of great punishment, which could not hold their tongues, seeing that nature hath made it most easie for man to do. For (as *Ouid* saith) what lesse pains can we take, than to hold our tongues? *Pittacus* saith in his Sentences, That that man cannot speake, which cannot skill to hold his peace. Vnto a certain gouernor of a prouince, that demaūded of *Demonax* how he might wel keepe his prouince? *Demonax* said, It should be easie to him, if he restrained his choler, and hearkened much, and spake little. Among the vices of *Thersites*, *Homer* blameth chiefly his ouermuch babling. The Psalmist to shew the danger of the tongue, saith, That mens teeth are weapons, and their tongues arrowes and sharpe kniues, which may do much good, and much euill, after as they be applied, the one way or the other. The king of *Ægypt* sent *Pittacus* a mutton, desiring him to put asunder the good flesh from the bad. *Pittacus* sent him backe the tongue, as the instrument of the greatest good, and of the greatest euill that is done in the world. For as *Salomon* saith, Both life and death are in the power of the tongue. *Saint Iames* in his

The vices of the tongue punished about all vices among the Persians.

He cannot wel speake, that cannot skill to hold his peace.

canonicall Epistle saith, That though the tongue be but a smal member, yet it doth great things: and is like the helue of a ship to the whole bodie, and like a bridle by the which being in the horses mouth we turne his whole bodie which way we will. And a ship how great soeuer it bee, yet is it ruled by a small peece of timber. Saint *John Chrysostome* in his two and twentieth Homilie to the people, warneth them that they should not vndo themselues by their tongues. For it is the tongue that marreth the whole body; and when the bodie is corrupted, the mind must needs be corrupted to. For euill words corrupt good maners. Yea and in our daily praiers which we make vnto God, he will not haue vs to vse abundance of words, as Ecclesiasticus saith in the fifth chapter, that it is the property of fooles to vse manie words vnto God, and that the multitude of words without reason, betoken a foolish praiere. And our Lord will not haue vs to pray after the maner of the Heathen, who thinke they shall be heard for the multitude of their words. For as *S. Paul* saith in the second to the Corinthians, The kingdome of God consisteth not in words. As touching the maner of speaking, *Cicero* shews it vs briefly in his Duties, saying, That in talking a man must not be too stiffe of opinion, but must suffer euery man to speake in his turne, and consider whereof he speaketh; so as if it be a matter of earnest, it be done with grauitie; or if it be a matter of mirth, if it be done cheerfully: and in any wise a man must not speake without the bounds of reason. For as saith *Euripides*, In the end euery vnbridled toung shall find it selfe vnfortunate: and the great talker hath this inconuenience, that he is not euer beleeued; and yet our speaking is to the end that we would haue our sayings beleeued. *Plutarch* speaking of a babler in his treatise of too much speaking, saith, That as corne shut vp in a moist vessell, increaseth in measure, but impaireth in goodnes: euen so doth a babler. For he increaseth much his words, by putting them forth, but his so doing bereaueth them of all power to persuaide. And as it is held for a truth, that the seed of such

Euill words
corrupt good
maners.

Of the maner
of speaking.

The vnbrid-
led toung fin-
deth euer
mis fortune.

The words of
great talkers
are vnfruit-
full.

get children:so the words of great talkers is barreine and fruit-
 lesse. And like as in our bodies,the parts that are infected and
 diseased, do alwaies draw to them the corrupt humors of the
 parts next vnto them:so the tongue of a great babler,being
 as it were in the whot fit of a burning feuer, doth alwaies ga-
 ther togither and draw vnto it some secret lurking euill. He
 that will see the mischiefes that haue happened to many men
 by too much speaking, and the meane to remedie the same:
 let him reade the treatise of *Plutarch* concerning too much
 speaking, where he treateth of it so largely, that nothing can
 be added vnto it:and also *Erasmus* booke of the Tongue. Ne-
 uerthelesse I may say in generall, that to keepe a mans selfe
 from the vice of the tongue, he must eschue curiositie, lying,
 flatterie, mockerie, slaundering, and talebearing. I call curio-
 sitie or inquisitiuenes, a discouering of things that are to be
 kept secret. For commonly it commeth to passe, that he which
 is desirous to know too much, is a great babler. And that is
 the cause, why a certaine great Poet counselleth vs to shun
 inquisitiue folke, because he is a great babler, and the property
 of a great babler is to bewray secrets, to sow discord, to make
 quarrels, to offend freinds, and to make enemies. The fashion
 of inquisitiue folks is, to learne mens pedegrees, the vices of
 their races, the doings of their houses, the faults that befall in
 mens families: what the neighbour oweth, and how he gouer-
 neth his wife; also to filch letters, to stand listening by mens
 wals, to herken what they say, to marke diligently what ser-
 uants and chambermaids do or say; if he see a woman passe
 through the streets, to enquire whēce she coms; if he see men
 talke in secret, to learne wherof they speake. To be short, as
Plutarch saith in his booke of Inquisitiuenes, they be like to
 pullerie, which as long as they haue a graine to eat, do neuer
 leaue scraping in the dunghill, to haue one little graine of
 corne more: so the inquisitiue folke, in stead of setting their
 minds vpon histories and good doings, and other needfull
 things, the which are not forbidden to be enquired of; do fall
 to gathering and hoording vp the euill of some house. In this
 case

Of curiositie,

The property
 of a babler.

case the Athenians shewed themselves to be good men to *Philip*, and little inquisitiue of household secrets. For hauing intercepted his courriers, they opened all his letters and read them, sauing those that were written vnto him by his wife *Olimpias*, the which they sent vnto him closed and vnbroken vp as they were.

Lisimachus demanded of *Philippides*, what he would haue of him; ask what you wil fir (qd. he) so it be no secret, because that commonly men conceale not any thing, but that which is euil, and that is the thing that the vnderminer is inquisitiue of. And like as the spongie places of leather, do draw into them the worst of the leather: so the inquisitiue eares do draw all the matters that are to be had. Therefore the law of the Locrians was good, which amerced the partie at a good fine, that enquired after newes. And like as cookes to stirre coles well in their kitchins desire but good store of flesh meates and ffishermen good store of fish: so the inquisitiue sort desire abundance of mischieues, great numbers of dealings, store of nouelties, and great chaunges, that they may haue wherewith to hunt and kill. The remedy of inquisitiuenes, is neither to here nor to see the things that belong not vnto vs. For the eie is one of the hands of curiositie, & is matched with blabbing, that is to wit, with babling out againe, as sayth *Plutarch* in his treatise of the Fruit of foes. As for the Lier, he hath no need of eies, for he forgeth what he listeth: of whome *Horace* speaking, sayth, That he that can forget that which he neuer saw, and hath no skill to conceale things committed to him in secret, is a naughtie fellow and to be taken heed of. Lying is a vice detested of God and man, as I will declare anon, after I haue treated of the seueral sorts of lying. For this vice should seeme to be common to all men, considering how *David* saith that all men are liers. And so it might seeme that this vice were in somefort excusable, vntill we consider that the word Lie, is taken in diuers significations. *Mercurie* in his chap. of vnderstanding; saith that lying is the foundation and substance of

Men conceale
not any thing
but that
which is euill.

The law of
the Locrians.

The remedy
of curiositie.

The lier.

Lying is the
foundation
and substance
of all vice.

Of refraining the Tongue.

The first sort
of lies.

all vice, and therefore sinne is termed nothing, and leasing or lying, because it consisteth of not-being, or of bereauing, and all not being or bereauing, is out of the truth, which truth is God: and whatsoeuer is out of the truth is leasing. And therefore saint *Austen* in his fourteenth booke of the Citie of God, saith, That the man which liueth after himselfe, that is to say, after his owne imagination, and not according to Gods ordinance, which is the truth, doth surely liue in leasing, because he liueth according to himselfe, and not in such sort as he was created to liue. And although a man liue well; yet do we say that he is subiect to leasing, by way of priuation of the truth, which priuation he is runne into by the sinne of *Adam*. For there is not one that doth good, no not one. And therefore Saint *Paule* to the Romans saith thus: If Gods truth abound through my lying.

The second
sort of lying.

Also there is another sort of leasing, that draweth nigh vnto this, whereof *Dauid* speaketh, where he saith, The sonnes of men are nothing but vanitie; insomuch that if they be put into the ballance, they shall be found lighter than vanitie it selfe. Also the Preacher saith, That all that is in this world is vanitie of vanities, or nothing of nothings: that is to say, there is not any thing in this world; that can giue a man true and sure contentment, neither is there any thing setled and certaine, as saith *Mercurie* speaking of the will of God. And therefore we say that in man there is nothing but leasing. For they be not so certaine as other things, no not euen as the heauenly bodies and elements, which be not chaunged. For fire continueth alwayes fire: earth, earth, and so of the rest. But man consisteth of the four elements, which are diuerse, and altereth from age to age, so much that fathers know not their owne children, when they haue beene long absent and vnseene of them. Now the thing that chaungeth after such sort, and is subiect to growing, breeding, diminishing and dissolution, and consequently to shifting and alteration, cannot be true. And as *Mercurie* saith in his fifth chapter of Generation, The shape of mortall things is changed

changed from day to day, by reason that in time it returneth from growing to decaying like a leasing; for that which is not permanent and certaine, cannot be true: and therefore it must needs be a leasing.

Another kind of leasing whereof I intend to speake heere, The third sort
of leasing. is when we disguise the truth by falshood and deceit, or when for our owne pleasures sake, we say otherwise than it is, a vice proper to Satan, (whome our Lord in *S. Iohn* calleth a lier, and the father of lying) and cleane contrarie to God, as full opposite to his diuine nature, which consisteth in truth. And for that cause it is said in *Wisdom*, the mouth that lieth sleieth the soule. And *David* in the threescore and third *Psalme* saith, That the mouthes of such as speake lies shall be stopped. And in the *xxiiij Psalme*, it is said, That that man shall goe vp into the Lords hill, which giueth not ouer his hart vnto leasing, ne sweareth to beguile. For the words of the Lord are pure words, as gold fined in the furnace from the earth, and seuen times tried. And the man that wil liue long and see good dayes, must keepe his tongue from euill, and his lips from speaking guile. For the mouth of the good liuer, teacheth nothing but wisdom, and his tongue vttereth nothing but that which is righteous and fruitfull, as sayth *Salomon*. *Saint Iohn* in the *xiiij* of the *Apocalips*, setteth downe among those that follow the lambe, them that haue not defiled themselues with women, and them in whose mouthes no guile or lying hath ben found. And in the last chapter, he excludeth out of the number of the blessed, all liers and them that loue lying. *Plato* in his fift booke of *Lawes*, saith, That he which chuseth to lie, is worthie to haue no credit giuen vnto him: And that he which lieth against his will, is a foole; and of those two names, we should desire none of them both. For distitute of all freinds is that man, and vnworthy to be beleued and credited. And in time when he is knowne to be such a one, he is so forsaken of all men in his hatefull old age, that he is faine to leade a solitarie life euer after. And in his *Timæus* he saith thus, If yee be liers, yee shall be despised, how great so euer yee be.

The manners
of liers are
without ho-
nor.

A theefe is
better than a
lier.
The benefit
of suffering
liers in prin-
ces courts.

Lying lips be-
come nor a
prince.

All good
men hate ly-
ing.

be. For the manners of liers (sayth *Salomon*) are without honor, and their confusion accompanieth them continually. And in the same place, Lying is a shamefull reproch to a man, and will continually be in the mouth of them that be without nurture. And to shew the enormitie of the vice, he saith, That a theefe is better than he that accustometh himselfe to lie: but both of them shall haue destruction to their heritage. *Anacharsis* said, That when liers are suffered in the houses of princes, it is a signe that both the king and the realme be going to decay. Ecclesiasticus abhorreth three sorts of men; A poore man that is proud, a rich man that is a lier, and an old man that is a foole. And *Salomon* in his Prouerbs saith, That as words of authoritie become not a foole: so lying lips become nor a prince. And in the xxix he sayth againe, The prince that herkeneth to lying words, hath all his seruants wicked. And in the vij of Ecclesiasticus he sayth, He will not lie any maner of leasing, for the custome thereof is not good. And in another place he sayth, That the Lord abhorreth lying lips, and that he which giueth eare to lies, is like one that catcheth a shadow, and pursueth the wind. And *David* in the hundred and nineteenth Psalme, prayeth God to take from him the vntue way, the which he protesteth himselfe to hate aboute all things, and vtterly to abhorre it. And in the Psalme next following, Deliuer me (saith he) from false lips, and from a guilefull tongue. And in the eight and fiftith, They that speake lies (saith he) are as venemous as serpents. And in the fift, Thou wilt destroy them that speake leasings. And in the thirtieth of the Prouerbes, Put farre from me all vanitie and lying words. *Menander* sayth, That all good and wise men hate lies. *Aristotle* and *Demetrius* said, That the gaine which liers gained by their lying, is that men beleue them not when they say truth. And as Ecclesiasticus sayth, What thing can be made cleane by him that is vncleane? or what truth can be spoken by a lier? *Archidamus* intending to withdraw the Lacedemonians from beleueing a certain ambassador of Chio; stooode vp and said: How can this fellow say any truth, which beareth

bearech his lying not only in his soule, but also in his head; because the ambassador had caused his gray heares to be died blacke. *Alcibiades* to hinder the peace that the Lacedemonians granted to the Athenians, did craftily counsell their ambassadors, to be more streight-laced to the senat than they had ben before the people, and to hold another course of speech, than they had done. The which thing they did, beleeuing that *Alcibiades* had giuen them that counsel for their benefit. But he taking occasion therby to set all things in a broile, said in open senat, that no credit was to be giuen vnto men that were proued to be liers, & which in one self-same matter, said one while one thing, and another while another. For he that is mutable in his words saith *Salomon* deludeth princes. The Persians esteemed lying to be the greatest sin in the world: and therefore they hated debtors, and numbred them amōg offenders, because it is hard for a debtor to forbear lying, seeing he assaieth to deceiue: and to deceiue, a man must needs lie. Notwithstanding, *Darius* said to his companions, That it was meet that men should lie, when it was for their behoof, and that the liers and they that speake the truth, tended all to one effect; and it was for men to lie, when there was any hope of gaine to be had by force of persuasion. But it is no maruell though a Persian said that: for that maner of lying was to a good end, namely to deceiue the guard of the Magies, who had vsurped the crown, that they might be killed, as they were afterward. And in this and such other like, it is lawfull to lie, else not. *David* detesting this vice, compareth it to murder; saying in the sixth Psalme, The Lord abhorreth the bloodthirstie and deceitfull man. *Periander* ordained by his laws, that he which had lied to another mans harm, should carie a stone in his mouth the space of a month after. The *Gymnosophists* of *Caldie* condemned liers to perpetuall prison; & the *Scythians* condemned al such to death, or to some other grieuous punishmēt as tooke vpon thē to foretell things that were false. And it is to be noted, that babling, lying, & inquisitiuenes, are three grounds or vnderbeings that trouble one another, and may be reduced into one:

He that is mutable in words deludeth princes. Why the Persians hate debtors.

For the inquisitiue person is commonly talkatiue, and the talkatiue person is a lier, and a lier is inquisitiue, and the inquisitiue person is a lier. And from this fountaine spring slaunders, talebearers, mockers, flatterers, and backbiters. The slanderer and the tale-bearer are the impes of the inquisitiue, of whom Ecclesiasticus speaking, saith, That the slanderer defileth his owne soule, and shall be hated in all things. And he that so continueth shall be odious: whereas the peacemaker and wise man shall be honoured. And therefore he will haue vs to stop our eares with thornes, to the end we may not heare the slanderous tongue. *David* in the fourteenth Psalme reckoning vp many sorts of innocencie, maketh great account of him, that yeeldeth not his eare to heare the slander of his neighbour. And in the hundred Psalme, he saith, That he pursued him that secretly slandered his neighbour. And *Salomon* in the eighteenth of the Prouerbs, saith, That the words of the tale-bearer are as wounds, and do enter euen into the entrails. For he that purposeth with himselfe to raise slaunders, searcheth out all the euil that is in a house, to publish it abroad afterward. If a woman by her ouersight haue giuen any occasion of suspition, by and by he blazeth her abroad, as though she were the wickedest woman in the world. As for them that are vnchast indeed, they be sifted to the vttermost, and their legend is disciphered without omitting anie thing. If a man haue neuer so small a specke of vice, or of euill grace in him, the slanderer faileth not to make euery she an elephant. They that offend in this case, do sinne directly against that commaundement of the ten, which prohibiteth vs to beare false witnesse against our neighbour. For he that lieth (saith *Salomon*) is a false witnesse. Also he sinneth against the law of the Gospell, which saith, It were better for a man to be drowned in the bottome of the sea, than that he should giue occasion of offence or stumbling to his neighbour. And in the nineteenth of the Prouerbs, The false-witnesse shall not escape unpunished, and he that speaketh lies shall perish. And in the siue and twentieth, The man that beareth false-

witnesse

Slaunders.

David cōmendeth him that will not heare his neighbour slandered.

He that speaketh lies shall perish.

witnesse against his neighbor is as a club, a sword, and a sharpe arrow. And in the sixt of the Prouerbs, God hateth false lips, and the false-witnesse that bringeth forth vntruth. Saint *James* saith, Speake not euill one of another, He that speaketh euill of his neighbour, speaketh euill of the law: that is to say, in speaking and iudging after his own fancie, he vsurpeth the authoritie that belongeth to the law. It is written in the first chapter of the booke of *Wisdom*, That the spirit of wisdom is gentle, and will not discharge him that speaketh euill with his lips: For the sound of his words shall mount vp vnto God, to the punishing of his iniquities. Therefore beware of grudging which booteth nothing, and refraine your tongues from slander. And Saint *Paule* in the sixt to the *Corinthians*, forbiddeth vs to eat meat with the slanderer. The *Psalmist* saith, That he that wil liue long, must keep himselfe from mis-speaking, and from speaking deceit, reprobuing them that set their mouthes to slandering and euil speaking, and their tongues to the kindling of fraud and anoyance. And the seuen and fiftith *Psalme* saith, My soule is among lions, I dwell among fire-brands, euen among men whose teeth are speares and arrows, and their tongue a sharpe sword. By the teeth are meant false reports. And in the threescore and fourth *Psalme*, they shoot forth their arrows, euen bitter words: that is to say, False and slinging reports, to smite the innocent in secret. And in the 23. of *Ecclesiasticus*, The man that is nussed in wordes of reproch or wrong, will receiue no instruction all the dayes of his life. And in the eighteenth chapter, The backbiter and the double tongued man are accursed, for they trouble many that are at peace. A double tongue hath remooued many, and disperfed them from nation to nation. It hath destroyed cities that were walled with riches, and defaced the houses of great personages. It hath disseuered the powers of peoples, and set strong men at diuision. And in the sixteenth of the *Prouerbs*, The froward man setteth forth debate, and the tale-bearer setteth princes at diuision. *Plato* saith in his *Lawes*, That we must forbear to offend against good men, either in word or deed,

We must not eat with the slanderer.

The man that accustometh himself to euil speaking, shall receiue no instruction,

The tale-bearer setteth princes at variance.

Of refraining the Tongue.

deed, and that we must be wel-aduised, that we ouerhoot not our selues when we either praise or dispraise any man: because God is angrie when we blame him that resembleth him; that is to say, a good and honest man. *Solan* (as *Platarch* reporteth of him in his life) made an ordinance, whereby he prohibited men to speake euill of those that were dead. For it is well and deuourly done, to thinke that a man ought not to touch the dead, no more than to touch things consecrated to God, and to refraine from offending against them that are no longer in the world. And it is wisdome euen in policie, to beware that enmities grow not to be immortall; sagely deeming, that railing and slaundering proceed of vnreconcilable enmitie. *Alexander Seuerus* said, That princes ought to esteeme liers and slaundersers, as great enemies vnto them, as those that enter vpon their lands by force. For these do but seize vpon their grounds and lordships, but the others do rob them of their reputation and renowme. In the cite of *Naples* there was one *Demetrius*, who ceased not to raile vpon *Totilus* without cause, and to do him all the spight he could. But being taken afterward with all the residue, he onely had his tongue and hands cut off. *Nicholas Scot* was beheaded, for railing vpon *Maximilian Sforchia* duke of Millan. And *Linian* a capitaine of *Venice*, hauing taken many prisoners, vsed them all well, sauing *Godfrey Galear*, whose head he caused to be smitten off immediatly, because that in scoffing at him, he called him ordinarily the little crook-backt beast. *Augustus* shewed by his punishing of it, how much more daungerous railing and slaundering is, than manslaughter. For he pardoned *Cuma* that would haue murthered him, and made him consull; whereby he woon him to be his friend. But for railing vpon him, he draue *Timagenes* out of his house: deeming that of an enemy he might make a friend, and of a friend a defender: but of a railer, backbiter and slaunderer, a man can make nothing else. And therefore he thought good to driue away the slaunderer, because he was not to be reformed. And he did it not so much for reuenge, as to sequetter the slaunderer

Railing and
slaudering do
bring forth
vnreconcilable
enmitie.

A backbiter
cannot be re-
claimed.

farre from him. For ordinarily he was not moued at such people, saying, It was inough for him that men did him no further harme than in words. Among slaundersers we put them, that vpon choler do tell of their cruel wrongs: of which sort of men a wise man will make none account, because he deemeth that the wrong returneth alwaies to him that hath told it.

Wrong returneth to him that telleth it.

Like as dust flieth backe into the eies of him that puffeth it, as saith Saint *Ambrose*; or like as the reflexion of the light offendeth weake eies the more, as saith *Plutarch*: so those are most offended at their wrongs, which the truth hath made to rebound against them that offered them. And as the North-east wind draweth clouds vnto him: so a wicked life draweth wrongs vnto it. And therefore a prince must be well ware, that he haue not a tickle tongue, and ticklish eares, as Saint *Ierom* saith in the life of *Cleark*s. That is to say, he must neither mis-speake others, nor heare others mis-spoken of, to the end that men may learn, not to be hastie in misreporting men, when they see the king taketh no pleasure in it, who ought to shun such persons as the plague, and to shew them no good countenance. For as the wind, driueth away the raine, so doth a frowning looke driue away the slaunderer. For if the Prince suffer them to come neare him, he shall become like them, not onely a slaunderer, but also a scorner, whom *Dauid* detesteth in his first Psalme, affirming that man to be blessed, that hath not sit on the seat of the scornfull. *Salomon* in the two and twentieth of the Prouerbs, forbiddeth vs to scorne any man in the bitterness of his soule. For God who seeth all things, is he that exalteth and pulleth downe. And in the ninth chapter, he opposeth scornfulnesse against wisdom, saying thus: If thou haue vnderstanding, thou shalt be wise to thy selfe: but if thou be scornfull, thou shalt suffer all alone.

A wicked life draweth wrongs vnto it. Princes must not haue tickle tongues, not ticklish eares.

Of mockers and scorners.

And in the 14, The scornfull seeketh wisdom, and findeth it not; and nothing maketh a prince to incurre the ill will of his subiects more than scornfulnesse. For as *Terence* saith,

Scornfulnesse procureth a prince the ill will of his people.

saith, They that are not rich, and they that are nothing in respect of the great ones, do take all things in ill part, and think continually that all men hold scorne of them. *Plutarch* in the life of *Phocion*, saith, That commonly aduersities make men fretting, wayward, and easie to be set in a choler, loth to giue care to anie thing, and soone offended at all speeches and wordes, that are but somewhat roughly spoken. Whosoeuer reproveth them when they do amisse, seemeth verily to vpbraid them with their misfortunes, and he that speaketh freely, seemeth to raile vpon them. For like as honie being of it owne nature sweet, doth neuerthelesse breed paine, when it is laid to sores, wounds, and parts infected: so oftentimes wise and true admonitions do bite and exasperate them that are in aduersitie, vnlesse they be wel sweetned. Whereupon it cometh to passe, that if a man do scorne a man that is poore and distressed, the poore man beareth it vnpatiently. The which thing *Scipio Nasica* was made to feele; who suing for the Edilship at Rome, and being in a maner sure of all the voices, tooke one of his electors by the hand, and asked him if he would go hand in hand with him, because the man had rough hands, as commonly all labourers and artificers haue: Wherewith the people being prouoked to displeasure, did flatly refuse him. There is another sort of scorning, which is called ieausting, the which may well inough become a man if it be to good purpose, but there are few that vse it without some bitternesse. For as *Macrobius* saith, A ieaust is as bitter as an accusation, if it be not spoken fitly. And when it is cast forth by a great lord, it is in such sort, as lightly it hath some bitternesse with it. *Ptoleme* king of *Ægypt* ieausting with an ignorant Gramarian, asked him who was the father of *Pelius*? Sir (quoth the Gramarian) I will answer you, if you will first tell me who was the father of *Lagus*; meaning thereby to giue a quip to the kings race, wherewith when all his men were offended, he said, If it be not meet for a king to put vp taunting words at other mens hands, neither is it meet that he should taunt any other man.

Admonishments must be tempered with some sweetnesse.

Of ieausting.

Ieausting doth ill beecome a great lord.

Next the scorner and the slanderer, commeth the flatterer, which is a verie perillous beast. For it biteth laughing, and turneth kingdoms and principalities vpside-downe. One demaunded on a time of *Diogenes*, what beasts teeth did bite most venomously, and daungerously. If ye speake of tame beasts (quoth he) the flatterer: if of wild beasts, the backbiter. Both of them haue a mischieuous tooth, but the tooth of the flatterer is the more daungerous. When we heare a man speake euil of vs, we do what we can to correct our fault: but it is hard for vs to beware of the flatterer. For he is not easie to be discerned, because he pretendeth to be a friend, and not to gainsay vs, and in the end he suffereth himselfe to be overcome with reason, and doth so throughly bewitch the mind of him whom he possesseth, that it is easie for him to deceiue him afterward. For as *Cicero* saith in his Duties, We be of such nature, that to our own seeming we be worthie of praise. Now the allurements of such kind of people, are more daungerous, (saith *Salomon*) than the wounds that come by enemies. Their words are sweet, but they wound and pearce euen into the bowels. And therefore *Esay* saith thus: My people, they that praise thee, seduce thee, and disorder the paths of thy feet. And *Dauid* in the 12 Psal. wisheth that God would cut out the tongues of all flatterers. And the thing that maketh them to preuaile with vs, is the loue of our selues, as saith *Plutarch* in his treatise how to discern a flatterer from a friend. By reason wherof, forasmuch as euery man is the first & greatest flatterer of himselfe, it is easie for him to admit vnto him another flatterer stranger, whom he will haue to be a witnesse and a confirmer of the opinion, which he hath conceiued of himselfe. In which case a prince is more deceiued than a priuat person, because he is not gainsaid in any thing, nor woont to heare any thing that may displease him. Insomuch that the flatterer plaieth his feats the better, and more safely with him, vnlesse the prince do as *Agesslaus* did, who liked well to be commended of such as were not afraid to find fault with him. On the contrarie, *Alexander* louing flatterers, was ouer-

Of the flatterer.

The allurements of flatterers are more daungerous than the wounds of foes.

throwne

Of refraining the Tongue.

throwne by them, and slue *Calisthenes*, *Parmenio*, and *Philotas*, to whom he was beholden for his crowne. This caused *Anacharsis* to counsel *Crasus* to banish al flatterers out of his court, saying, That the prince which loueth flatterers, loueth not the truth. Now there are of flatterers two sorts; the one are but trencher-men, which for a morsell of meat will sooth a man whatsoeuer he saies, like *Gnato* in Terence. The other be close flatterers, which put vpon them the visor of a friend, and hold aloofe from the ordinarie fashions of the peti-flatterers, that delight men to deceiue them the better: and these are hard to be discerned. And as a wolfe resembleth a dog, so a flatterer resembleth a friend, And therefore it behoueth a man to be ware, that he take not the wolfe for the dog. But in this point they iumpe together, that commonly they follow not poore men that are of no abilitie, but sticke ordinarily to the greatest. And as *Plutarch* saith, Euen as lice doth go away after death, and forsake the bodie so soone as the bloud is quenched, wherby they were fed: so flatterers neuer resort to those whose affairs begin to go to wrack, and whose credit decaie. He that is desirous to learne the meane how to discern a flatterer from a friend, let him read the fore-alledged treatise of *Plutarch*, from whence I haue taken part of that which I haue said. And the matter it selfe compelleth me to ad this, which I haue taken out of a thousand of the good and goodly things that are there. We haue (saith *Plutarch*) two parts in our soul, the one true, which delighteth in things honest, and is obedient to reason; the other brutish, which delighteth in vntruth and letteth it selfe go after affections. The friend sticketh to the good after the maner of phisitions, preferuing and increasing that which is sound: but the flatterer holding himselfe to the brutish part that is subiect to affections, doth rub it, tickle it, & put it quite away from reason. And like as there be meats that are good neither for the bloud, nor for the sinues, and do but swell the belly, and breed grosse & euil flesh, such as is rather lush than sound and substantiall: so the talke of a flatterer, addeth not any thing to wisdom and sobrietic, but either prouoketh

The prince
that loueth
flatterie lo-
ueth not the
truth.
Two sorts of
flatterers.

The flatterer
seeketh but
credit.

prouoketh to wrath, or stirreth vp a mans own discontentment, or else maketh him proud. For the flatterer hath no peece of truth, or of plaine meaning, or of free-dealing. But like as an ape putteth vp wrongs, because he cannot keepe the house as a dog, labor as an oxe, or beare burdens as a horse, and therefore doth nothing but make mirth, and prouoke to laughter: euen so the flatterer, because that abhorring all perill and daunger, he cannot do good to his friend by his words in counsell, or by his deeds in warre: refuseth not the doing of any thing that may delight or please, as to be a trustie messenger of loue, a cunning conueyer of yong venerie, diligent to discharge you of the care of the furnishing out of the charges of a banquet, readie to prepare suppers, a carefull conueyer of concubines, troubleosome and impudent towards friends, and practising to cast the wife out of the house, if he can. Those in few words are the vertues of flatterers, whom princes of all others ought to beware of, specially the close ones. For as *Cicero* saith, Euerie man may espie the open flatterer, but the close one is not easie to be discerned, because his flattering lurketh vnder pretence of gaine-saying, and in making countenance to haue a man in estimation, and in the end he suffereth himself to be ouercome, to the intent that he which is deceiued, may thinke himself to haue gotten the aduantage. The last impe of the wicked tongue, is the backbiter or tale-bearer: of whom *Salomon* speaking in the eighteenth of the Prouerbs, saith, His words are as wounds, and that they pierce euen into the entrails within the bellie. This trade was deuised first by tyrants, who being acquainted with mens humours, chose the greatest bablers and the wickedest persons, to serue their turnes in listning for newes, and in hearkening what men said of them. *ZoZimus* saith, That vnder the emperour *Constantius*, there were euen forges and shops of slaunders, and that those backbiters laid chiefly for such as were in prosperitie, in hope to haue the offices and promotions of those whom they could put out, the which made them to applie themselues wholly to bring vp slaunder vpon them.

The description of a flatterer.

The talebearer or backbiter.

We

Talebearers
were first
brought vp by
euill princes.

We in French do call such folke *Mouches*, that is Flies; The Romans called them *Delatores*, that is to say, Talebearers; and the Greeks called them *Acoustes*, that is to say, Hearnkers, or Spies, which go and report vnto princes all that euer they here and see. The first that vsed them was the yonger *Darius*, who suspected all men. And next him *Dennis*, the tyrant of Syracuse, who intermedled them among the burgesles, that by that means he might easily heare all newes. But at the alteration of the state, they were the first whom the Syracusans put to the sword. Since that time princes haue so dored vpon that kind of people; that they haue giuen them certain fees to promote men, that is to wit, the one halfe of the goods of him that was accused, concerning the which matter there was a law called *Papies* last. But *Nero* abridging them of their vmeasurable libertie of accusing all men, did cut off that gaine, and brought it to a fourth part, whereof they were euer after called *Quarterers*, because they had a quarter of the goods that were so excheated. *Tiberius* was the first of all the emperors of Rome that brought them credit, and after him *Domitian*. Neuerthelesse, he punished slaundersers very sharply, saying, That the prince which punisheth them not doth stir them vp. *Vespasian* and his sonne *Titus*, caused them to be whipped, and afterward sent them vnto the sands to be seene of al men. *Caligula* would not admit any mention of a certaine conspiracie that was made against him, saying, That he had not done any thing why he should be hated, & therefore he would giue no care to Talebearers. *Traian* said, It was safer for a prince to hearken to such as discouered their faults vnto them, than to heare the reports of the other sort: and that it is hard that that prince should haue vnbloudy hands, which hath too tender eares. *Antonine* did put the Talebearers to death, which could not proue their sayings. And if they proued them; then gaue he them their hire, but yet did he declare them to be infamous. The punishment of fals-accusers is written in the *Digests*, and in the bookes of *Moyse*, where all men may see them.

CHAP. XIII.

That princes must aboue all things
eschue Cholera.



The fourth sort of temperance consisteth in moderating anger, the which *Mercurius* said to be vnseperatly matched with rashnesse. And therefore *Socrates* said, It was lesse danger to drink foule and muddie water, than to stanch a mans cholera with reuenge. The contrarie thereof is meeldnesse, clemencie, or meekenesse, which is the meane betweene anger and blockishnes or sheepishnes, and moderateth the passions that rise in vs by reason of some wrong or euill spoken or done vnto vs, the which we would punish more than reason will admit, if we should suffer our cholera to go vnbridled. And as a wise and mild man must not be angry at euery word; so not to be angry at any time, and to leaue malefactors unpunished for feare of being angry, is ill done. And we may offend as well in too litle, as in too great desire of punishing crimes. For it is meet we should be angry in due time, with such as deserue it, provided that reason accompany our anger, the which taking from anger the eagernes of reuenge, (as *Plutarch* sayth) doth the more safely and more profitably punish the partie that deserueth it, without putting a mans selfe or the partie in danger, as cholera often doth. For as *Salomon* saith, he that is vnpatient shall bear the paine of it. Meeldnes neither seeketh reuenge of the faults that are committed, ne leaueth great faults unpunished. Whereof all such ought to take good heed, as are in authoritie, least they passe the bounds of meeldnes and gentlenesse, through too rigorous correction; or lay away the rigour of correction, through too much meeldnes and lenitie, as *Saint*

Anger vnseparably matched with rashnes.

Impatiency.

Gregorie sayth in his morales. *Aristotle* in the fourth booke of his morales, sayth that as inordinat anger is a vice, so is also the vtter want of it. For when there is a heinous crime, a man ought to be angry, and they that in such case are not angry, seeme ignorant, misaduised, and carelesse to encounter the faults that are committed. *Cicero* in his Duties sayth, There is not any thing more commendable than meeldnesse, nor more befeeming a great lord: and yet must it be with condition, that seuerity be matched with it, without the which, no common-weale can be wel gouerned. *Aristotle* in his Rhetoriks, calleth meeldnesse a pacifying of choler; and differeth from clemency, in that clemencie is a gentlenes in punishing, proceeding from the superior to the inferior, whereas meeldnesse is common to all men, according to the distinction of *S. Thomas* of Aquine.

Meeldnesse,
and clemency,
and the dif-
ference be-
twixt them.

What anger
is.

Anger is a boiling vp of the blood about the hart, which (as saith *Aristotle* in his booke of the Soule) worketh an eagernes to punish the offender, or else (as he saith in his Rhetoriks) it is a desire of reuenge appearing with a greife, or an eager disposition to reuenge: or else (as *Plutarch* saith) a certaine enforcing of the courage vnmeasurably swelling, with the affections that prouoke a man to reuenge. *Christostome* in his third Homily saith, It is a certaine violentnesse void of reason. *Cicero* in his Tusculanes, saith it is a certaine eagernes and inordinat desire to punish a party, whom we deem to haue done vs wrong.

Let vs speake first of meeldnesse, and afterward of Anger. Meeldnesse is commended of all men, and numbred by *Saint Mathew* among the eight points of blessednesse. And yet notwithstanding he that is meeld and mercifull, faileth not to be angry. For else he should be blockish and without any feeling. But he is angry with reason, he is angrie at the vice, and not at the person. And that is the meaning of the Psalmist where he saith, Be angrie and sime not. After that manner was *Saint Paule* angrie, at the horrible wrong done by *Elymas* the Magician; and *Saint Peter* at *Saphyra*. *Moyse* was counted the meekest man of his time, and yet he made men oftentimes to passe the edge of the sword. For his meeldnesse was

no impeachment to iustice, and to the punishing of sin. Meeknes then is a vertue that neither seeketh reuenge of all faults, nor leaueth the great faults vnpunished. In which behalfe many deceiue themselues, calling a prince mercifull, when he pardoneth one that hath comitted a wicked murder, or some other notable mischiefe. But (as *Archidamus* saith) this is to be counted cruelty against good men.

Mercie is occupied in pardoning, not the faults done against the publick-weale, but the faults committed against our selues, as *Titus* did, who forgauē them that had conspired against him: and *Agessilaus*, who by his benefites made his enemy his friend: and likewise *Augustus*, who pardoned *Crima* a traitor, and banished *Timagenes* that did but slauder him without hurting him. There was one *Calianus* accused vnto him to haue spokē euil of him: Proue it (qd. *Augustus*) & then shall ye see that I haue a toung, & that I can speak euill of him also. *Tiberius* wrote vnto him that one railed vpon him: and he answered, it was inough for him that no man did him harme. *Alexander* said it was a princely thing, to be ill spoken of for well doing. *Philip* did so much good vnto one, that railed vpon him incessantly, that he wonne him to be a faithfull seruant, and a trumpeter to sound abroad his praises. And when he had enquired of his friends that had counselled him to punish the railer, whether he had ben as outrageous in his words as he was wont to be or no; and vnderstood by them that he spake good of him euery where: Lo (quoth he) ye see it is in our owne power to haue good or bad report. The same *Philip* hauing one of his eies stricken out at the siegē of Modon, when he was possessed of the town, delt neuer a whir the worse with the townsmen for it.

Antigonus walking abroad in his campe, heard certaine souldiers speaking euill of him, wherupon lifting vp the tent, he shewed himself vnto them, and said, Ye shall weepe for it if ye go not further of to speake euill of me. *Pirrhus* was easie to pardon, whensoever any man had angered him; insomuch that one day (as *Plutarch* sayth in his life) when certaine

The leauing
of wicked
men vnpun-
ished is cruel-
ty against
good men.
Of clemency
or mercy.
Examples of
clemency
mercy.

It is in our
owne power
to haue good
or ill report

yong men were brought vnto him, that had spoken many outrageous words against him: he asked them if they had spoken those words or no. Yea sir (qd. one of them) & had spoken many mo, but that our wine failed vs. At which saying he smiled, and pardoned them. The same prince being counselled to banish a railer that spake euil of him, answered: it is better that he should raise an ill report of vs among a few by tarying here still, than that he should sow abrode his railing here and there, by driuing him further of. *Quintus Flaminus* was soone angry, but he hild it not long, and he gaue but light punishment to him with whom he was angry. Anon after that *Adrian* was created emperor, he met with a deadly enemy of his to whom he said, Thou art escaped. Meaning that he would neuer go about to be auēged of him, now that it lay in his hand to do it. King *Lois* the twelfth did the like (as hath bin said in another place) when he would not be reuenged for the wrongs, that had ben done vnto him afore he was king. *Pittacus* had but one only son, who was slain through misfortune by a sawyer, the sawyer was taken and brought to *Pittacus* to be punished: But he let him go, saying it was better to pardon than to punish. *Plustarch* reporteth in the life of *Pericles*, that there was a shameles railer, that railed vpon him all a whole day together, to whom *Pericles* answered not a word, but intended to the dispatching of matters of importance vntill it was night, whom the railer followed home to his lodging still railing vpon him. And when *Pericles* was come thither, he commaunded one of his seruants to take a torch, and to light the man home back to his owne lodging. Ye see here a wonderfull temperance in a prince that had absolute power in the citie of Athens: who notwithstanding that he had such power, yet yeelded not a whit to hatred, spite, or anger. Insomuch that he made his boast that there was neuer any Athenian that wore a black garment by his means. *Pompey* also was greatly commended for pardoning the Mamertines that had taken part with *Marius*, howbeit that his so doing was for his hostes sake. *Cicero* sayth that *Cæsar* in setting vp againe the Images of *Pompey*, did the better

He that most
 can, least
 should, in see-
 king re-
 uenge.

better fasten and settle his owne: as who would say, that by this clemency of his he woone the fauour of the citizens, wherby he himselfe should be guarded. Albeit that *Augustus* tooke the Alexandrians his enemies by force, yet did he pardon them in honour of *Alexander* the founder of their citie. In respect whereof the Alexandrians found themselues more beholden to him, than to *Alexander* himselfe, & commended him in all cases, saying that *Alexander* was the founder, but *Augustus* was the preferuer of their citie. But the softnesse, patience, and meeldnesse of *Dauid* is not to be compared withall by those that I haue alledged: For he did put vp infinit iniuries at the hands of *Semei*, without giuing him any answer, commanding his men to let him alone, and telling them that God had raised him vp to humble him; and after his victorie, he pardoned him that misdeed, notwithstanding that he followed him casting stones at him. Which serueth to shew, that the precept of the gospell concerning the forgiuing of enemies, was practised by princes of good nature, as *Dauid* himselfe witnesseth in his seuenth Psalm, where he saith, If I haue requited euill for euill, I am contented that he shall pursue me in warre, and that he shall take me and fling me against the ground, and so forth. Saint *Iohn Chrysostome* in his treatise of meeldnesse, sayth, That meeldnesse becommeth all men, but specially kings and such as are set in authoritie. And the more power that the maiesty of a king hath to do al things: the more ought he to bridle himselfe, & to take Gods law for his guide, if he will haue glorie and honor of his doings. Our Lord in *S. Mathew* wil haue vs to learne of him, because he is meeke and lowly, that we may find rest to our soules. *Dauid* commendeth his owne meekenesse vnto God, saying thus, Remember *Dauid* and his meekenesse. The which he shewed well towards *Saul*, when he let him goe, at such time as he was in his power. *S. Iohn Chrysostome* in his xxxix Homely against Irefulnes, saith, That the meeke man is pleasant to himselfe, and profitable to others: and that choleriknesse displeaseth a mans selfe, and doth harme vnto others, of the which I must now speake in

The meeldnesse of *Dauid*.

Meeldnesse well becometh kings and great states.

The benefite of meeldnesse.

Two sorts of
choleric persons.

order. And it is to be vnderstood, that there are two sorts of cholericke persons, the one will out of hand haue reuenge, and those are the lesse dangerous, so a manshan the first brunt of them. For by and by they coole of themselues, and suffer not the sunne to go downe vpon their wrath. For commonly they burst forth into words, and vtter their choler in whot speeches, by means wherof the rigour of their doings is assuaged, as the lord of Chaumont told wisely to the Vincen- tines, which were afraid of the emperors anger. The other sort dissemble the wrong that is done them, that they may haue time and place to consider of it, and those are very dangerous, as *Homer* sayth of *Agamemnon*, Although he dissemble his anger for a time (sayth he) yet ceaseth he not to hold it fast in his heart, vntill he haue reuenged himselfe indeed. And as *Peter* of Gauntwood said, Some men do forgieue with their mouth, but hatred and malice abide stil in their heart. Neuer- thelesse it seemeth to the common people, (as *Plutarch* sayth in his treatise of the Bridling of wrath) that because it is stor- mie, therefore it is workfull, so that an angry mans menaces are hardines, his headines stournes, his crueltie disposition to do great things, his vnappeasable hardnesse firme stedinesse, and his furiousnes a hating of vice; after the maner of *Helias*, who was angry at the peoples sinnes, through a certaine zeale that he had to Godward: and of *Cato*, who was alwaies of the same mind, towards such as were giuen to vice. And to that purpose serueth this which is said in philosophie, that the cho- lericke folk are aptest to learn sciences. And the Prouerb saith, That he which hath no choler, hath no wit. Many esteem it to be as it were the sinewes of the soule. *Plato* in his Lawes, saith, That a good man must be both meeld and also couragous; that is to say, not vtterly void of kindly choler. For we can hardly without it, eschue the wrongs and harmes that are hard to be cured otherwise, than by fight, by victorie, and by defending a mans selfe, and by not suffering a mans selfe to be wronged: the which thing cannot be done without anger and stomaching. And in his *Theetetus* he saith, It is hard to find a

An argument
of the chole-
ricke.

Cholericke
persons aptest
for learning.

man.

man both soft and wittie together. And they that haue sharpe and readie wits, and apt to be taught, are commonly cholericke and hastie, as being caried with waues like ships without ankers.

Aristoile saith, that cholericknesse is a true signe of a readie wit, and of a forward, braue, and gallant nature, that is not sleepe and drowzie; and that anger must be vsed not as a captaine, but as a souldier. *Saint Iohn Chrysofome* vpon the fourth Psalm of *Dauid*, saith, That anger is good and profitable against them that do wrong, or be negligent, and that it is a fit instrument to waken vs out of our sleepe, to make vs the more fierce in being angrie for their sakes, that haue receiued any wrong or harme. *Alexander* from his very youth did burne with desire to go to warre, and to do some exploit of armes. The which thing *Aristotle* perceiuing, to turne him away from it, told him that he must tarie till he were of age. Nay (quoth *Alexander*) for if I tarie so long, I am afraid that the great hardinesse and forwardnesse which is now in my youth, will then be quite gone: and this vehement desire giueth the greater force to our doings. Yet notwithstanding these reasons cannot moue vs to thinke, but that all perturbations are attained with vice, and this aboue al others. For as *Cicero* saith in his Duties, A man cannot do wel and aduisedly with anger. For that which is don with a troubled mind, cannot bee done steadily, nor be allowed of them that see it. And as saith *Theodericke* writing to *Iohn* the consull of *Champaigne*, Cholericke persons haue no feeling of the thing that is iust, neither seeke they any moderation of their reuenge. For this cause *Saint Paule* in his Epistle to the Romans, biddeth vs giue place vnto wrath, and to let it vanish away, waiting for the iudgement of God. And *Saint Iames* in his Epistle saith, That the anger of man performeth not the righteousnesse of God; that is to say, hindereth the accomplishment of Gods worke in vs. And *Saluan* bishop of *Marfels* saith, That wrath is the mother of hatred. And therefore the Lord would in any wise exclude anger, for feare least anger should breed hatred.

Cholericnes
is a token of a
readie wit.

Arguments against choler.
That which is
done through
perturbation
cannot be done
steadily.

Anger is the
mother of
hatred.

And for that cause he said in *Saint Matthew*, That whoſo-
 euer is angry with his brother, is worthie to be punished in
 iudgement. *Salomon* ſaith in his *Prouerbs*, That a ſtone is hea-
 uie, and ſand is weightie, but the wrath of a foole is heauier
 than they both. I confeſſe that oft-times it increcheth vpon
 good diſpoſitions, as euill weeds do vpon good grounds: but
 the diligence of the good husband doth eaſily deſtroy them,
 to make roome for good corne, and good hearbs. And as tou-
 ching that *Ariſtotle* ſaith, That anger muſt be vſed as a ſoul-
 dier: he meaneth a certaine kindly and princely coragiouſnes,
 which maketh men to follow a braue and difficult obiect, as I
 haue ſaid alreadie of *Alexanders* forwardnes, which prouoked
 him to warre. For ſuch a boiling forwardneſſe, fauoureth more
 of nobleneſſe of mind, than of wrath. And whereas *Saint Iohn*
Chriſtoſtome ſaith, That anger is behoofful; that is ment for the
 puniſhing of faults. But as he ſaith in the ſame place, That is
 not properly wrath or anger, but a care, a wiſdome, and an or-
 derly diſpoſition, as the father that is angrie with his childſ
 fault, for the care that he hath of him. And whereas ſome ſay,
 That anger hath a kind of noble-miundedneſſe, and of reſem-
 blance vnto prowes, it is like as if a man ſhould ſay, that a man
 which is ſicke of a feuer were well diſpoſed, becauſe he doth
 ſome parts of a luſtie man in his fits, which he could not doe if
 he were in health: Euen ſo is it (ſaith he) with anger, which
 giueth a man a certaine forwardneſſe that oftentimes is taken
 for prowelle, and yet is ſo farre off from fauouring of prowelle
 and true forwardneſſe, that contrariwiſe it rather proceedeth
 of weakneſſe and feebleneſſe, than of hardineſſe, as witneſſeth
Plutarch, making this cōpariſon; Like as the ſwelling and puſ-
 ſing vp of the fleſh, betokeneth a great ſoreneſſe in the fleſh:
 ſo in tender minds, the more they relent and yeeld vnto ſorow,
 the more abundance of cholerickneſſe doe they caſt forth,
 arguing the greater imbecilitie. That is the cauſe why women
 are commonly more treaſand teſtie than men; and ſick-men,
 than men in health; and old men, than men that are in the
 flower of their youth; and men in aduerſitie, than men in pro-
 ſperitie.

Chole: ricknes
 procedeth of
 weaknes of
 the mind.

spiritie. But to subdue anger is a point of prowesse and noble-
 mindednesse, as saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Dion*, the prooffe
 whereof is shewed, not in bearing a mans selfe modestly to-
 wards his friends, or toward honest men, but in the gentle for-
 giving of them that haue offended him, & in his meeld relea-
 sing of his displeasure. That is the cause why *Salomon* saith, It
 is better for a man to bridle his wrath, than to win a citie. And
 if a man will say, That irefulness is as it were the sinues of the
 soule: in the opinion of *Plutarch* he should rather liken it vnto
 the crampe, which retcheth a man out, or draweth him in
 with so much the greater vehemencie, as it is the more desi-
 rous to reuenge. And as the same authour saith in the life of
Coriolanus, Anger seemeth to be magnanimity, because it hath
 a desire to overcome, and will not yeeld to any man: and yet
 for all that, it is but a feeblenes, the which thrusteth the cho-
 ler forth, as the weakest and most passionate part of the soule,
 no lesse than a corrupt matter of an impostume. They that
 haue vpheld, that cholericke persons are apt to learne, haue
 added that they were not fit for government, and therefore
 that the Lacedemonians praied dayly vnto God, to inable
 them to beare wrongs: esteeming that person vnworthie to
 be in authoritie, or to deale in great affairs, that is subiect to
 anger. That is the cause why *Chilo* the Lacedemonian, being
 asked by his brother, why he was not made a iudge as well as
 he; answered, It was because he could skill to beare wrongs
 patiently that were done vnto him, which thing his brother
 could not do: as who would say, He is not worthie to be a ma-
 gistrat, which cannot beare iniuries and discountenance them.
 There is a Greeke prouerbe which saith, That a prince must
 heare both the iust and vniust. And as *Lois* the eleuenth said,
 He that can no skill to dissemble, can no skill to reigne. For
 they that run headly vpon their owne opinions, and will not
 yeeld to any other, do in the end become desolate. But they
 that will liue among men, and haue to do in matters of state,
 must of necessitie become patient; or else they shall haue few
 to follow them, or rather they shall be vterly forsaken.

To subdue an-
 ger is a point
 of a noble and
 valiant corage.

Irresfulness like-
 ned to the
 crampe

Cholericke per-
 sons vnfit for
 government.

That man is
 vnworthie of
 authoritie
 which cannot
 beare iniuries.

The vnpatient
 are forsaken,
 or else haue
 few followers.

One

One asked a philosopher, wherefore he durst not medle with the publike affairs? It is not (quoth he) because I am afraid of them, but because I am afraid of my selfe: whereby he gaue inckling of his owne ouer-great cholericknes, which he knew to be cleane contrarie to the managing of publike affairs. Another asked one why he liked not to teach children: because (quoth he) I like not my selfe: meaning that he was too cholericke to teach children. For as *Plutarch* saith, Men are not wont to draw a fresh cheese with a hooke: but as for the cholericke, they draw not, but brooze, breake and shatter in peeces; and in stead of drawing, do thrust off children from comming to learning. *Coriolanus* was a great personage, and but for his choler, one of the forwardest in Rome: But that did raigne so sore in him, that it made him of small account, and vnmeet to liue and be conuersant with men. In somuch that to auenge himselfe, he displeased all his friends, and of friends made them enemies, and so he refused the repeale of his banishment, the which the people offered vnto him. Albeit that *Philopamen* was an excellent captaine, furnished and indued with many vertues: yet *Plutarch* blameth him for his cholericknes, saying, That in the controuersies that hapned in matters of government, oftentimes he could not hold himselfe within the bounds of grauitie, patience, & meeldnes, but flang out often into choler and wilfulnes: by reason whereof he seemed to haue mo parts of a good captain for war, than of a sage gouernor of a common-weale for peace. For nothing is more contrarie to the admitting of good counsell, than choler and too much hastines. *Plutarch* in his treatise of the Brideling of choler, saith, That choler is a medly composed of al the passions of the soule. For it is deriued and drawne out of pleasure and sorrow, insolencie and audacitie; it holdeth of enuy, in that it is well apaid to see another mans harme; and it is matched with violence and manslaughter, for that it fighteth, but not in a mans owne defence, and cannot suffer but to make other men suffer, and to ouer-throw them: and it taketh part of couetousnes in the thing that is most vn honest, & worst to be liked,

The cholerick
are vnmeet
to teach chil-
dren,

Anger is a
medly of all
the passions
of the mind.

liked, namely in that it is an eager and fierce desire to do harme. *Horace* saith, That anger is a short madnesse. And *Cato* saith, There is no difference betweene a man that is in choler, and a mad man, but onely in the length of the time, esteeming anger to be a madnesse of short continuance. Saint *John Chrysostome* in his thirtieth Homilie saith, There is no difference betweene a man possessed with a diuell, a mad-man, a drunken-man, and a man that is in choler. And if ye marke well a man that is throughly angrie, ye shall find his countenance of another sort than when he was in quiet. Ye shall see his eyes sparckling, his face red and fierie, his mouth wricked, all his lims trembling, and as it were in a palsie, his tongue stammering, his words misplaced, and without discourse of reason, like the words of a foole, of a drunken man, or of a man out of his wits. Therefore a wise man will to the vttermost of his power, beware that he giue no place to his choler, no nor euen in mirth, Because that (as *Plutarch* saith) it turneth sport into enmitie: nor in talke or writing, because that of conference in learning, it maketh a headie heart-burning and contention: nor in iudging, because it matcheth authoritie with insolencie: nor in admonishing and teaching children, because it putteth them out of heart, and maketh them to hate learning: nor in prosperitie, because it augmenteth the enuie that accompanieth good fortune: nor in aduersitie, because it taketh away pitie, when they that are false into misfortune are angrie, and fall to encountering against those that should haue compafsion of their miserie. On the contrarie, mild behaiour giueth to some succour, and to some honour; it sweetneth sowrenesse, and by the meeknesse thereof, ouercommeth all roughnesse and harshnesse of mens maners. The operation of either of them is like a cleare and faire day, in winter and rainie weather. And therefore meeknesse doth specially become a prince, and him that is set in authoritie. For if there be any dangerous thing in the world, it is the anger of a prince.

Anger a furores of short continuance.

The inconuenience that insueth of cholericknes.

The praise of meeknesse.

Anger dangerous in a prince.

And as *Salomon* saith in his Prouerbs, The indignation of

of a prince is as a messenger of death. And in another place he saith, That the indignation of a prince is like the roing of a lion, but his fauour is like the deaw vpon the grasse. And as *Plutarch* saith in his booke of the Trainment of princes, After they haue once spoken the word, the partie that is but suspected to haue offended, is vndone. And as the naturall philosophers say, as the lightning commeth after the thunder, and yet is seene afore it; and as in a wound, the blood is seene afore the wound it selfe: so with princes and great potentates, punishment goeth afore appeachment, and men are seene to be condemned, afore any thing be prooued against them: and that is because the prince cannot refraine his cholera, vnlesse the force of reason set it selfe against their power, and breake it. For as saith *Ecclesiasticus*, According as the wood of the Forrest is, so burneth the fire, and according as a mans power is, so burneth his anger, and so mounteth vp his wrath in substance. Therefore the first and chiefeft remedie that we can find for cholericke, is to submit our selues to reason. For as saith *Aristotle* in his seuenth booke of *Morals*, Anger hearkeneth vnto reason, howbeit confusedly and negligently, like a quicke and hastie page, that goes his way ere he haue heard halfe his errand, which causeth him to do his message amisse: or like a dog that barketh as soone as he heareth any noise at the doore, without knowing whether he that knocketh is a friend or a foe. Euen so anger, through fauour & light mouing, doth giue some eare to reason, but yet so as it runneth forth to punishing, without vnderstanding his commission. For reason had iudged that there was some reprochful deed, or some contempt, but cholera flingeth forth incontinently at randon, as though it had bene concluded and resolutely determined by discourse of reason, that the partie which hath done the wrong, is to be fought withall out of hand. For naturally we couet reuenge of the harme that is done vs, and esteeme it greater than it is. And like as bodies seeme great through a cloud, so do mens faults seeme greater through anger, than they be in deed; by reason whereof we be desirous to punish them

Among princes men are oft condemned afore ought be prooued against them.

Remedies against anger. The first remedie.

Naturally we couet reuenge and esteeme wrongs to be greater than they be.

them more than reason would we should. Inſomuch that he which will puniſh as he ought to do, ought to be cleare from anger. For when anger burſteth out, it puniſheth without reaſon, cleane contrarie to the maner of eating and drinking, the which we uſe not but when we be a hungred and a thirſt. But we do then uſe reuenge beſt, when we neither hunger it, nor thirſt it, but haue begun to forgo the appetite thereof, applying it to reaſon and diſcretion, without the which we cannot maſter our cholera. And as the ſmoke that ſteameth vp into our eies, letteth vs to ſee the things that are before our feete: ſo cholera dimmeth reaſon, and ſuffereth vs not without paine and labour, to enioy the good wherewith reaſon could furniſh vs. And therefore it muſt be put in readineſſe long aforehand. And like as they that looke to haue their citie beſieged, do gather and lay vp in ſtore aforehand, whatſoeuer may ſerue their turne, and tarie not til ſuccor come to them from abroad: enen ſo (ſaith *Plutarck*) muſt the remedies prouided long afore out of Philoſophie, be applied in time, againſt ire. For by reaſon of the turmoile that is within, the mind heareth not that which is ſaid without, vnleſſe it haue reaſon of it owne, and ſuch diſcretion of it ſelfe within, as doth by and by ſet it ſelfe againſt the anger and ſuppreſſe it. And that is the pallace which *Homer* in the firſt booke of his *Iliads*, ſaineth to haue reſtrained *Achilles* from killing *Agamemnon*.

The ſecond remedie is, to retire frō the miſchief aforehand, as ſoone as a man perceyueſt it cōming; as they that be diſeaſed with the falling ſickneſſe, do withdraw themſelues in due time, for feare of falling into their diſeaſe afore companie. The third remedie is, to follow the counſel that *Athenodorus* gaue to *Auguſtus*, which was to ſay ouer the whole alphabet or Apſie at our entring into cholera, to the end that that ſpace of time, may giue vs leaſure to moderate our anger. For the wiſe man (ſaith *Salomon*) delaieth his anger, and it is a glorie vnto him to ouerpaffe faults committed, that is, to let the offence paſſe, and not to do as *Darius* did, who being in an exceeding great rage againſt the Athenians for ſacking the citie *Sardus*,
praied

Reason muſt be applied to anger.

The troubled mind heareth not what is ſaid without.

The ſecond remedie.

The third remedie.

praised God that he might reuenge that iniurie, and ordained that thrise euerie day when his meat was vpon the table, one should say vnto him, Sir, remember the Athenians; but rather as the Romans did, who to shew that magistrats ought not to be angrie in hast, tied the rods of their pretors vnto halberds, to the intent that the delay which was made in the vntying of them, should breake and appease the headines of the pretors wrath. If the Pythagorians hapned to be angrie, their custom was to touch one another in the hand, afore they departed out of the place, to the intent that they would not let their anger take place, according to the precept of Saint *Paule*. The fourth remedie is, neuer to take vpon ones selfe the chastising of the partie that hath offended him, but to put ouer the doing thereof to some other bodie, as some philosophers haue don, who praied their friends to chastise their bond-slaves, saying, That they themselues could not do it, because they were too much moued with anger. As for example *Architas* of Tarent, who would not chastise his seruant because he was in anger with him. *Cicero* in his Duties saith, That a mā must be wel ware, that he be not angry when he punisheth, because anger neuer keepeth the meane that ought to be between too much and too little. And magistrats ought to be like vnto lawes, which punish men, not for anger, but for iustice. The fift meane is, to cōsider that we would be loth to be punished as we would punish others; wherto agreeth the parable of the Receiuer in the Gospel, who hauing obtained fauour for his debts at his masters hand, yet neuertheles would needs play the tormētor towards a poore debter of his own. By the which parable we be cōmanded to forgiue the wrongs that our neighbors do vnto vs, as god forgiueth vs freely our misdeeds. And for want of so doing, we cānot haue grace at gods hand. For thus saith Ecclesiasticus, Doth man keepe anger against man, and craue health of God? If he that is a mortal man (saith he) do keepe anger, and craue forgiuenes of God; who shall forgiue him his sins? Be mindfull of the feare of God, and bear no anger to thy neighbor. And in the 20. chap. Say not I will requite euill, but

The fourth
remedic.

The fift re-
medie.

wait thou the Lords leasure, and he will deliuer thee. Sixtly, he must eschue all occasions of anger, as *Cotis* king of Thrace did, to whom, one gaue verie faire and dilicate vessell, but verie easie to be broken. *Cotis* receiued the present willingly, but he brake the vessels out of hand. And being asked the cause, he said he did it for feare, least he should be angry with some other bodie for breaking them. Seuenthly, He must

The sixt re-
medie.

The seuenth
remedie.

consider with himselfe the inconueniences that may come of anger, seeing that as Ecclesiasticus saith, Anger and wrath do shorten mens dayes. *Valentinian* was so angrie at certaine ambassadours, which brought him newes that misliked him, that he brake a veine within his bodie, whence the blood issued so abundantly out at his mouth, that he was immediatly choked with it. *Gaston* earle of Foies had but one onely sonne, against whom he was so outragiously fumish, that the poore child died of it; whereof the father repented him afterward at leysure, as *Froissard* reporteth at large in his hystorie. As for manslaughter, the most part of them come of choler. Now to assure vs that manlaughter is detestable afore God, we haue a precept in the ten Commaundements, the which forbiddeth vs to kill. *Romulus* called all manquelling, Parricide, because the one was villainous and detestable, and the other was not tollerable. *Moyse* appointed out fiue cities of refuge, for them that had committed manlaughter, so it were by chance and not vpon malice; meaning that such as had their hands defiled with blood, should not be conuersant among other men. *Dauid* being welbeloued of God, and an earnest louer of God, would haue builded him a temple; but he was dissuaded from it by *Nathan*, who had commaundement from God, to bid him leaue the doing thereof to his sonne *Salomon*, because his owne hands were defiled with the blood of his enemies. And as he himselfe saith in the fiue and fiftith Psalm, Bloudie and deceitfull men shal not liue out halfe their daies. And we may say generally with Ecclesiasticus, That a man full of anger, kindleth strife and variance among friends, and setteth enmitie among them that were at peace,

Of man-
slaughter.

Bloudie men
shall not liue
out halfe their
daies.

Anger causeth
the ouerthrow
of cities.

The eight
remedie.

A prince is
pacified with
patience.
A mild tounge
breaketh all
hardnesse.

Of anger come iniuries, discords, disagreements, and oftentimes the vtter ouerthrowes of cities, whereof princes repent them afterward, or at leastwise are blamed for it, as *Philip* was for *Olinthus*. And when some maruelled at his power, that he had so soone rased so great a citie: one *Agelpolis* said, It would behoue *Philip* to haue a longer time to build vp such another: whereby he meant that it is a far more princely act to build cities, than to ouerthrow them, and to destroy them when they be builded. The same anger doth oftentimes make manie to passe the edge of the sword, euen after the field is woon, yea and sometime euen those that had yeelded themselues to the mercie of the conquerours; which thing *Cicero* forbideth in his Duties. *Agellaus* said, He thought it a wonder, that men tooke not those for traitors to God, which do euill to poore folke, that crie for mercie, and beseech them for the honour of God to pardon them; and that they punish them not more grieuously, than the robbers of churches: deeming well and wisely, that mens liues are dearer than all the ornaments of temples and churches. Lastly, let him read histories, and consider the blame that hath lighted vpon irefull persons. I wil not speake of *Coriolane* and others, who through that onely vice haue defaced great vertues, and misguided their affairs. Nor of *Alexander* who slue *Clitus*, wherof ensued repentance by and by, and that so great, that men had much a doo to keepe him from killing himselfe, for the misliking that he had conceiued of his fault. No nor of *Clitus* himselfe, who procured his owne death by his impatiencie and choler. For a prince (saith *Salomon*) is pacified by patience, & a mild speech breaketh all hardnesse. But I will speake of *Augustus*, whom we haue commended for his mildnes. For we must needs confesse, that it was disgraced by these two deeds of his. The one was, that with his owne hands, he put out the eies of one that was accused vnto him of treason: and the other was, that he vsed most shamefull outrage, towards one that had committed adulterie with his daughter. But when the yong man had shewed him the law, that he himselfe had made for adulterie,

and

and was contented to be punished according to the law, if he had offended. *Augustus* was so grieued therat, that notwithstanding that he had iust cause of punishing him, yet he ate no meat that day. And he moderated his choler so wel afterward, that he did not any deed vnbeseeing himselfe. *Plutarch* speaking of *Marius*, saith that his cholericknes, ambition, and couetousnes, did driue him like a mightie wind, into a bloodie, cruel and vnkind old age. The same *Plutarch* in the life of *Sylla*, saith, That *Sylla* suffred himself to be caried away with choler without aduisement, without setting any other consideration before his eies, than only the reuenge of his enemies, without making any account of his friends and kins-folke, and without any touch of mercie and compafsion: and his furie was so fry, that he put no difference between such as had offended him, and such as had done nothing. If these examples suffice not, let him consider that a man ought to be more tractable than a lion. Now the lion how fierce so euer he bee, is made gentle and tame by art, which surmounteth his nature. And shall not man which by nature is meeld, take paine to tame the beast that lodgeth within him? he ouercommeth the nature of beasts, and yet for all that he cannot ouercome himselfe. And as *S. Iohn Chrysostome* saith vpon the first of *Mathew*, If I charged you to appease another man; you might answer me that you haue not other mens wils in your hand: but I speak to you of anger, which is your owne beast, and lion, whom you may command. And if by cunning and good means ye can make a lion a man; how hapneth it that through your negligence, you suffer your selues of men to become lions? For there is no lion that doth more mischief, than anger; as the which not onely hurteth the bodie, but also marreth and impaireth the health of the soule, weakening her strength, and making her vnweeldy to all things. And a man must not excuse his cholericknes by this common saying, That the first motions are not in mans power, and therefore it is hard to resist anger. For if it haue an earnest desire to any thing, it will boldly aduenture to obtaine it with losse of a mans owne blood, and with the perill of

The cholericknes of *Marius* and *Sylla*.

A man may command anger seeing it harbereth within him.

Anger impaireth the health both of bodie and soule.

his life. For the mouings thereof are staid by the stepping in of reason. And to excuse any euill that is happened through anger, it is like as if a man should excuse himselfe of the giuing of a blow, by saying it was not he that did it, but his hand. As little also ought we to excuse our selues, by that, that we were not the beginners of the quarell, for it is as if a man should excuse himselfe of a murder, by saying that he was not the man that gaue him the first deadly wound. For as saith *Chrysostome* in his xxxj Homily, He that taketh not example by another mans offence, is more to be punished than the other; like as he is that seeing another man drunken, becommeth drunken after him. *Solon* in his lawes forbad men to wrong any body, by outrageous words in the time of diuine seruice, in place of iustice, and in places of open assembly, vnder paine of three drams to be paid to him that was wronged, and of two to the common-weal: deeming it a point of ouergreat licentiousnes, not to be able to bridle mens choler in any such place.

The end of the second booke.





The third Booke.

CHAP. I.

Of Leagues.



AS *Pyrrhus* king of *Epyrots* was at a solemne feast, one asked him, whether of the Flute-players, *Pithon* or *Cephe-
stas* was the best? to whom he answered, That in his opinion *Polyper-
chon* was the best captaine; as who would say, That that was the onely thing whereof a prince should enquire and learne to know. For to say the truth, the verie office of a prince, is to deale with war-matters, and to make himselfe a good captaine, that he may know how to defend himselfe, & to assail his enemies when tinte serues, which is the thing that setteth his subiects most in peace. For the prince that is valiant and practised in feats of armes, is commended, feared and redoubted of his neighbors. Contrariwise, the coward, and he that despiseth the art of warre, and hath not weapon in hand, is subiect to the contempt of his neighbours, and to endure warre whether he will or no. Wherefore as a prince ought to haue great vnderstanding in matters of gouernment, so ought he not to be ignorant what belongeth to warre. And as his dutie consisteth, first in the well-ordering of the common-weale: so is it also necessarie for him to haue skill

The prince that is valiant is esteemed and had in feare.

The art of war vpholdeth the comon-weale.

of martiall affairs, to maintaine the common-weale. Now as touching the art of warre, I find not a better booke or a better scholemaister thereof, than experience; though enow haue written thereof. For it is learned more by practise than by speculation, and it belongeth not vnto any other to treat thereof, than to such as haue spent some part of their life in the wars. And if any man of my calling would treat thereof, it might be said vnto him that he plaid the foole, as *Hanniball* said to *Phormio*. But to treat of policies and sleights of warre practised by captaines, is not a dealing with the Art of warre, otherwise than by accident, and after the maner of Historiographers, who forget them not in their histories; but in bringing againe of the histories to remembrance which make mention of them, according to my foredetermined purpose, which was to shew how noble princes haue demeaned themselues, both in peace and warre, and to deliuer as in euidence, their quicke sayings and politike stratagemes. Of the one I hope I haue in some sort discharged my selfe in my former two bookes: and now in this, I will treat a little of the feats of war, and of some policies found in histories for the instruction of princes, to the end that among the notable things which I haue inserted here out of diuerse histories where they were dispersed; this which is the principall point, may not tary behind vntouched, leauing the larger discouery therof, to such as deale with arms. Wherein if I keepe some order and fashion of precepts, it is but to treat of those things in some method, which are dispersed in the histories; and not to giue any certaine iudgment. what is to be done in that behalfe. For I hope that when the matter is once set downe, a prince may vpon this discourse, chuse what he thinketh good, as bees do vpon flowers. I know that the most part of the stratagemes that were found good in time past, are now out of vse, and that as *Cambyfes* said vnto *Cyrus*, like as in musick the newest songs & such as were neuer heard afore, do like men best: so in warre, the policies that haue not earst ben practised, haue best successe, because the enemye doth least suspect them. But we may also say, that many

times old songs are renewed and song for new: and likewise in warre, old policies may be renewed, and taken for new. For there is not any thing done, which hath not ben done afore. By means wherof I haue gathered and compacted together, a part of the old policies of time past, to the intent that among many, the prince may chuse that which he shall find best, or at leastwise not be ignorant to keepe himselfe from them. For the knowledge of the policies of times past, together with those which he hath seene by experience, wil giue him a great iudgment in the feat of war, and will make him to call to mind againe, and bethinke him of the things that he hath seene at other times. Wherefore to keepe the order that I began with, it is to be vnderstood, that to raigne happily and to maintaine himselfe and his subiects in peace and tranquility; it is not inough for a prince to stablish good laws and ordinances, if he do not likewise set good order for matters of war, which may light vpon his armie whether he will or no; and sometime the wrong that shall be offered him, shall compell him to warre vpon his neighbour. So that it is hard for a prince to raigne long without some warre, either in assailing or in defending, whereof it commeth to passe that he increaseth and diminisheth his state and reputation, according to his fortunate or vnfortunate successe. And to make himselfe the stronger he maketh leagues with his freinds and allies; or else his enemie preuenteth him, who hauing made an offensiue league with his associats, commeth with great power to enter into his countrie. For the which a prince must prouide afore hand, as it shall be easie for him to doe in time, if he haue strength, howbeit that it be a terrible thing to see so many nations against him alone. Neuerthelesse we haue seene almost continually, that he which hath stood vpon his defence, hath had the skill to vntwist such knots well inough. And the reason is, for that the princes or common-weales that are neighbours, do neuer yeeld mutuall loue one to another, and that which they do, is for their owne peculiar profit, fearing nothing so much as the aduaancement of their neighbour. By

Nothing is done, which hath not ben done a sic.

In matters of state neighbours do neuer loue one another.

The way to
dissolve
leagues.

reason wherof such leagues are easie to be broken, by a prince that hath courage, and some small meane to prolong time, and a little skill to sway with the time. Wherfore when a prince is assailed by a puissat army, he must oppose another against him, he must furnish well his holds, and he must incampe himselfe in a place of such aduantage, as his enemy may not be so bold as to aduenture vpon him. And in the meane while, he must attempt by all means to dissolve the whole league, or at leastwise to get some one out of the league, which is so easie a thing to be done, that as many as haue bent themselues vnto it, haue almost neuer failed. King *Lois* the eleuenth was very excellent in this feat. Euery man knows how he accorded with the countie of Charolois at Conflans; so that when he was once taken out of the play, it was of necessitie, that the dukes of Berry and Britaine should be comprised in the accord, because they were not of sufficient power to encounter the king of France, without the helpe of the Burgonions. Another time, hauing to doe with two mightie neighbours, the king of England and the duke of Burgoine, when he saw that the duke of Burgoine was not yet knit to the king of England; he made peace with the king of England, so as hee had no mo to deale with, but the duke of Burgoine. King *Francis* the first was assailed by the emperor, and by the king of England in the yeare 1544. By reason whereof he opposed against the emperor a strong host, and against the king of England towns well fortified. And in the mean while he found means to agree with the emperor, without calling the king of England therto; and by that means it was the easier for him to agree with the Englishmen afterward. The emperor was sore combred, in hauing to deale with two mightie armies at once, to wit king *Henrie* the second, and the Protestants. By reason whereof he aduised himselfe to graunt the Protestants their demands, that he might afterward bend himselfe vpo the king. Which thing maketh me to thinke, that in leagues there is somewhat to be feared, and that there is danger in entring into them, the which it standeth a prince greatly on hand to provide for. But it is not hard;

to vndo them, because the leguers looke more to their owne peculiar profit, than to the common profit of them all; and the societie which all of them do make, is lion-like, as they terme it; for euerie of them respecteth his owne peculiar profit. And if ye set that aside, by and by all is laid awater. But if there befall too happie successe to any one that is in league, and the prince see that fortune smileth vpon his companion: he must not by and by giue him ouer there, and make league against him, as the Pope, and the duke of Millan, and all Italie did for king *Francis* the first, vpon his taking of the emperor *Charles* prisoner, with whom they had bene lincked in league afore against the king. The Leontines, and Rhegines, hauing entered into armes against the Syracusanes, made a league with the Athenians, by whose ayd they maintained the warre along time. But in the end, when they vnderstood by the report that *Hermocrates* made vnto all the Sicilians in generall, that all that the Athenians did, was to make themselues lords of Sicilie: they gaue ouer the league, and made peace among themselues. Moreouer, in most of these leagues there is alwayes some one that draweth backward, and cometh lagging behind, as the emperor *Maximilian* did, when he was allied with king *Lois* the twelfth, against the Venetians. For king *Lois* was in the field at the day appointrd, and had spoyled the Venetians of the places that should haue faln to his share by agreemēt of the league, afore the emperor was entered into Italie. And this slacknesse of his faued the citie Padoa, and a good part of the state of Venice. And had the Venetians beene warriors and well provided, they had put king *Lois* to a plunge. For they had as then no mo but him to deale with, so that his league did him small seruice. The duke of Burgoine should haue ioyned with the king of England, to inuade the countrie of king *Lois* the eleuenth; but he lingered so long at the siege of *Nuis*, that the king of England was faine to returne and make peace, as I haue said already. The league of the Spanish king and the Venetians against the Turke, turned by and by into

Leaguers respect their owne peculiar profit.

Leagues broken by diuers means.

The drawing backe of one leaguer, disappointeth the whole league.

smoke by reason of distrust that rose betwixt them, notwithstanding that the Turke was overcome vpon the sea by the confederats at Lepanto. Many times did the Italians and Spaniards, ioyntly conspire to driue the Frenchmen out of Italie. But one while the Spaniards departed from the confederacie, another while the Pope shrunke backe, and another while the Venetians fell in with vs, which was a cause that we held our footing stil, notwithstanding their leagues. These examples with a hundred others which I leaue for briefnesse sake, may warne vs, that a puissant and well aduised prince, shall neuer want means to disseuer such as confederat themselves against him.

CHAP. II.

Of Governours sent into the frontiers of countries, and whether they should be changed, or suffered to continue still.

When a prince hath associated himselfe with his friends and neighbors, to defend himselfe or to assaile his enemies; It behoueth him to take order for his frontiers, and to provide himselfe of a good wife and valiant chieftaine, to lie ordinarilie with a good number of souldiers, in the prouince that is most subiect to the inuasion of enemies. But here some man might demaund, whether such a Governour or chieftaine ought neuer to be changed, or whether he ought to be changed as the pretors, proconsuls and presidents of prouinces were among the Romans. I haue declared in the title of Iustice, that the emperour *Alexander Severus* changed his officers oft, and that *Augustus* altered not the custome of the Romans, in sending senators into prouinces for a certaine time. *Aristotle* in his bookes of Commonweale-matters, reproued the Candlots, for suffering one of their

their magistrats whom they called Consuls, to be perpetuall, whereas they should haue beene shifted from time to time. And it is not to be doubted, but that that maner of dealing was verie behooffull in a Common-weale, where euerie man lookes to beare office of honour, which few should haue enioyed, if the charge of government should haue beene tied to one alone, to occupie the place of many good citizens, who could haue discharged the office as well as he. And thereof would haue ensued a great inconuenience, namely that an armie being governed ouerlong by one citizen, would haue growne partiall in his behalfe, and not haue acknowledged any other for their head, than him vnder whom they had so long serued. Moreouer the Generall or chiefe captaine of an armie, that shall haue continued so long together in office, would become so rich and increased in honour, that he could not find in his heart to liue as meane citizen afterward. Wherupon it would follow of necessitie, that the citizens should fall to warre among themselues. That was the cause that *Silla* and *Marius* found men at their deuotion, which durst maintaine their ambition against the welfare of the common-weale. The prorogation of the five yeares, which was giuen to *Iulius Caesar* for the governing of the Gauls, and the ouer-great number of offices of honour, that were bestowed vpon *Pompey*, were the cause of the ruine of Rome. For there was not in his time any goodly enterprife, whereof he was not the executor. And although there was great reason, that the Senate should prorogue the consull, *Philoes* authoritie before *Palepolis*, and likewise of *Lucullus* & *Metellus*, without sending *Pompey* to be successor to the one, and *Marius* to be successor to the other: Yet had it beene better for the common-weale, to haue forborne that gaine, and to haue left the warre vnfinished, than to haue suffered the seed of tyrannie to grow vp, to the ouerthrow of the publike-weale. And I maruell not that *Epaminondas* was put to his necke-verse, for executing the Pretorship, contrarie to the law, but onely three moneths beyond his appointed tearme, though in that while he

The danger of suffering one governour continually in a prouince.

finished

Too great a
mightinesse is
daungerous in
a cōmonweale

In monarchies
needeth no
change of
gouernors.

finished the war that had bin begun, and deliuered the Thebans from bondage. For as on the one side, the greatnesse of the benefit encountered the law: so on the other side, there was as an apparant breach of the law, which might procure great preiudice in time to come. Now in a free citie, this ouer-great mightines is to be feared: and therefore it is no wonder though *Publicola* was in good time redoubted of the Romans, and compelled to shew that he ment to make himselfe equall with the meanest, And in mine opinion, the Ostracisme of Athens, which afterward was mocked at for banishing a fellow that was nought worth, was not without great reason. For had not the excellent citizens beene brided by exile, they would at length haue growne so proud, that they would haue made themselues kings and maisters of the citie, as *Pericles* might well haue done, if he had beene of an ambitious mind, and as others did afterward that were meaner than he. And therefore I make no doubt of it, but that in common-weals there ought to be no such thing. But in Monarchies where one alone commaundeth, it is better to set a gouernor or vice-roy, that shall continue there all his life. After that maner haue our kings done in Piemont with happie successe. But if the people of the prouinces make any complaints of the couetousnesse of their Gouernour, or of his extortion and great crueltie, or if the prince doubt of his loyaltie, in such cases the prince must reuoke him, and send a new in his roome. *Consalno* was called home from Naples by the king of Aragon, who was so ielous of him, that he feared least he should abuse his authoritie, and defeat him of the realme. But if a Gouernour be not too full of vice, it is much better that he continue still. For he shall learne how to behaue himselfe towards the men of his prouince, by acquainting himselfe long time with their humors. And for his knowledge of the cōuntry, he shall do goodlier exploits than a new lieutenant could do: besids that he shall be more loued and regarded of the Souldiers, with whom he shall haue spent his yong yeares.

CHAP. III.

*Of a Lieutenant-generall, and that there behoueth no
mo but one to commaund an armie.*



As much as a prince cannot be alway with his armie, it behoueth him to choose some excellent captaine, to haue the commaunding thereof. Now it may be demanded; whether it were better to appoint two or three to that charge, or to be contented with one, for if one alone haue the execution of that charge, no man shall controll him, whereas mo doing their dutie well, may do more faithfull and trustie seruice, by struiuing who shall do best. And this maner did the Athenians vse, who for a time held the dominion of the Easterne seas; and so did the Romans who subdued the whole world. The Athenians in their warres of Sicilie (which were of great importance) sent thither *Nicias* and *Alcibiades*. And ordinarilie they had two at the least, and sometimes ten together that commaunded. The Romans most commonly sent the two consuls to the warres, who ruled the armie with equall power. But they that did so, found not themselues euer best at ease; We haue an example therof in three Tribunes of Rome sent to Fidene with authoritie of consuls, who through their disagreement & mistaking one another, were like to haue brought the Roman host to ruine. Also they vsed but light wars. For in times of danger they made a Dictator, that one might absolutely commaund alone: being of opinion that one alone might better gouerne an armie than many could, because it is hard to find two or three excellent captains in a whole countrie: as *Philip* of Macedonie said, He maruelled how the Athenians could euery yeare appoint ten captains to commaund their armie, whereas he could find but one in all his realme.

It is not good
to haue many
commaunders
in an armie.

And

And in good sooth, had the captaines whom the Athenians appointed, bene no wiser than they that appointed them, their common-weale had smarted forit. In a certaine dangerous warre, they had appointed many companions to *Miltiades*, among whom was *Aristides*, who as wise as he was, yelded vnto *Miltiades* the authoritie of commanding; the which thing the rest of his companions did likewise, being constrained to do it by his exāple, which was the cause that al things went well. He did as much to *Themistocles* his enemy, whereby the Athenians receiued maruellous profit. For ye shall neuer find two men of one selfe-same humor. And if it were so; yet the one is so thrust forward with ambition, enuie, and iea-lousie against his fellow, that they faile not to marre all. If *Niceas* and *Alcibiades* had bene neuer so long together, they would neuer haue agreed. For the one was too slow, and the other too quicke, after the same maner that *Fabius* and *Minucius*, *Paulus Aemilius* and *Varro* were: for if the one did well one day, the other marred all the next day, the harme whereof the Romans felt a long time after.

In our ciuill warres we had two princes in our armies, of whom the one tooke vpon him to commaund, and the other would giue no place to him. And in hope to content them both, vnto the one was committed the vanguard with the tokens of battell; and vnto the other was committed the battell, rather in name than in effect: whereat the other disdain- ing, was a cause that a good part of the armie was broken. Therefore the best is to haue but one generall. And we must not here take example at common-weales: for their vphol- ding of themselues is dearer vnto them, than the ouerthrow- ing of their enemies. And because the ouergreat mightines of a citizen is daungerous to their state, they had rather faile in the other point, than to giue too great authoritie to one alone, for feare least he should fall to vsurping, or that his greatnesse should cause some sedition in the cite. But a king, who cannot be deposed by any one alone, how excellent and valiant a captain so euer he be, is neuer in that doubt, nor in the distrust wherein

It is hard for
two generals
to agree in
one armie.

wherein common-weals are. And therefore he ought not, but vpon some necessitie, to commit the charge of his armie to any mo than one. Also he must beware, that with his gouernor he send not other captains, that esteeme themselues as great or greater than the generall. For that were the way to set all out of order. *olympius* thought she did well, in sending the Siluershields to the succor of *Eumenes*, but she mard all by it: for their captains made so great account of themselues, that they would not obey him, no nor scarcely accept him for their companion. By reason wherof they betraid him, and deliuered him to his enimie. The ruine of the common-weale of Rome, came of two citizens well neere of equall power, of whom the one would abide none greater than himselfe, and the other would haue no peere. And because either of them was of great credit with the Senate, they set the whole citie together by the eares. But the king who carieth his counsell with him, and hath neither tribunes nor consuls, disposeth of his state at his owne will, and no man dareth intermeddle with the government, further-forth than is to his liking.

There must
be no equals
to the generall
in an armie.

CHAP. IIII.

*Whether the chiefe of an armie should be gentle
or rigorous.*



Here is offered a question which is no small one, that is to wit, Whether the chief of an armie, be he prince, king, or lieutenant to a king, ought to vse rigor rather than gentlenes, as well towards his souldiers, as also towards the countrie which he intendeth to conquer? For there haue beene, which by their rigor haue beene obeyed & reuerenced, both of their souldiers and of the countrie where they warred, and by that means haue compassed their affairs verie well. And other some haue gotten so great good will by their gentlenesse, that they haue woon more by their

For gentlenes
and courtesie.

their courtesie, than the others haue done by their crueltie. They that preferre gentlenes, alledge *Pericles*, who was very mild and patient, and was wont to say, That there should neuer be any cause, why any man should weare a black gowne by his means. Yet notwithstanding as gentle and patient as he was, he gouerned that insolent people without any rebellion, specially at the beginning of the wars of Peloponnesus, where the people of Athens saw their goods spoiled from out of their windowes; whom notwithstanding their eager desire to go out against the Lacedemonians, he kept still at home by his gentle and honourable perswasions. *Xenophon* maketh *Cyrus* gentle, courtecous, familiar, and void of all pride, roughnes, and crueltie. *Scipio* was meeld and gentle to his men of warre, and vsed his enemies with so great courtesie, that he woun the hearts of the Spaniards by such means, & ouercame them rather with honorable dealing than with force. *Plutarch* saith as much of *Lucullus*. Infnit other examples may we alledge; of such as haue ben obaied by their men of war, and ben loued of all their countries. On the contrarie part, we haue some that haue kept their people in order by austeritie, as *Manlius Torquatus* and many others. *Hanniball* was cruell and stoure, as well to his men of warre as to his enemies. And yet had he an armie of sundrie sorts of strangers, all obedient and well ordered; and besides that he drue to his side many of the allies of the Romans. And they that hold this opinion, haue for their ground a sure and vndoubted reason, namely, that nothing holdeth men in awe so much as feare, and that he which is dreaded, is better obaied than he that maketh himselfe beloved. For nothing doth so soone wax stale as a benefite. All men loue and commend him that doth them a pleasure, and such a one is followed of all men; but soone also is he forgotten: whereas he that is feared and had in awe, is neuer forgotten. For euery man bethinketh him of the mischief that he shall run into, if he faile to do the thing that he is commanded. And this feare is of much greater force than loue. In that respect *Cornelius Tacitus* said, That to the gouerning of a multitude, punishment auailed more than gentlenes. When *Tamerlan* came to besiege

For rigor and
crueltie.

Nothing out-
weareth, so
soone as a
good turne.

In gouerning
of a multi-
tude, punish-
ment auail-
eth more
than pitie.

besiege a citie, the first day he would haue a tent of white, which betokened that he would take all the citie to mercy, & good cōposition. The second day he would haue one of red: which betokened that although they yelded themselues, yet would he put some of thē to death at his discretion. The third day he had a pavilion all blacke, which was as much to say, as that there was no more place for cōpassion, but that he would put al to fire & sword. The fear of such cruelty caused al citie to yeeld thēselues at his first cōming, And he could not deuise to haue don so much by frendly dealing, as by that means. Neuertheles it is the custom of war to deal hardly with that captaine, which defendeth a place not able to be kept, against an army roiall: to the intent it may serue for example to such as would withstand an army, in hope to come to cōposition. For whē they see there is no mercy, they yeeld thēselues afore it come to the canō-shot. Which maner the Romans practised. For had the battel ramonce begun to beat the wals, ther was no great hope of any cōposition. When *Iulius Caesar* had lost the battel at Dirrhachiū, as he fled, a litle town did shut their gates against him: wherinto he entring by force, sacked it, to the intent to put others in feare, that were minded to do the like. *Caesar* was mild & gentle: but his gentlenes could not procure the opening of the gates to him; & this cruelty of his, was the cause that no mā durst deny him to come in. And as for *Scipio*, although he was a valiant and fortunat captain, & as gracious as could be: yet was he not alway obeyed, but had rebellions of of his souldiers against him, so as he was cōpelled to turne his gentlenes into rigor. *Machiauel* handling this question, is long time balancing of his discourse vpon *Quintius*, *Valerius Coruinus*, & *Publicola*, al which being mild & gentle, were good captains and did many noble feats of arms, were wel obeyed of their mē of war, & obtained many faire victories. These he compareth with other valiant captains, that were rough, stowr, & cruel, as *Camillus*, *Appim Claudius*, *Manlius Torquatus*, & others. And in the end he maketh a good distinction, saying, That to men which liue vnder the laws of a publik-weale, the maner of the proceeding of *Mālius* is cōmendable, because it turneth to the fauour

That captaine is to be punished, which holdeth a place vnable to be defended, against an armie roiall.

Som time it is needfull to vse crueltie.

Machiauels distinction.

fauour of the publick-weale. For a man can win no partakers which sheweth himselfe so rough to euery man, and he dischargeth himselfe of all suspitions of ambition. But in the maner of the proceeding of *Valerius* and *Publicola*, there may be some mistrust, because of the friendship and good fauor which he purchased at his souldiers hands, wherby they might worke some euill practises against the liberty of their countrie. But when it commeth to the consideration of a prince, as *Xenophon* painteth vs out a perfect prince vnder the person of *Cyrus*: the maner of *Publicola*, *Scipio*, and such others, is much more allowable and dangerlesse. For the prince is to seeke for no more at his subiects and souldiers hands, but obedience and loue. For when a prince is well minded on his owne part, and his armie likewise affectionat only towards him, it is conformable to all conditions of his state. But for a priuat person to haue an army at his deuotion, is not conformable to the rest of the parts, whom it standeth on hand to make him liue vnder the lawes, and to obey magistrats. But there remaineth yet one doubt vndecided, which is whether a lieutenant-generall of an host, who is neither prince nor king, but is sent by a king to comānd, ought to be gentle or rigorous. For he cannot be suspected to make his army partiall. And though he had it so, which thing he cannot do, he should smally preuaile against his prince. Wherfore in this behalfe, I would hold as well the one as the other, to the obseruation of the lawes. I would be rigorous to the men of war. For there is not so beautifull and profitable a thing to an armie, as the execution of iustice, and the keeping of the law vninfringed. The which if ye once breake in any one man, though he be a very braue and valeant fellow; it must needs be broken in diuers others. But, the discipline of war being well kept and obserued, the generall ought to be familiar towards al his souldiers. *Alexander* was familiar, gentle, and courteous to the common souldiers. *Antonie* was to them, both gentle and louing. *Iulius Caesar* was likewise, and so were all the excellent emperours. On the other side, they also were welbeloued, and yet in discipline they were rigorous. I haue

It is good that a prince should haue his army affectionated to him alone.

Whether a lieutenant general should be gentle or rigorous.

The generall ought to be familiar in behavior and rigorous in discipline.

haue told you heretofore in the name of Iustice, how the said *Iulius Caesar*, *Augustus*, *Traian*, & certain others winked at small faults, but were rigorous in others, as towards mutiners, traitors, and sleepers in the watch, and such others aforealleged. The reason was, that they would not in any wise corrupt the discipline of war, for feare of the mischief that might ensue: and therefore they neuer pardoned the faults of them that infringed it. It is a wonderous thing, that *Caesar* being but a citizen, and hauing his army but of such as serued him of good wil, and being lately afore discomfited at the battell of *Durazo*, and fleeing before the army of the senat; was notwithstanding not afraid, to punish such as had not done their dutie in the battell; insomuch that whole legions were faine to sue to him for mercie. Which doing, sheweth the good discipline that was in the Roman armies, and the faithfull seruice which they did to their generall, to whom they had giuen their oth. Anon after again, when he gaue battell to *Pompey*, with what cheerfulness did all his souldiers accept it? With what zeale and good will did they beare with their generall? and with what seuerenesse did they fight? The which serueth to shew, that seueritie taketh not away the loue of men of war, when they perceiue that otherwise their chieftaine is valeant and worthy to rule. For then they impute it not so much to his austeritie, as to their owne faults. Which ought to be punished according to the law. *Tamerlane* hanged a souldier of his, for stealing a cheefe. This rigour was very needfull. For else he should haue had no vittels in his campe, which was alway followed with infinit vitellers. And by being so rough towards his souldiers, he got the good will of whole countries, in executing iustice vpon his men of warre according to the law. He was gentle to such as submitted themselues vnto him, but sharpe and cruell to such as resisted him: which was the way to winne much people. And no man withstood him. Wherefore I conclude, that whether it be the prince himselfe, or whether it be his lieutenant, he must not be so gentle to his souldiers, as to beare with all their faults: nor so courteous to

Austeritie abateth not the loue of men of war.

the plaine countie-men, but that he should shew some examples of his leuerity, that they may stand in aw of him. But he must referue his austerity for the wicked and stubborn sort, and he must vse gentlenes, meeldnes, and louingnes, towards his good souldiers and such as hold out their hands to yeeld themselues vnto him, whom he ought to intreat well, not for a day or twaine as some do, but for euer, to the end that the people which are his neighbors, may be allured to do the like, when they find that this his good dealing, proceedeth not of dissimulation, but of the very loue, meeldnes, and good nature of the prince.

CHAP. V.

Whether it be better to haue a good army and an euill chieftaine, or a good chieftaine and an euill army.



He prince that hath to deale with arms, ought to be prouided of two things, namely of valeant and well experienced captaines, and of good and well trained souldiers. For little booteth it to haue a good chieftaine, that hath not good men of war; or good men of war that haue not a good captaine to lead them. But the question is, in case that both meet not together, whether it were better to haue an euill army and a good captaine, or a good armie and a bad captaine. This question seemeth to be doubles, Notwithstanding forasmuch as *Machianell* putteth it in ballance, although he resolue it after the common maner; yet am I to say a word or twaine of it by the way, to confirme it the better. In this discoursing vpon the historie of *Titus Linius*, he saith, The valeantnes of the souldiers hath wrought wonders, and that they haue done better after the death of their captaine than afore, as it befell in the armie

which

which the Romans had in Spain vnder the conduct of the *Scipios*, the which having lost those two generals, did neuertheless overcome their enemies. Moreouer he alleageth *Lucullus*, who being vntrained to the wars himselfe, was made a good captaine by the good peticaptains of the bands that were in his armie. But his reasons are not sufficient, to incounter the opinion of those that vphold, That an army of stags hauing a lion to their leader, is much better than an army of lions, that haue a stag to their captaine.

And in very deed, if euer battell were won, the winning thereof is to be attributed to the captaine. It is well knowen, that so long as the Volkes had *Coriolane* to their captain they had alwaies the vpper hand against the Romans. But as soone as he was dead, they went by the worse.

The winning of a battel dependeth vpon the sufficiency of the captaine.

When the Romans had cowardly captains, they were continually beaten by the Numantines: but when *Scipio* was once chofen generall, they did so well ouerset their enemies, that in the end they rased Numance it selfe. And as I haue said in this discourse, when one vpbraided the Numantines, that they suffered themselues to be beaten by those, whom they had so often beaten afore; they answered, That in very deed they were the same sheep, whom they had encountered afore, but they had another shepherd. This sheweth sufficiently, how greatly some one man may auaille in an armie. *Antiochus* not regarding the multitude of his enemies, asked a captain, How many me he thought his presence to be worth making account, that he himself alone should supply the number which the captain desired. *Eumenes* had not an host so well trained as his enemies: and yet he guided it in such sort, as he could neuer be overcome. When *Antigonus* supposing this *Eumenes* to haue bin extremely sick, was purposed not to haue lost the faire occasion of discomfiting his army, as soone as he saw the good gouernance therof, iudged incontinently that it was a good chieftaine that had the ordering thereof. And when he perceiued the horflitter of *Eumenes* a farre off, by and by he caused the retreit to bee sounded, fearing more

Some one mā is of great valuc in an host.

that which was within the litter, than he feared five and twentie or thirty thousand men. The bondmen of the Romans had not beaten them so oft, vnlesse it had ben by the good guidance of *Spartacus*. *Sertorius* had the whole force of Rome against him, and yet could neuer be ouercome. *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas* did by their good government, traine people that had no skill of warre, and vanquished the greatest warriors of all Greece. For it is a hard matter that any army, be it neuer so well practised in wars, should be able to maintaine it selfe against a politick and valeant enemy. I say not but that they may fight valeantly; but the skilfulnes of the captaine of their enemies may be such, as to disorder them by vsing some cunning deuice, the disappointing and preuenting whereof, belongs to the captaine and not to the souldiers. As for that which is alledged of the *Scipios*, it will not serue. For inasmuch as the battell was well ordered afore, the Romans might well obtaine the victory, though both the consuls were there slain. Likewise, notwithstanding the death of the duke of Burbon, yet was Rome taken by his army, because the souldiers that had aduentured vpon the assault, knew not of the death of their captaine. And the Thebans failed not to get the victory though *Epaminondas* was wounded to death. Againe, the emperors armie which was sent against the marques of Brandenburg, gat the victorie notwithstanding that duke *Moris* the generall of the field lost his life there. And as touching that which is said of *Lucullus*, who had little experience of war; that is very true: Neuerthelesse he behaued himselfe so discretly in the warre wherein he was imploied, that he was nothing beholden to *Pompey*, which bereft him of the honour of conquering the whole East.

And to shew that he was not led by the aduice of his army, but by his own skill; being at the siege of Tigranocerta, & being counselled by some to raise his siege, and to go meet his enemy who was coming towards him with great forces, and not to stay about the city: he beleued his own wit; and vndertook a ieopardous aduenture. For with the one halfe of his armie

he

The skilfulnes
of a captaine
may disorder
his enemies
battell which
want a good
chieftaine.

he went to encounter his enemy, whom he overcame, and left the other halfe afore the citie, the which he tooke at his returne. Also *Plutarch* commendeth him highly, for governing himselfe so well, considering his small experience. I know that an armie without a head, may fight so valeantly as no fault may be found in them; but a very small oversight may put them out of array. And herunto the saying of *Machianell*, That a good army without a captaine, becommeth rebellious and vnweeldy to be delt with, as it befell to the army of *Macedonie*, after the death of *Alexander*. Therefore we must conclude, that as the members haue no function without a head; no more hath an army without a good chiefraine.

CHAP. VI.

Of the order which the men of old time did vse in setting their people in batel-ray.



If we haue giuen a head to an army, now we must come to the heart, and provide it of that which is requisit for it within, which is nothing else but the good order that is to be vsed in ranging the men of war in batel-ray. For in this order consisteth the welfare and life of the host. This in mine opinion, should be handled by a man that had followed the wars the most part of his life; the which thing I cannot do for want of experience. Wherefore I leaue this chapter as a bianke paper, to be filled with good and goodly discourses, by some valeant and wel-experienced captaine. I wil but only set down the maner vsed in old time, shewing how they ordered their battels. The Greeks had a great battaile compacted and closed together of many ranks, which they named a Phalanx. When a souldier of a former ranke happened to be slaine or beate downe, he of the next ranke stepped into his place; and he of the third ranke into the place of the second: and so con-

Of the Phalanx.

The antient ordering of a battell.

sequently al the rest, as the Suiffers also do at this day, so as no ranke was disfurnished but only the hindermost; the former were alwaies kept whole and vnbroken, by reason of their great number, so thronged and close couched as they were hard to be opened. And albeit that the Romans were most expert in warre, yet could they not tell how to haue disordered the Phalanx of *Perseus*, except *Paulus Aemilius* had bethought him to chuse a place, where they could not march so linked together. And when he discovered any part of their battell opened, he made some small troope of his men to enter into it, and so by fighting in small companies in places where he perceiued any default, he brake their aray and discomfited them. But the Romans had another order, which might hold the tack in fight a whole day, after such maner as I wil tel you, presupposing that they deuided their people into many sorts of compacies. One was of a *Camarada* of ten men, the which they termed a *Maniple*, a word wherby they betokened that which we call a band. And setting aside many degrees like vn-to ours; they had their cohorts, of six hundred men a peece, or there abouts. Then was the legion, which was of six thousand footmen, comprehending with it three hundred horsemen, and was compacted of ten cohorts: Wherein were two sorts of armour, the one light, and they that wore those, were named *Velites*, which serued to skirmish as our harquebusiers, our forlorne hopes, and our light horsemen do now adays. And they that wore the heauier armour, were called *Cataphracti*. Now hauing their battell compacted of a legion, or making many battells of euery legion, they ordered them to battell, not in the forme of the Phalangs, to supply the places as they failed from ranke to ranke; but by receiuing one ranke into another, after which manner they would continue the fight stoutly a whole day together.

And to that end they parted their legion into three maner of men, that is to wit, *Pikemen*, *Principals*, & *Triaries*. The *Pikemen* being the formost and of least valeancie and experience, fought thicke set, and had many more men in their battell

The policie of
Paulus Aemilius.

The order of
the Roman legions.

Pikemen.

battell, than were in the second, which was of the Principals, who were of more practise and experience than the pikemen. For these had their ranks clearer thā the former, to the intent ^{The Principals} that if the first battell were foyled, they might retire without disorder within the battell of the Principals, and there begin the fight againe. And if it happened by mischance, that the battell of the Principals was foiled also, which happened not oft, then they were receiued by the Triaries, who had their ranks looser than the Principals, that they might receiue into them the souldiers of the other two battells. Now these Triaries were the valiantest and best experienced of all the armie. ^{The Triarie.} Therefore by the orderly retying of the Pikemen and Principals, into the ranks of the Triaries, who were old souldiers, the fight was maintained more than afore. So then the Pikemen who made the forefront, had their battell well stuffed and furnished with men. The Principals had their battell somewhat thinner, that they might without disorder, receiue into them the former ranks. And the Triaries were twice as thin as they. And after that maner they fought stoutly, without disorder all the day long. And it may be, that the same order being brought in vse againe, might be found good and profitable.

CHAP. VII.

What he ought do which setteth himselfe to defence.



IT behooueth him that is assayled in his owne countrie, to set himselfe in defence, and to do what hee can, as well to preuent, as to breake the force of his enimie. This is to bee doone diuerse wayes: either by laying aforehand to stoppe the passages where hee must come; or by suffering him to come into the
 C c iij plaine

plaine fields to fight; or by fortifying the townes, and by setting of good garrisons in conuenient places, without respect of spoiling and wasting the countrie where he is to passe; or by maintaining an army not to fight with the enemy, but to keep him at the staues end, and to cope with him in a narrow room, and to cut him off from all commodities that he might haue if he were at large, to the intent to comber him, or to make him retire; or else to draw him to some combate to his great disadvantage. As touching the keeping of a passage to stop the enemy, it is misliked by *William Bellay* in his second book of Warlike discipline, and by *Machiauell* in his discourse, because that seldome or neuer hath it beene found, that an enemy hath been letted to make himselfe free passage, if he had a great armie. The Swislers (as the aforeledged authors witness) in the year 1515, did cease the common passages of the mountains, to stop king *Francis* from going downe into Italic. But yet for all that he failed not to passe another way, whereof they no whit doubted: insomuch that he was seene in the plain of Lombardie, afore the Swislers were come down from their rocks. The Spaniards that kept the passage of Suze, notwithstanding that they were many, and had fortified themselves, were broken neuertheles by the constable of France. The same Spaniards being incamped by the riuer Behamby, and strong inough to stop our armie from passing, did neuerthelesse abandon the place, when they saw the duke of Guise with launce in hand, and his armie following him, enter into the water to encoudter with them. The king of Castile had caused the riuer of Derne to be well garded, and yet the duke of Lancaster and the king of Portugall, found the foord and passed ouer it. No man could stop *Hannibal* from passing the mountains Pyren, and the Alpes, to come downe into Lombardie. *Marins* encountered the Cimbrians, not in their passage; but on the hitherside of the mountains, afore they had gotten to the passages of the Alpes. And the residue hauing passed the mountains, were met withall in Lombardie. King *Philip* of Valois had appointed *Godmar du Fay* to keepe the

passage

The keeping
of a passage.

passage of Blanchetake in the riuer of Some, with a thousand men of armes, besides crossebowes of Genoa, and six thousand men on foot. And yet was he forced from the passage, and the king of England passed with all his host, hauing but six houres to passe them in, which was the time betweene the ebbe and the tide. The Flemings tooke stoutly vpon them, to stop the passage of the Frenchmen ouer the riuer Alis, which was both deepe and muddie; and although it was about the feast of *Saint Martin*, yet notwithstanding a part of the vaungard passed about a league from the bridge of Comines, in two or three boats, whereof the greatest carried not aboue nine men at once, who after they were arriued, did hide themselues in an Aldercarre, right ouer against the place where they tooke boat. And when they were all together, they marched against the Flemings, and woon the bridge of Comines. When the marshall of Hesse sent the Reisters into Fraunce, by the conduct of *Monsieur D'Andelot*; the late earle of Neuers, and the marshall of *Saint Andrew*, were sent to stop their passage; because the riuers began to swell being in the end of October. Yet for all that, they letted not to passe, euen in the sight of our men, and so they went ouer to Orleance without gainsaying. In the year 1567. they came againe vnder the leading of *Casimire* the countie Palatines sonne. To stop whose passage, because it was not meant to hafard a pitcht field, a part of the kings power was sent vnder the leading of the duke of Neuers that now is, who spared not the pioners to make trenches, nor to set lets in places that might bee waded, nor to enterlace trees to stop the passage: and yet all this could not let them, but that they passed at their ease. Afterward the king, to stay the meetings of those whom he meant to punish, ceised all the bridges and passages, and set good guards at them: and yet for all that they ceased not to passe in two places of the riuer Loir, to Bonnie and Rosyers, where the *Monsieur d'Andelot* leading great companies, passed his men both on hors-backe and on foote at a foord, though he had some of them drowned. *Charles Martill* waited not for the Sarzins at the passage of
 Loir

Loir, but went to meet them on the further side of the river, and gaue them battell neare vnto Towers. *Actius* taried not for *Attila* at the straits of the Alpes, but with the helpe of the Frenchmen encountered him in Fraunce. *Monsieur d'Amalle* had a faire and great armie vpon the borders of Germanie, and there he taried for the duke of Bipount, but he spared not to passe on, and toger the towne and bridge of Charitie. *Luian* captaine of the Venetians, had ceised all the wayes that lead to Brent, hoping thereby to keepe backe *Cardon* captaine of the Spaniards, or else to giue him battell to his disaduantage. But *Cardon* found a foord somewhat higher, and passed his armie in silence, afore *Luian* had any inckling thereof.

The duke of Saxonie staid with a few men at the riuage of the riuer Elbe, thinking to stop the passage of the Emperour *Charles* the fifth. But he found another shallow, where he passed his armie, to the duke of Saxonies confusion. The mountains of Italie neuer made the Hunnes or Herules afraid: for they leauing those high rockes behind them, got the passage of Aquileia, and passed all their people there. Although the Greekes bare themselues in hand, that they could defend the straits of Thermopyle against the Persians; yet could they not quit themselues so well, but that in the end they were inuironed, and the Persians found a path that one *Epiates* shewed vnto them, whereat they passed, and made the Greekes abandon the place which they kept.

The wholsom
counsell of
Themistocles.

But *Themistocles* gaue aduice, neither to gard the enterances of Greece, because he knew it was vnpossible; nor to hold anie fort in the citie of Athens, seeing they were to deale with millions of men: but he chose a place of aduantage vpon the sea, to encounter the Persians to his aduantage, who were nothing neere so expert in sea-matters as the Athenians were. And whereas they should haue encountered at the passage, *Machiauel* is of opinion, that they should haue encountered there with all their forces. For it is hard to keepe a passage against a puissant armie, without great force. And if an ar-
mic

A passage is
not to be kept
but with great
forces.

mie happen to be defeated at the passage which they take to keepe, it is an vtter discouragement to the whole countrie; as it befell at the coming of king *Francis* into Italie. For as soone as the cities of Lumbardie which had put their trust in the Swissers, saw the French armie, they were so wholly discouraged, that they wist not to what Saint to vow themselves, ne could take any other counsell of themselves than to yeeld to the Frenchmen. As touching the fortifying of a citie, and the planting of a garrison there, *Pericles* vsed that fashion against the Lacedemonians. For albeit that they had burned all the territorie of Athens, yet would he not suffer one man to go out to skirmish with them, but thought it berter to keepe still his forces than to hazard them, because he knew well he was not of strength to match them. Another maner of defending, is, to haue an armie, not of purpose to encounter, but to wearie the enemy, as *Fabius* had against *Hannibal*; as king *Francis* had vnder the conduct of the Constable in Auignon against the Emperour *Charles* the fifth; as the duke of Alua had at Naples against the the duke of Guise; and as the same duke had in Flaunders against the prince of Orenge. And this maner of encountering is most sure, and least dangerous, so it be not in way of defence, as I will shew anon. For in case of assailing, a man must alwaies be resolute to encounter, and thinke that great enterprises are not without some hazard. In which behalfe *Nicias* did greatly amisse: For hauing a great power in Sicilie, hee did nothing but turne to and fro, and lose his time in consulting, so long till the courage and hope of his people were quite quailed. On the contrarie part, the feare which his enemies had conceiued at the first brunt, when they saw so great a power, by little and little vanished away. And he was to blame, for that by too long lingring, vpon desire to do his things too surely, he let slip the occasions of doing manie good and faire exploits, notwithstanding that he vndertooke them well, and executed them with speed: but he was slow in resoluing, and cowardly in aduenturing.

Of the placing
of garrisons
in cities.

An armie to
pursue the e-
nemie with-
out giuing
him battell.

The fault of
Nicias.

The

An army to
bid the enemy
battell.

The fourth maner of defending, is to haue an armie ready within the countrie, and there to wait to giue him battell, as *Themyris* did against *Cyrus*. For she tarried for him with a quiet foot, and her Massagers about her within her countrie of *Scythia*. And as *Basil* duke of *Moscovia* did, who did the like on the further side of the deepe and swift riuer *Boristhenes*. But therein he did amisse, for that whereas by encountering with *Constantine* the chieftaine of the *Polonians* as he was passing the riuer, he might haue made the victorie certaine: by his fighting with him in the plain field, without aduantage, he lost the battell. And so did the *Ætolians* against the *Romans*, for want of prohibiting them the passage of *Naupaet*. So did the *Venetians* vnder the conduct of *Lalmian* at the riuer *Dade*, against king *Lewis* the twelfth. So did the viceroy of *Naples*, and *Prosper Columna*, against the *Frenchmen*. And so haue many others done, who verie seldome haue found good speed. For the courage and lustinesse of a conqueror, must be broken by taking him at some aduantage, as when he is incountered at some passage, afore he haue set his men in aray, or haue passed them all ouer: or by delaying and driuing off the time, if he cannot be stopped otherwise. But if necessitie require, then must he be fought withall, as *Themistocles* did vnto *Xerxes*, *Hanniball* vnto *Scipio*, and *Charles Martell* vnto the *Sarzins*.

CHAP. VIII.

Whether it be better to driue off the time in ones owne countrie, or to giue battell out of hand.

The fortune of a batell is nor to be hazarded, vnles some great aduantage be offered.



ohn Iaques of *Trivulce* marshall of *France*, said, That a prince must neuer attempt the fortune of a battell, except he be allured by some great aduantage, or compelled by some vrgent necessitie. It is to grosse a kind of play, to hazard a batteil when a man stands vpon

vpon his gard. *Gafely* one of the great captains of Egypt, said, That the warres of greatest importance, which at the beginning haue vehement and sodaine swayes, are wont to aswage of themselues by intermission and space of delay: and that on the contrarie part, a man cannot assay a battell in his owne countrie without great daunger, because there is no way to amend a fault that is done in battell. For if the battell be lost, the countrie is in great perill to be lost too, as befell to the Romans at the battell of Cannas against *Hanniball*. To *Campson* and *Tomombey* against *Selim*; and vnto the last king of Hungarie, who chose rather to bid the Turke battell, than to winne time of him: for he lost both his life and his kingdome. *Xerxes* by loosing the battell against the Greeks, lost but his men, because he was the assailant. But *Darius* by giuing battell in his owne countrie, lost his whole kingdome. And to say the truth, it was to grosse a kind of play, against one that had so small a rest. And he shewed himselfe too negligent in his own defence, and too hastie in bidding battell. Too negligent, in that he being so great a lord, and hauing wherewith to set out a million of men, he tooke not order to haue three armies in a readinesse, one to enter into the countrie of Greece, therby to turne their forces backe againe; another to watch at the passage into his owne countrie, and the third to be about him in his realme, to gather vp those againe together, which had not beene able to defend the passage, and to haue encamped himselfe in a sure place of aduantage, to follow the taile of *Alexanders* host, as *Fabius* did the host of *Hannibal*, that he might not be compelled to come to a battell. But in stead of bethinking him what he had to do (as commonly they do which vpon an ouerweening of their owne greatnes, do despise their enemies) he let *Alexander* come in so farre, that it gaue him courage to trie his fortune. And when *Darius* saw him well forward in his countrie, he made verie great hast, with an infinit number of men, to find the new conquerour, and he was sore afraid least he should scape his hands and returne without battell. But *Alexander* eased him well of

A prince can not aduventure a battell in his owne countrie without great daunger.

that

that feare, for he came to meet *Darius* in the face, and with a well ordered armie gaue him battell, and discomfited him. Wherin *Darius* did greatly amisse, for he might haue held him play with his great number of men, & haue wearied him with some of his light horsemen (as the Parthians could well skill to do afterward to the Romans) without hazarding the substance of his armie. And the thing that vndid him, was his ouerweening opinion that he should ouercome *Alexander* with ease, which is the thing that ouerthroweth all such as vpon disdain to their enemies, do set no good order in their affairs, and in the leading of their armies. This despising of enemies caused the losse of the battell at Poyctiers, where king *John* was taken prisoner. And of the battell of the Moscouits at the riuer Boristhenes, which also, did put the citie of Semoleuch in daunger of taking, if the winter comming on, had not foreclosed the Polonians from besieging it. *Cæsar* being in penurie of all things, went to seeke *Pompey*, with intent to giue him battell. *Pompey* being wise, would not tarie for him there, because he was sure that ere long he should haue him by famine. Neuerthelesse being ouercome with the suit of his captaines that desired battell, vpon trust of their power which without all comparison was farre greater than *Cæsars*, he gaue him battell and lost it, by putting the assured victorie together with the time, in hazard of a battell, to the ruine of the Senate, and of the whole common-weale. Now then, it is a great fault to put that in hazard at one houre, which is sure, in tarying the time. And they that haue so hazarded themselues, haue commonly beene vndone. Contrariwise, they that haue hazarded themselues vpon necessitie, haue had the vpper hand. The Spaniards being entred a good way into the lands of the Venetians with a power well armed, were suddenly abashed, to see a mightie armie readie at hand; and to auoid the daunger wherein they saw themselues, they fled before the host of the Venetians, and took the way to Trent, but yet in order of battell, howbeit with small hope to escape them.

The despising of their enemies, is the ouerthrow of great princes.

They that hazard themselues vpon necessitie, haue commonly good successe.

But *Lalnian* and *Loridam*, suffering not the faire occasion that was offered them, to slip away, did thrust themselues forward in such headlong hast, that the viceroy of Naples, and *Prosper Colonne*, chose rather to trie the vncertaine chance of battell, than to trust to the small hope of sauing themselues by flight; and so standing resolute vpon that point, they caried away the victorie. The duke of Guelders finding a great power of the Brabanders comming vpon him, was sore astonied, for he saw that he must either fight thirtie to one, or else shut vp himselfe in a citie. To shut vp himselfe he was loth, and therefore fully resoluing himselfe to abide the battell, he fell to giuing charge vpon his enemies vnprouided, who being taken with a lunatike feare, fled away without striking a stroke. *Stillico* went and charged suddenly vpon the Gothes, as they were going into Gallia. At the first they were astonished at the sudden and vnprouided onset: but at length, resoluing to abide the battel, they not onely ouercame him, but also returned into Italie by the countrie of Genes. When *Manfride* gaue battell to the duke of Aniou, the duke of Anious armie began to want food, as well for the men, as for their horses. And in driuing off the time a while longer, and in tarying for his men that were disperfed in diuerse places of his realme, he had both made himselfe the stronger, and also brought his enemy to extreme necessitie. But in chusing rather to set vpon his enemies while they were wearie, and ill at ease of the long iourney that they had made; he found by experience that nothing is vnpossible to a conquerour: for he lost the battell and died. *Carafa* the countie of Mathalon, would not beleue the counsell of them that would haue had him to follow the French-men that drew toward Salerne, and to haue cut off their vittails without fighting with them, vnlesse they could take them in some place of aduauntage; or to get betweene Salerne and their campe, to keep them frō entring into the town, & to make them returne into the Basilicat, because they wāted both vittels & artillery. But of a brauerie he would needs giue them battell, because

A notable
fault of *Man-
fred.*

they

they were but few in number : and for his labour he lost the field. For the lord of Perfie attending him with resolution, discomfited him. Had he beene trained in the schoole of king *Lewis* the eleuenth, he would haue learned, that he which hath the profit of a warre, hath also the honour therof. When *Ferdinand* king of Naples began to reconquer the realme of Naples, he was so ioyfull of his good fortune, that in a brauerie he would needs giue battell to the Frenchmen, contrarie to the aduice of a great captaine, who counselled him to hold himselfe close within *Seminara*, vntill he were more certainly aduertised of the intent and power of the Frenchmen; telling him that the counsels which promise suretie in all things, are honourable inough; and that they which by a fond ouerlustinesse of courage, do hinder the means whereby a matter should come to good issue, are void of honour, shamefull, and miserable. But this good counsell was overcome by the worse, so that he gaue the Frenchmen battell, who woon the day, to the great confusion of *Ferdinand*, and of the *Arragonsians*.

The *Frisons* being aduertised of the great preparations, that the countie of *Ostreuant* made for warre against them, met in counsell to consider what was best for them to do; many gaue counsell to bid him battell at his first arriuall, but *Iues Louire*, a man of personage as big as a giant, and wonderfull valiant withall, counselled them to watch the time, and not to hazard their forces against stronger than themselves, saying, That they had many good ditches and trenches, which would disappoint horsmen wherein their enemies ouermatched them, and that their footmen should soone be wearied and tired with the comberfomnesse of their iourney, and with the small store of vittails which they should find abroad in the country, so as they might be rid of them for the burning of a dozen villages. Yet notwithstanding they forbare not to giue battell, and lost it. The men of *Liege* would needs fight with the duke of *Burgoin*s men, who was entred with an armed host into their countie : and they did it against the counsell of the lord

lord of Pierandes, who would haue them to win time of them, and to put their men in garrison. But he could not persuade the common people to do so, and therefore they were all discomfited, and left eight and twenty thousand men dead vpon the field. Now must we a little see, how we in France haue sped in that behalfe. King *Philip* of Valois, gaue battell to the Englishmen in his owne realme at a place called Cressye, and was there ouercome. King *John* trusting in his own force, chose rather to giue the Englishmen battel at Poictiers, than to subdue them by famine and vnrest: and he for his labour was taken prisoner: but *Charles* the fift, hauing taken another course, and helping himselfe with the counsell of *Fabius*, would neuer hazard his state vpon a battell; by means wherof he ouermatched the Englishmen, and did so much by his countenances, that he tooke from them almost all Guien euen from vnder their nose, and seized vpon the towns and cities of the duke of Bretaine. And when any man spake to the king of giuing battell, his counsell would say thus vnto him; Sir, let them go, they can neuer get your inheritance for smoke. For when a storme commeth into a countrie, it must in the end needs depart againe. King *Edward* was wont to say of him, That neuer any king did lesse put on armour, nor euer any king did worke him more incūberāce: for he cōquered Guien without battel. And the king of England with two pūssant armies leuied both at one time, could do no more but wast and burne the country, without winning so much as any one citie of account. At the beginning of the wars of Peloponnesus, *Pericles* chose rather to see the forraying and burning of the territorie of Athens, than to go out of Athens to hazard a battel; persuading himselfe that the delay of time, would quaille the force of the Lacedemonians. *Fabius Maximus* ouerthrew *Hannibal* more by not fighting, than other captains had done by fighting with him. At the first encounter of *Trebia*, because *Sempronius* had giuen a soile to the Affricanes, he was so puffed vp with that first skirmish, that he thought al was wonne, and that the want of a little hardinesse, was the onely let that the warre

Charles the fift
ouermatched
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nity of time.

was not brought to a full end, contrarie to the opinion of *Scipio* his fellowcommissioner. And so he lost the field, *Flaminius* being vnmindfull of this losse, would needs do the like, and he also was serued with the same sauce. *Minutius* struing to follow their steps, had ben vndone, if *Fabius* had not ben; as *Varro* was, who by like headines was the death of fiftie thousand Romans at *Cannæ*.

A man may say that *Marcellus* wearied *Hanniball* in so many combats, that he feit himselfe discomfited by winning, but yet in the end *Marcellus* abode by it. And although fortune began to turne her back vpon *Hanniball*; yet notwithstanding, had not the foresight of *Fabius* ben, the valeancy of *Marcellus* had serued the Romans to small purpose. But *Hanniball* hauing two valeant captains vpon him at once, of two diuerse humours, was sore incumbered how to deale with them. For when *Marcellus* had lost a battell, *Fabius* was readie at hand to stop *Hanniball* from passing any further. And in this case, seeing the Romans were able to mainraine two armies, and it stood them on hand to conquer, or at leastwise to recouer that which they had lost at the iourney of *Cannas*: they were not misaduised in their counsell, to chuse these two braue captains of so differing humors, to the intent that the continuall fighting of the one might wearie *Hanniball*, and the lingering of *Fabius* might ouerthrow him. But this is not easie for all men to do, and specially for thē that haue not their people trained to the wars as the Romans had, who sent them out of Rome as it were by swarms. After whose example, the prince that is able to leuie store of men and well trained, needeth not to be afraid to giue battell, to vncumber himselfe of a noisome enemy that cannot be driuen away but by fight.

The Romans did so against the Gaules and Germanes, against *Pyrrhus*, and against *Hanniball*. So did *Charles Martell* against the Sarzins, and *Philip* of Valois against king *Edward*. But when a prince sees that fortune is against him, then must he alter his manner of dealing, as *Charles* the fifth did against the Englishmen. For the former victories that they had obtained

tained against the Frenchmen, had taught him to seeke the oportunitie of time. For sith the former way auailed him not, it behoued him to try another.

The Gaules were valeant and furious in fight; and therefore *Cneus Sulpicius* did well to protract time with them, *Hanniball* was inuincible in Italie, and therefore *Fabius* did wisely in trying another way; and *Scipio* did boldly and valeantly in making warre in Affricke, to turne him away from Italie. If *Manfred* had taken the aduantage of time at Naples, he had done wel: for he had cut the combes of the Fenchmen, who are furious and almost vnpregnable at the first brunt; and had in short time brought *Charles* to vtter want of vittels and monie. Contrariwise it stood *Conradine* on hand, to giue battell to *Charles* duke of Aniou as he did: For he was to reconquer the countrie. And *Charles* of Aniou being but a new conquerour, and as yet scarce well assured of his kingdome, was not to haue refused him; neither did he. For there are times and seasons which permit not delay, but require of necessitie the hazarding of a battel.

There are times that admit no delay.

In our ciuill warres we haue secne two captains, that haue vsed means cleane contrarie one to another, and yet the purpose and resolution of either of them was commendable, and had come afterward to a good end, if it had been ripe.

The duke of Guise a braue and valeant captaine, if euer any were, sought battell by all the means he could, and could not away with lingering delaies, the which he did not without great reason. For first he ment to alay the fire which he saw increasing in such sort, as it would be hard to quench, if it were once throughly kindled in all parts. Againe, he feared least the prolonging of time, would increase the contrary side, and that many would incline that way, if it were not preuented by destroying the chiefe leaders of that part by a bloody battel. And as for winning therof, he thought himselfe sure of it. For although the contrary party had the choise of the souldiers of the old bands; yet had he not such a number of

Where or when it is best to fight, &c.

horfmen as the duke of Guife led, the which alone might be a caufe of victorie; for the footmen do nothing without horfmen. Moreouer he had a great number of Suiffers, and a goodly band of French harquebuzers, ftore of ordnance, feeld peeces, and whatfoeuer else is requifit in an army roiall; whereas the other fide was but an army patched vp, howbeit that there were fome good and well practifed captains, and valiant fouldiers. Contrariwife *Monsieur de Tanaues*, perceiuing that there behoued many battels to be giuen for the vtter defeating of the contrary fide, though it be better to delay the time, and that the king fhould by length of time bereaue them of the countrie that they had conquered, forasmuch as he had fufficient wherewith to hold out the war at length; which abilitie they had not, who oftentimes wanted monie and men of war to be at commandement of the ringleader, becaufe the moft part ferued of good will, and could not enforce vs to hazard a battell, but to their owne great difaduantage. And if that maner had continued any longer than it did, they had ben brought to a great afterdeale.

CHAP. IX.

Whether it be poffible for two armies lodged one neere another, to keepe themfelues from being enforced to fight whether they will or no.



WE haue feene the profit that commeth of waiting to take the oportunity of time, and of ouermatching the enemy by long delay and protracting of time: but yet there remaineth a doubt concerning the poffibilitie thereof, whether it lie in a mans power to refuse to come to battell, when he is neere his enemy, and marcheth fide by fide with him. They that hold the opinion that a man cannot be enforced to battell, alledge the

the examples of *Creus Sulpicius* against the Gaules, of *Fabius Maximus* against *Hannibal*, of *Pericles* against the Lacedemonians, of *Charles* the fifth against *Edward* king of England, of the constable of France at Auignon, of the duke of *Alva* at Naples against the duke of *Guise*, and of diuers others, who by delay of time brought the enterprises of their enemies to nothing, and were neuer enforced to come to handstrokes. On the contrarie part, they that haue hazarded a battell in their owne countrie, haue found themselues ill apaid, as *Crasus* against *Cyrus*, *Darius* against *Alexander*, *Philip* of Valois against king *Edward*, and many others aforealleged, whom we forbear to speake of to auoid tediousnes. But these examples are not able to proue, that a capitaine cannot be compelled to fight whether he will or no. For when a conquering enemy commeth strongly into a countrie, he may compell you to come to battell, or else to flee, or else to shut vp your selfe in some citie, which are dishonourable points, and of dangerous consequence. The duke of Saxonie meant to haue wone time of the emperour *Charles* the fifth after that maner, vpon trust of the great riuer *Albis* that was betweene the two camps: but the emperour found a foord, the which was shewed him by a miller, wher at he passed some of the troops of his horsemen; and the residue did so much by swimming and by boats, that they got land on the side where their enemies lay. *Philip* king of Macedonie the father, and *Perfes* his son, encamped themselves vpon a mountaine, wherunto there was but one onely accesse, very difficult. But the Romans at length caused them to dislodge, and the said *Perfes*, who feared nothing so much as to come to bartel, was compelled to come to handstrokes. Ye know how the late prince of Condie, trusting to the riuer *Charent*, came before Newcastle, thinking it vnpossible for vs to haue enforced him to battell, but to our disadvantage: and yet was he driuen therto without any difficulty. And therefore I say with *Machiuell* in his discourses, that a very small army may well wearie and vex a conqueror, but in the end they shall not keepe themselves from battell, vnlesse they will leaue the

A mighty enemy may compell vs to come to handstrokes.

An army may be compelled to come to handstrokes.

field free to their enemies. As for the examples that I haue alledged of *Pericles*, and of king *Charles* the first, they will not serue the turne in this case. For they had no armies, and therefore were contented to hold themselues close and in couerr. For the one knew well inough, that the Lacedemonians were not of power to besiege Athens, nor to do any more than burn the countrie; and the other hauing well provided his towns, and set good garrisons in euery of them, wist well that the Englishmen being wont to ouercome the countrie, could do him no harme in wasting it, but were as a flash of lightening that passeth away. For the king of England was not able to maintaine a continual army as the Romans were. But if king *Charles* had had an armie, he could not haue followed the Englishmen, but he must haue ben driuen to fight with them some one time or other. And therefore he suffered them to cast their fire, and to trauell a hundred leagues without any profit, during all which time, king *Charles* spared his men and mony. But they that march neere their enemy, cannot exempt themselues from comming to a battell, would they neuer so faine. Neuerthelesse if they haue a conuenient number of men and well trained, they may fight to their aduantage. Such was the resolution of *Fabius*, who would not haue refused battell, if he had seene himselfe forced therto, because he knew he should haue the aduantage, as he well shewed in the succour that he gaue to *Minutius*. For he left the hill-grounds and came downe into the plaines, and the let was in *Hanniball* that the matter was not tried by battell. But *Hanniball* thought it better to sound the retreat, than to hazard himselfe against so mighty an enemy, that could not be deceiued by his slights, as other captains had ben whom he had fought withall. As touching that which the constable did at Auinion, it proued him to be of good discretion. For being vnable to make head against so mightie an enemy, he was faine to fortifie and strengthen himselfe, in a place where he might not be forced. And in the while that hee staid the emperor and quailed the lustines of his army, men came to him

from

Preuailing is
to be fought
by taking ad-
uantage, and
not by refus-
ing to fight.

from all parts, whereby his owne armie became so increased and strengthened, that it was sufficient to encounter the emperours power. And it is not to be doubted, but that if sicknesse had not cast downe the constable, he would haue followed the emperour as *Fabius* followed *Hanniball*, encamping himselfe in places of aduantage: and in that case, if he had been forced to battell, it would haue bin to his aduantage, and to the emperours losse. As for example; The Spaniards could not exempt themselues from encountering at Bicocke, but that was to the Frenchmens losse. As touching the fact of the duke of Alua, holding fast continually this principle, Not to come to battell in his owne country, without necessitie; when he saw that the duke of Guise had not yet taken footing in the kingdom of Naples, but rather that he was stopped at a litle town which he could not obtain: the protracting of time was needful for him. And if the duke of Guise would haue passed on further, he should haue wanted vittels, hauing so great an armie attending vpon him at hand to cut them off, & not one towne wherein to make his storehouse. So that the duke of Aluaes protracting of time, hauing lodged his camp in a strong & sure place, was profitable to himselfe, and preiudiciall to the duke of Guise, who sought nothing so much as to come to hand strokes, whereby he might haue opened vnto himself a way into the realme of Naples, if he had had the lucke to win the battell: but he could neuer come vnto it. The emperour *Charles* and the king of France, plaid at the barriers one against another in Picardie and Arthois. For as soone as the one did put off armes, the other entered by and by into his countrie with an armed power. And all the fruit of their salies one against another in al a whole summer, was but the taking of som litle towne: & so they skirmished one with another at handie strokes. And in this case, although there was a light armie against the assailant, onely to cumber him, and to cut off vittels from him: yet was it wisely done to shun the combat. For it was well knowne, that the winter would cause the armie to break vp, & there was no need to put any one man in iopardy.

Protracting of time is profitable, when an armie may lodge at aduantage.

When a man
hath the ad-
uantage of
the ground, he
is not to let
slip the occa-
sion of cōbat.

But when a puissant enemy is in a country, whence he intendeth not to depart: the prince thereof must oppose against him as strong an army as his, or at leastwise an army sufficient to encounter his, if he will not lose his estate; and yet notwithstanding to the intent he tempt not fortune, the wisest counsell is to abstaine from encounter. For at length, if he haue not gotten manie townes, ye shall ouermatch him. But yet for all this, a good occasion must not be ouerpasse, nor the winning of a battell be refused, which is made sure vnto you by hauing a place of aduantage, the which is easier for him to chuse that standeth vpon his guard, than for him that is to make the conquest, as you may see by *Fabius*, who vsed it wisely. For although he had an army well trained; yet would he not without purpose aduenture against another more trained to the wartes, and against so braue a captaine, seeing it was more for his owne profite to make delay, than to fight out of hand. But if his enemy would haue enforced him to forsake his ground, he would haue answered him without refusing the battell, because he could not but be sure to haue woon it, hauing a good and strong army, and the aduantage of the place. *Paulus Emilius* was determined to haue followed the same counsell, had it not bene for the headines of his fellow. And that maner of dealing, would in the end haue compelled *Hanniball* to abandon Italie, without stroke striking, and without the hazarding of any one mans life.

CHAP. X.

Whether the daunger be greater to fight a battell in a mans owne country, or in a strange country.



His principle being well obserued, not to fight at home, but vpon necessitie, or vpon some good occasion of assured victorie offered: it is doubted whether it be more daungerous to loose a battell

at.

at home, or in a forraign countrie, *Monsieur de Langey* in his Discipline of warre, is of opinion that it is lesse daunger for a captain to fight in his owne countrie, (if he be a man of power as the king of Fraunce is) than to fight in a straunge countrie. And hereunto I will adde that which *Paulus Iouinus* saith in his hystorie, where he demaundeth, Why *Ismael Sophie* king of Persland, did let slip so faire an occasion of inuading the kingdom of *Selim* emperour of the Turks, at such time as *Selim* was so fore incombred in Egypt? The reason is, that the king of Persia hath not sufficient power to make warre out of his owne countrie, vpon so mightie a prince as the Turke is, considering that the noble men and gentlemen, in whom consisteth a great part of the Persian strength, are loth to go to the wars out of their countrie, because they serue at their owne charges. But when the case concerneth the defence of the realme, and that they be to fight in that behalfe, they imploy themselves wholly thereunto, managing the warre fiercely, and behauing themselves valiantly. Also we haue seene how the Parthians afore them, neuer passed so much to conquer out of their owne realme, as to keepe their owne at home, and that they haue discomfited all the armies of the Romans that euer came against them. Neither hath the common saying beene verified of them, That the assailants haue euer more courage than the defendants. For that is not euer true. Besides that, there be means to assure the natural subiects, by shewing them that the quarrell is iust and holy, which men vndertake in defence of their countrie, which ought to haue more force than the couetous hope of enriching mens selues by other mens losse. And if it be said, That the assailant bereaueth the prince defendant of the commodities, which he had afore of his subiects to helpe himselfe withall; because his subiects are destroyed. A man may answer, That the losse of goods turneth not the hearts and affections of the subiects away from their prince: but contrariwise, the harme that they receyue, maketh them fiercer against their enemies. Whereas it is alledged, That a prince dareth not to leuie mony of his subiects, nor

Why the Sophie inuaded not the Turks dominion while *Selim* was in Egypt.

The losse of goods turneth not away the hearts of subiects.

to take them at his will, because of the neernesse of the enemy, to whom they might yeeld themselues if they were molested by their prince. *Monsieur de Langey* answereth thereunto, That that prerogatiue cannot be taken from a priuce, so long as his lands and friends be not taken from him, as appeareth by the succours which the kings of Fraunce haue had of their subiects against the Englishmen, and against the men of Nauarre. True it is, that he excludeth tyrannie, saying, That if a prince should misuse his subiects, and outrage them for euery trifle, he might doubt whether he should be well followed & well obeyed of his people or no. And as for that which is said, That the assailants being in a strange countrie, do make necessitie a vertue, because they be driue to open the waies by force of armes: The same necessitie lieth also vpon the defendants, whom it standeth on hand to fight stoutly, because they be in daunger to endure many mo things than the assailants. For the raunsome, or the prison, makes their budget good for the assailants; but the defendants lose their goods, and the honor of their wiues and children, and moreouer looke for perpetual bondage, with an infinit number of other mischiefs. Furthermore, he that is assailed, may wait vpon his enemies to his great aduauntage, and distresse them with famine without perill of enduring any scarcitie on his owne side, and therewithall he may the better withstand the enterprises of his enemies, by reason that he hath better knowledge of the countrie, and of the passages. Besides that, he may assemble great copanies of men in few houres, because there is not any subiect of his, that is not readie at need, to fight in his owne defence. And if the defendant do chauce to take a foile in his owne countrie; he will relieue himselfe againe within few dayes to be at the pursute, and new succours shall not need to come to him from farre. To beshort, the defendant needeth to hazard but a peece of his force. But if the assailant lose, he putteth hir men and the goods and well-fare of himselfe and his subiects in perill, though he be out of his owne countrie, considering that if he be taken, he must either continue a prisoner all his life time,

Tyrannie giueth great cause of rebellion.

The defendant may soone repaire his power.

time, or else accomplish the will of his conquerour. Yet notwithstanding, for all the good reasons of *Monsieur de Langey*, a learned and valiant knight, and of great experience in feats of armes; I will follow the opinion of them that say, That it is better to go fight with a mans enimie farre from home, than to tarry his comming home to him. *Crasus* counselled *Cyrus*, not to tarry for the Massagets in his owne countrie, but to giue them battell in their owne, because (quoth he) if you should lose one battell in your owne countrie, you should be in daunger (being once chased) to lose your whole countrie; for the Massagets hauing gotten the victorie, will pursue it and enter into your prouinces. And if ye win the battell, you shall not gaine thereby an inch of land. But if ye ouercome them in their owne land, you may follow your good fortune, and be master of the whole realme of *Thomiris*. This fashion did the Romans vse, who were the most politike and best aduised men in war-matters, that euer were in the world. For they neuer suffered the enimie to approach neare their gates, but encountered him aloofe. Which thing *Hanniball* knowing well by the prooffe that he himselfe had had of their policies and force, counselled *Antiochus*, not to tarry the comming of the Romans into his country, but to go and assail them in their owne, because that out of their owne countrie they were inuincible. And in verie deed they were euer assailants, and seldome times defendants. At the beginning when their territory was verie small, they went & made war vpon the Fidenats, Crustuminians, Samnites, Falisks, and other neighbor-people, from whom they alway got the victorie. And whensoever they were assailed, it was to their extreme daunger. As for example: When *Horatius Cocles* fought vpon the bridge of the citie, and sustained the whole force of the enimie, while the bridge was cut asunder behind him, wherwith he fell into the Tiber, and by that means saued the citie. Also they were in extreme daunger against *Porfenna* and the Voises: and they were faine to employ all their priests, and all the women of the citie, to raise the siege of *Coriolanus*, who our of all

Arguments
against Lan-
geyes opinion.

The Romans
inuinible out
of their owne
countrie.

question.

The Romans
could not vā-
quish *Hanni-
ball* in Italie.

question had made himself master of the towne, if the intreatance of his mother had not letted him. It was neuer in their power to ouercome *Hannibal* in Italie: but out of Italie a yong Roman ouercame him vterly in one battell. When *Pyrrhus* came to Tarent, the Romans suffered him not to approach to their gates, but sent to encounter him before he came there. And when they had lost one battell, they reuued it again with a fresh supplie, as though it had beene with the water of some continuall running spring. And although this was in Italie, yet was it not in the countrie of the Romans. For they sent so manie men to meet him, that he could neuer come home to them: in so much that *Pyrrhus* said, That if he should win but one battell more of them, it were inough to worke his own vter ouerthrow; because he could neuer get any victorie of thē, but with great losse of his people. So soone as the Romans vnderstood that *Hannibal* was determined to passe the mountains, they dispatched an armie out of their countrie, to be in a readinesse at the foot of the hill, either to encounter him, or else to wearie and cumber him by all means possible. And it was seene by experience, that the two or three battels which he woon, stood him in little stead. For he could not for all that, get so much as any one citie into his hands. But when he once came neere to Rome, and had woon the famous battell of Cannas against them in their owne soyle: then hee wanne many cities, and made many people to submit themselves to his obedience. And there was none other impediment that he tooke not Rome it selfe, but onely the fatall destinie of the citie. Such daunger cannot befall a man in a forreine countrie. As for example, The Romans were vterlie ouerthrowne by the Parthians, and yet for all that, they needed not to feare the inuading of their citie. They lost manie battels to the Carthagenenses, both on sea and land, and likewise the Carthagenenses vnto them, and yet neither of them both tooke care for the defence of their citie, but to make a new armie to worke reuenge. But *Hannibal* saw, that the best way to haue a hand at the Romans, was to seeke thē at their

owne doores. And the Romans themselues being schooled by *Hannibal*, perceiued well that the way to driue the Carthageneses out of Italie, and to bring their owne matters to good effect, was to shew their legions before the gates of Carthage, and to bid them battell there, and so they did. After the winning of the which battell, the Romans became lords of Carthage. *Actius* liked better to fight with *Attila* in Fraunce, than to attend his comming into Italie. And *Charles Martel* thought it better to encounter the Sarzins on the further side of Loir, than to wait for them in Fraunce. And nothing to the purpose maketh the saying of *Bellay*, That the defendants may be encouraged by the iustnesse and holinesse of their quarrell, in defending themselues, their country, their goods, their wiues, and their children, which ought to haue more force than the couetous desire of the assailants. For say what can be said, yet doth the assailant aduenture vpon his enterprise with the best courage: whereas there abideth a feare and misgiuing in the mind of the defendant, which feare defeateth all chearfulnesse, when every man considereth the daunger that he is like to fall into by the losse of the battell; so as the mind being daunted with that feare, cannot do any thing of value. We see that townes which haue beene counted inuincible, haue bin taken in short time, through the couragiousnesse of the souldiers, desirous of the bootie within, who fearing neither gun, fire, water, nor steepnesse of place, haue with inuincible courage, disappointed all defences that could be set against them.

And if a man will say, That the losse of townes taketh not away the affection of the subiects, but contrariwise exasperateth them against the enemy: I answer, that such affection serueth to verie small purpose, if it be not accompanied with means to maintaine it. For he that sees the burning of his granges, his garners, and his house, hath more list to shed teares than to fight. And if the hatred which he beareth to his enemies, bereaue him not of the feare of them, it will serue well to cut the throates of them that straggle farre from the bodie of

An answer to
Bellays first
argument.

An answer to
Bellays second
argument.

of the armie, as the people of Prouince did to the dispersed Spaniards; but it can do neither good nor harme to the victorie. And whereas it is said, that the king of France had succor of his subiects against the Englishmen within his countrie; that was done for the good will that they bore to their king, that loued them & dealt wel with them, and was not wont to leuie subsidies, but in case of necessitie, the which are leuied nowadaies as well in time of peace as of war. As touching the necessitie of fighting, which is affirmed to be greater to the defendants, because they stand for their goods, wiues, and children: surely their feare and grieue bereaueth them of all chearfulnes, and maketh them to thinke more vpon their miserie, than vpon their manhood. The same necessitie lay vpon the Persians: for they saw *Alexander* ranging oueral Asia with fortie or fiftie thousand men: and yet as many millions of men as were of them, they durst not set themselues against his armie: neither durst the Lydians encounter *Cyrus*; nor the Gauls fighting for their libertie, encounter the victorious armie of *Cesar*. As touching the aduantage of place, and the comoditie of vittels; surely if the defendant can haue them to serue his turne, the assailants also will not want either of them both. For he that is maister of the field, will haue vittels at his aduantage, wanting neither carts, guides, nor spies. As long as *Hannibal* was in Italie, he could better skill how to plane his campe, and to giue battell to his owne aduantage, than could the Romans being in their owne countrie. And as concerning the easie assembling of people at home after an ouerthrow; I find it a hard matter to supplie an armie againe, after they be broken asunder, either in ones owne countrie, because they be neere their retreit, or in a straunge countrie, vnlesse they come together againe immediately, because they haue no place to retire vnto; whereas they that are of the same countrie, go to refresh themselues in their owne houses, and tarry longer there than they should, or else come no more againe, as wee haue seene in these ciuill warres, where the armies haue broken off themselues, by reason that
the

An answer to
the third
argument.

An answer to
the fourth
argument.

An answer
to the fifth
argument.

An answer
to the sixth
argument.

the souldiers and men of armes haue bene too neere their own houses; which thing was not done so in Spaine, England, and Italie. And as for the assembling of much people, it would behoue a man to seeke another countrie than this, where the princes listing not to traine their subiects to the warre, are constrained to craue aid of straungers. Whereas it is said, That the defendant hazardeth but a part of his power: certainly he hazardeth as much as the assailant. For when the assailant departeth out of his countrie, he leaueth garrisons and men of warre behind him to defend it against sudden troubles that might ensue of insurrections by absence of the prince, or by some sodaine inuasion of some neighbor that would take him vnprovided, as *James* king of Scots did to his owne vndoing, against the king of England, at such time as he was passed to Calice with a great force, and was occupied about the siege of Tiwin and Turney. So that no well aduised prince setteth vp all his rest vpon the hazard of one battell, but doth euer reserue a store for after-claps. And if a prince chance to be taken prisoner in a forraine countrie, he shall be discharged vpon his raunsome, and vpon such conditions as the conquerour listeth to giue him: but if he be taken in his owne countrie, it is hard but that diuerse weake and ill-furnished townes wil yeeld themselves to the conqueror vpon report of his victorie, which townes shall not be admitted in account, when they come to treat of peace. And oftentimes fortune is so fauourable to the vanquisher, that after a victorie he maketh himselfe lord of the whole realme, and needeth not to make any other agreement with his prisoner, than to grant or take away his life at his own pleasure. It is commonly said that fortune furthereth the aduenterous, and we see it so by experience. *Ninus*, *Semyramis*, and *Alexander*, were fortunate in their conquests. *Pyrhus* was fortunate in getting, but vnfortunate in keeping. And they that go forth with that intent, do seldome faile of their purpose. *Charles* the eight conquered Naples in short time, and brought backe his armie through the midst of Italie, passing vpon the bellies of his enemies.

An answer to
the seuenth
argument.

An answer to
the eight ar-
gument.

Fortune fur-
thereth the
aduenterous.

Of pitching a Campe.

Edward king of England comming into France, with resolute purpose to conquer the realme, gaue battell to *Philip* of Valois, and ouercame him both by sea and by land, notwithstanding that *Philip* of Valois did what could be done by a well-aduised prince. For he encountered him vpon the sea, afore he tooke land, but it booted him not. For God made fortune to turne against him, in which case it is better to strike faile, than to hazard a battell, as *Charles* the fifth could well skill to do, being taught by the aduersities of his grandfather and father. *William* duke of Normandie, after one battell, made himsele fouereigne lord of the realme of England, being fully resolued either to conquer, or else to die. I will not say therefore, that an inuader shall alwayes be sure of victory: for sometimes it falleth out cleane contrarie, as it did with *Cyrus*, who was defeated by the Massagers in their own cuntry: with the Swissers, who were discomfited in Prouince by *Iulius Caesar*: with the Sarzins which were discomfited by *Charles Martell*, who caused *Eudo* duke of Gascoyne to turne against them. To be short, He that loseth a field in a strange cuntry, loseth but his men: but he that loseth it in his owne cuntry, loseth both men and goods, and sees his land dayly wasted, and his subiects pilled.

He that loseth
a battell in a
strange coun-
trie, loseth but
his men.

CHAP. XI.

Of the pitching of a Campe.



Pyrrhus ex-
celled in pit-
ching a campe.

Now seeing it is so, that in both sorts of warre, as well of assailing, as of defending, men must be brought to march together, either to receiue or to follow the enemie: we must needs speake of the seating of a campe, as vpon the which alone dependeth the winning of the battell; as *Pyrrhus* shewed full well, who in that point was esteemed the excellentest of all captains.

rains. The campe that is well planted, ought to be nere a riuer, that they may haue the commoditie of water, which cannot be forborne; and also for the fortifying of themselues, and for the doing of their enterprises. For a riuer doth wonderfully strengthen a camp, because the enemy cannot passe it without danger. But a captaine must also be maister of the riuer, and not coope vp himselve betweene two riuers, except he haue means to get out againe at his pleasure, least it disappoint him of the commoditie of vittels and of succours, as it befell to *Iulius Caesar* in Spaine, against *Affranius* and *Petreius*. But that happeneth commonly by some extraordinarie ouerflowing, wherof notwithstanding a man shall discharge himselve so well, that he shal ouercome them afterward. Secondly, woods serue for another fortification, and yeeld means of goodly enterprises. Thirdly mountains giue great aduantage, to them that are incamped in them. For they that are faine to mount vp to their assault, are wearied afore they come to handstrokes. Contrariwise, they that come downward, go with the greater force vpon their enemies. *Hanniball* vanquished the Romans at Trebia, by hauing his campe planted neere to a wood. He had lodged himselve neere a riuer, and neere thicke copses, full of brush wood, and thornes, taking occasion to beguile the Romans by that seating of his camp, for when they should com to encoûter him, he sent his brother *Mago* into that place ouer night, accompanied with a thousand horsemen and a thousand footmen, to lie in ambush there. And the next morning he caused his light horsemen of Numidie to passe the riuer, and to skirmish with the Romans, and to draw them into the stale. The which thing was done so cunningly, that when the Romans were in the heat of the fight, they were assailed behind by *Mago*, who lay in ambush there, so as they could not withstand the Carthaginenses, but were constrained to giue back, with great losse of their men. As for to passe a riuer to assaile the enemy, the danger therof is very great, as appeareth in *Manlius*, who would needs passe a riuer that had but only one foord to passe at, to encounter with *Asdruball*, contrary to the

Of woods.

Of hills.

The danger of
pasing a ri-
uer.

aduice of *Scipio*, who warned him of the perill wherinto he did put himselfe. Neuertheles, he passed the riuer and assailed *Asdruball*, who suffered the Romans to do as they listed, without offering them battell, vntill he saw them incumbred in passing the foord. And then with all his force he set vpon the taile of them, and made so great a slaughter, that all their army was at the point to haue ben discomfited, had not *Scipios* forecast bin, who made the enemies to recoil by the helpe of his men of arms. *Timoleon* seeing the army of the Carthaginenses sore troubled and put out of order in passing a riuer with great peril, and therby deeming that he might take them at aduantage ere they were halfe passed: shewed his men of war with his finger, how the battel of his enemies was parted in two halues by the riuer, the one halfe of them being on the one side, and the other half on the other: and commanded *Demaratus* to take his horsemen, and to goe and charge vpon the formost of them, to keep them from ranging themselues in battelray. And therewithall he caused his footmen to go downe into the plaine, by means wherof, together with a storm that fel suddainly against the Carthaginenses, he gat the battel. As touching the aduantage of a hill, it is very great, so there be nothing about it that may command it. *Perseus* had planted his campe to great purpose on a high ground of aduantage neere the mountaine *Olimpus*, and had caused all the passages of the hill to be warily kept, sauing one that seemed vnapprochable. By reason wherof it behoued the Romans to be ill lodged, and vnable to do any exploit of war. For *Perseus* stood vpon his defence, intending to wearie them by protracting of time, for he assured himselfe that he could not be assailed in so strong a place. *Paulus Emilius* vnderstanding that there was but that one ly one passage whereat to distresse *Perseus*, bethought himselfe how he might winne it. Whereupon feigning to fetch about by the sea and to come vpon his enemies at their backs, he dispatched *Nasica* secretly with eight thousand footmen and six hundred horsemen, to get the the passage: and he himselfe tooke his way towards the seas side. But when

The aduantage
of a hill.

night

night came, he led them cleane the contrarie way from the sea, vntill he came to the top of the hill, where he lodged himselfe vpon a plaine in the sight of *Perseus*, who was so astonished thereat, that he remoued his campe immediatly. *Iulius Caesar* hauing to do with the Belgians, who were the hardiest and of greatest number of all the Gauls, tooke a certaine little hill, the which he caused his men to intrench in two places beneath, least the Gauls who were without comparison mo in number than the Romans, should enuiron him. But neither the one nor the other durst go find out his enemy, because there was a maris betwixt them. But about all things a captaine must beware that he lodge not in the midst of a hill, vnlesse he be sure from about, for by that means he may easily indomage his host: as *Salomon* a captaine of the Romans endomaged the Maurisians, whom being incamped vpon the middest of a high hill to their great aduantage, he was come to assaile from below. But yet he bethought himselfe to take first the toppe of the hill, and for the doing thereof appointed *Theodericke* with certaine footmen, to climbe the hill ouer night, by a way most difficult, and whereof his enemies had least doubt; commaunding his men not to make any noise when they were come nigh them, but to keepe themselues close till the sunne-rising. In the dawning of the day he marched with his armie directlie vp the hill, and at the same instant the other part of his armie shewed themselues to the enemies vpon the toppe of the hill, so as the Maurisians perceiuing themselues to be betweene the two armies, and hauing their enemies both about them on the toppe of the hill, and beneath them at the foot, were constrained to take them to flight through the thick Forrest, with the losse of fise thousand men, and not one Roman slaine. *Sylla* to compasse *Mithridates*, got the back of a hill that was almost vnapprochable, in the day of the battell, and there shewing himselfe to his enemies about them, did put them all to flight & to the chase. *Lucullus* being within the view of the

The policy of
Salomon.

Of *Sylla.*

Of *Lucullus.*

Of pitching a Campe.

campe of *Tigranes*, who was imbattelled vpon a high ground somewhat neere the citie *Cabyra*, durst not come downe into the plaine, because he had but a handful of men in comparison of *Tigranes*. But by good hap one *Arthemidorus* offering himselfe vnto him, promised that if he would follow him, he would bring him into a place, where he should lodge his campe safely, and where he had a castle about the citie *Cabyra*. As soone as night was come, *Lucullus* making great store of fires in his campe, departed thence; and after he had passed some dangerous places, came by the next morning to the top of the mountaine, wherat his enemies were sore abashed to see him about them, in a place where he might come down vpon them with aduantage, if he listed to fight, and could not be forced to fight except he listed. *Quintus Flaminius*, perceiuing that he could not giue his enemies battell, by reason of a certaine streight; found the means to discover a way, which within three dayes brought him to his enemies campe. And for his guides he tooke the shepheards, who assured him that that way was not garded. Vpon trust of whose word, *Flaminius* sent three thousand footmen and thirteene hundred horsemen, who marching by moone light and resting a day times, came the third day to the top of the hill. All that while he stirred not vntill the said third day; and then he caused his armie to march vp the hill against the cragged cliffs. And as he marched, he espied his owne men vpon the top of the hill, which doubled the courage of the Romans that were with him. And on the other part, his companions that were about perceiuing him so mounting vp against the hill, began to raise a noise behind their enemies, wherewith they put them in such feare, that by and by they tooke them to flight. The constable of France considering the fortification of the passage of *Suze*, how that vpon two little hills on either side of the streight, his enemies had made two sconses, and had cut a great and deepe trench betwixt them: perceiued that by winning two other hills higher than those were where his enemies had their

their fortifications, a man might force them with the shot of harquebusses to abandon their fortification. Whereupon he ceased immediatly vpon those hills. The which thing when his enemies perceiued, they forsooke the passage, and betooke themselves to flight. When the commodity of woods, hills and riuers is not to be had, and a small company of men is to deale with a great number: they must intrench themselves with all speed, and if it be possible they must chuse a place vncasie to be come vnto, full of hedges and vineyards; as the prince of Wales did at Poitiers, when he tooke king *John* prisoner. For he had put himselfe into a place of such aduantage, as there was but one way to come at him, and that was full of hedges and bushes, and he had laid the hedges full of archers. And as for his horsemen, they were all alighted on foot in the vineyards in so strong a place, as no men on horse-back could enter into. For when an army is to be assailed in their hold, neither horsemen nor footmen can approach thē without breaking their owne aray, as it happened to the Frenchmen at Bicoock, through the wilfulnes of the Suiffers; and to the king of Castile against the king of Portugall, at the battell of *Iuberoth*. The Entalits seeing themselves to weake for the Persians, incamped themselves vety sharply in a place of great aduantage, and inclosed themselves about with great deepe, and large trenches, leauing only one way to passe at with ten men a front: and when they had so done, they couered the trenches with leaues and rushes. And when they saw the Persians approach, they sent out certain light horsemen, with expresse commandment that they should not be too earnest in fighting, but that as soone as the Persians charged them any thing wholly, they should turne their backs and run home to their hold vpon the spur, and that when they were against the trenches, they should step to the passage, so as they might passe the strait at their leisure. The Persians perceiuing them, failed not to charge vpon them, and they on the other side failed not to flie, and to mount vpon the side of the hill, vntill they were come to their companie againe. They were pursued by the whole

How a small band may defend themselves against a great army.

A policy of the Entalits.

host of the Persians, who hauing gotten the side of the hil, fell to running against the Enthalits, and not perceiuing the trenches, draue downe one another and tumbled into them with great violence one vpon another, by means wherof they were all discomfited, and the king with his 30 sonnes whom he had brought thither, were all found dead. *Tomombey* would haue done the like to *Selim*, but his enterprize was discovered. *Cabaon* captaine of Tripolie, finding himselfe not strong inough for the Vandals, if he should fight with them in the plain, (because they were all horsmen, and the most part of his men were footmen) and yet notwithstanding hauing no means to chuse any other place, bethought himselfe to make faire great trenches, and therto enuironed his camp with a great number of camels, amongs the which he placed his choicest souldiers, who were hidden among the camels. Besids this, he set twelue camels in the face of the battell, to scare his enemies horses, for horses are woonderfully afraid of camels. When his enemies attempted to approch, they were driuen back with shot of arrows. On the other side, instead of comming on, their horses gaue back for feare of the camels, insonmuch that they were all discomfited. The Marrusians vsed the like stratagem against the Romans: but the Romans had taken order for it. For when the Marrusians had ordered their battels, as it is said afore, and that the Romans were constrained to flee, specially the horsmen: *salomon* the generall of the Roman army seeing it, alighted from his horse and commanded all his horsmen to do the like, and with fise hundred men entred into their campe. The enemies who had put all their strength in their camels, and in their fortifications, when they perceiued them disappointed, and their camels terrified and putting all things out of order: were driuen to flee, and to leaue their wiues and children to the mercie of the Romans.

CHAP. XII.

*How to giue courage to men of warre, afore a
battell, or in the battell.*



T hapneth oftentimes that souldiers conceiue a feare, when they see they haue to do with too great a number, or with an enemy that is mightie, and a great warrior: or else that in the conflict they be suddenly dismayd, so as it behoueth them to be encouraged by some cunning, in which behalfe the skill of the captains serueth maruellously well, who haue vsed their owne deuise, and diuerse policies according as the case required. Some vse long orations and declarations, as *Iulius Caesar* did, to rid his men of the feare that they had of the Gauls and Almanes: and it is an ordinarie matter to make an exhortation to the souldiers in the day of battell. Others doe put their people in heart by speeches and countenances, as the Lacedemonian did, to whō when one said that they should be ouerwhelmed with the arrowes of the Persians: so much the better (qd. he) for then shall we fight with them in the shadow. And as another did, to whō when one said, That the enemies were very many, I ask not (qd. he) how many, or how few they be, but where they be, that I may fight with them. The day afore the battell of Cannas, *Hannibal* tooke certaine men with him, & went to view the Romanes. And as he beheld thē, one named *Gisco* said to him, It is a wonderful thing to see so great a nūber of men of war. To whō *Hannibal* laughing answered, There is another thing much more maruelous thā that, which is, that there is not one of them alike thee. Wherat euery mā began to laugh so heartily, that the bruit thereof went frō hand to hand through the host, & greatly encoraged the souldiers, when they saw their captain so assuring himself of good speed.

Of Orations.

Of the countenance of a captaine.

The assurednes of *Hannibal*.

Of *Lisander*.

Lisander seeing his souldiers dismayed at the siege of Corinth, and refusing the assault, sought by all means to recōfort them, and as it hapned, a hare started out of the towne ditch, wherevpon he tooke occasion to say thus vnto them. Are you not ashamed to be afraid to assaile those enemies, which are so slothfull and negligent, that hares sleepe quietly within the precinct of their walles? *Quintius* beholding his men astonied at the great power of *Antiochus*, made this account vnto the.

Quintius.

On a time at a certaine supper in Chalcis where I was, there were brought in many sorts of meat, and I asked of mine host why he had prepared so much: wherunto he answered, That it was all but one sort of meat, namely porke dressed after diuerse maners: euen so, whereas you heare that *Antiochus* hath so many light horses, so many men at armes, so many archers, so many light armed footmen, and so many corslets; assure your selues that all this people are but Syrians, armed and furnished after diuerse fashions. *Marius* perceiuing his men to be afraid of the great number of the Dutchmen that would haue passed into Italie, thought it good not to permit his souldiers to ioyne battell with them, vntill they had seene them of afore. And therefore after he had made great and faire trenches, he made them to come vpon the rampires of his campe one after another, to view their enemies, and to enure them with the sight of their countenances, lookes, and marchings, that they might not be afraid of their voyces and words, and that they might vnderstand the fashion of their armour, and the manner of their government. By the means of which ordinarie sight, he made the things familiar which had beene terrible to them at the first blush, so as they were no more moued at them. For he was of opinion, that the strangeness of things maketh men through error of iudgement, to thinke things vnaccustomed more horrible & dreadfull than they be in deed. And contrariwise, that custumableness abateth much of the dread and terror of things, which of their owne nature are terrible. Which thing was seene at that time by experience. For their dayly accustoming of themselues to the ordinarie

Marius.
Of the often
beholding of
the enemy
afore battell.

The strange-
ness of things
maketh them
more terrible
than they be
in deed.

narie beholding of those barbarous people, not onely diminished some part of the former fearfulnesse of the Roman souldiers, but also whetted them vnto choler, by the proud brags and intollerable brauerie of the barbarous people, which did set their courage on a burning desire to fight with them. *Pelopidas* and *Epaminondas*, captains of the Thebans, did the like, inuring the Thebans to behold their enemies oftentimes, who were valiant and redoubted. And afore they would come to fight in good earnest, he sent them diuerse times to light skirmishes, like good yong greyhounds let slip for the nonce, and then led them to it the more safely afterward, when he had well fleshed them, by giuing them a little tast of the ease and pleasure that commeth of victorie. And by that means hee hartned them more and more, and made them the more sure and strong, insomuch that by such skirmishes, they became more hardie and war-like than they were afore.

*Pelopidas and
Epaminondas.*

Sometime a good captaine, turneth the fearfulnesse of his souldiers into a furie of fighting, by reason of the trauell that they endure; as *Sylla* did, who when he saw his souldiers astonished at the great and puissant host that *Mithridates* led well armed: for he would not make them to fight in that feare, but kept them occupied in cutting great trenches, without giuing any of them leaue to rest, to the intent that being weary of the paines that they tooke about such works, they should the rather desire to trie the hazard of battell, as it came to passe. For the third day after they had begun so to labour, as *Sylla* passed along by them, they fell to crying vpon him, that he should lead them against their enemies. Whereunto he made answer, That those cries were not of men that were desirous of battell, but of men that were wearie of their worke. And if ye be desirous to fight (said he) I will haue you all to go in your armour to yonder passage on the side of the hill. Which thing they did, and obtained it, afore their enemies that were sent thither to get it, could come there, and so they possessed themselves thereof to lodge therein. *Marius* did almost the same, when he went against the Dutchmen; for he made his souldiers,

How to encourage Souldiers.

souldiers to runne, and to make great and long steps, compelling euery man to beare his own fardels, and to carie with him whatsoeuer he should need to liue with. But he did that to in-harden them, and to make them the more tough to abide the trauell of warre.

The policie
of *Ingrith*.

Ingrith to assure his owne men, and to put the Romans in feare, slue a souldier at his arriual, and brandishing his bloodie speare to the Romans, told them in their owne language, that he had learned with them before Numance, that they fought vpon credit, hauing lost their consull *Marius*. Which saying made the whole armie of the Romans in mind to haue fled, and they were like to haue turned head, had not *Sylla* staid them.

Of Necessitie

Marius a good captaine (if there were any at those dayes in Rome) intending to fight with the Dutchmen, had planted his campe in a place of verie great aduantage, but he wanted water. The which he did of purpose, to whet the courage of his souldiers by that means. For when it was told him that they were in danger of great thirst, he pointing them to the riuer that was along the side of his enemies campe, said that it bebooued them to fetch drinke from thence; and so they did. For the pages hauing no water for themselves, nor for their beasts, went thither in great companies to fetch water, and there fell into so whot a skirmish, that the Dutchmen were faine to passe the riuer to come to the bickering, where being taken out of order, and wanting time to rounge their battels in array, they were all discomfited, and the most part of them were drowned in the riuer. Next vnto paine,

Of Despaire.

Despaire is a great incourager to fight, when men are forced either to fight or to die, and that there is no place of refuge to retire vnto. This is a thing that oftentimes maketh men to fight most valiantly in a straunge countrie. *William* duke of Normandie, to dispatch his men of all hope of returning home, made all his ships to be set on fire. Manie others haue done the like. But if a generall be accompanied with leaguers, and allies, it is hard for him to inforce them to fight, vntlesse he

he do it by some policie, as *Themistocles* did at the famous battell at Salamis. For when it was vniuersally agreed vpon, to fight with the Persians vpon the sea, in a strait that was greatly to the aduantage of the Greeks, because it was easie to be kept. The Lacedemonians and other their allies & confederats seeing the sea couered with the ships of the Persians, determined to depart the next morning, and euerie man to go home. *Themistocles* being greued thereat, bethought himselfe of this policie. He had with him a Persian that was a schoole-master to his children, named *Sincinnus*, whom he trusted; him he sent secretly to the king of Persia, to aduertise him that *Themistocles* the chieftaine, generall of the Athenians, hauing a good will to do him some speciall seruice, gaue him knowledge of the good hap, that the Greekes were minded to retire and flee away; counselling him not to let them scape, but to set vpon them lustily, while they were so combred and afraid, and disseuered from their armie on land, and so to vanquish all their whole power by sea at once. *Xerxes* beleuing the counsell, environed them in such sort, that they could by no means depart thence; the necessitie whereof made them to resolute themselues to abide the battell, wherein *Themistocles* had the vpper hand, and viterly defeated the whole power of *Xerxes* by sea.

The policie of
Themistocles.

Zabdas, Constable vnto queene *Zenobia*, being retired to Antioch, after he had lost a battell to the emperour *Aurelian*, and fearing least the people should fall vpon him in a rage. if they vnderstood the newes of that discomfiture; tooke a man that resembled *Aurelian*, and made it to be bruted that he brought the emperour prisoner with him. By which guile he kept the Antiochians from rebelling, while he caused his men to retire secretly by night vnto him, without being perceiued of any man.

The policie of
Zabdas.

The countie *Petilian* seeing the armie of the Italians defeated by king *Charles* at Fotonouo, and being escaped out of the hands of the Frenchmen, where he had beene a prisoner; to the intent to assemble againe the men that were

The countie
Petilians po-
licie.

were fled, and to giue them courage, ran as fast as he could to the Venetians, and told them that the Frenchmen were vanquished, and put all to flight, counselling them not to let the victorie scape out of their hands: whereby he made them that were astonished, to take courage againe in such sort, that by the authoritie of his name, he made as many as he met, to returne into the battell, which partly was the cause that the army was not vtterly defeated.

When *Charles* duke of Burbon was slaine with a bullet before the citie of Rome, by and by his bodie was couered with a cloke, to the end that the report of his death, should not stay the souldiers from entring into the breach. The Romans perceiuing themselues vnable to match the Persians, kept themselues in order within the riuer *Phasis*, of which armie *Iustine* led the one part, and *Martin* the other. *Martin* to encourage his people, and to sow a false report among his enemies, That *Iustinian* the emperor had sent succors vnto them; assembled the whole armie as it had beene to consult what was to be done. And as they were so all assembled, suddenly comes in a post, whom he had procured, as coming from Constantinople with letters, which he presented: wherein the emperor sent them word that he had sent them another armie, as great or greater than that they had already. The post was asked whether the armie was farre off or no: and he answered, that the armie was not much aboue foure and twentie furlongs off. Then captaine *Martin*, as if he had bin thoroughly angrie, said, He had not to do with it, and that it was no reason that they should reape the honour and profit of his trauel. Whereupon he demaunded of his people, whether they thought his saying good or no? and they all answered, yea. In the meane while the report of fresh succours was blowne abroad into the enemies campe, who thereupon disposed some of their men to the straits, to stop the new armie from passing to ioyne with the other, and at the same instant brought their whole power before the citie, to giue assault vnto it. Now it fortun'd that the same day, captaine *Iustine* had a fancie to go
make

The sowing
of a report of
succours at
hand.

make his praier, in a certaine church of the Christians, that was neare the towne; and for his conuey, caried with him five thousand horses vnperceiued of the enemies, who by chaunce tooke another way to come to the campe before the towne. When *Iustine* vnderstood by the noise, that his enemies were afore the towne, setting vp scaling ladders, digging, and making a great assault to enter in, immediatly he turned head, and with his horsemen went and charged vpon his enemies, that were at the point to haue woon the towne. Whereas they being greatly amazed, and thinking that it had bene the fresh succours which they had heard of, tooke themselues to flight, and being pursued by the men of the citie, were almost all put to the sword. *Eumenes* vsing dissimulation wisely, got the victorie against *Craterus*. For when he vnderstood that *Neoptolemus* and *Craterus* came against him, in hope to cause his souldiers to turne to their part by the onely brute of their comming, and also to take them vnawares as they were making good cheare, because they came then freshly from the discomfiting of *Neoptolemus*: he held his armie in good order, and readie to fight, and therewithall caused a report to run abrode, that it was *Neoptolemus* and *Pigres* that came backe vpon him afresh, with certaine horsemen gathered at aduventure out of Cappadocia, and Paphlagonia. And to keepe his countremen from knowing *Craterus*, he set not one Macedonian against him in the forefront, but placed there two companies of straungers that were men of armes, commaunding them expressly to run vpon their enemies as soone as they saw them, and to charge vpon them immediatly, without giuing them leysure to parlie, or to retire, and without giuing any care to the heraults and trumpeters that should be sent vnto them; because he feared least the Macedonians would turne against him, if they once knew that *Craterus* was there. Wherefore as soone as *Eumenes* men espied their enemies, they failed not to run against them a full gallop, as they had bene commaunded. At the sight whereof, *Craterus* was greatly abashed: for he thought that the

To keep souldiers from knowing the enemy, to whom the generall suspecteth to be betrayed by his owne men.

Macedonians

How to encourage Souldiers.

Macedonians should haue turned on his side, as *Neoptolemus* had promised him. Neuerthelesse, dealing like a man of valor, he also spurred his horse against his enemies, and did so well that the battel was fought a long time with doubtful ballance, but in the end *Eumenes* woun the field, and *Craterus* and *Neoptolemus* the chieftanes of his enemies were both slaine. Sometime a valiant captaine that hath the report to be fortunat, and a great taker of towns, doth euen by his menaces strike a feare into the hearts of soldiers, that are inclosed in a place, & make thē to yeeld it vp, as *Glesclin* did; who sent word to the men of Hannibout, that he would sup within their towne that night, and that if there were any of them, that threw but a stone whereby any of the least of his pages were hurt, it should cost them their liues. With the which menace the townsmen were so scared, that they stirred not out of their houses, and the Englishmen being too few to abide the assault, were overlaid with force, and put all to the sword. The countie of Fois intending to go from *Bolonia* to *Bresse* the nearest way, to recouer it, tooke his iourney through the duke of *Mantua*s territorie. And because he was to passe by certaine sluces, which were fast shut vp and well garded, he sent to the duke of *Mantua* to desire passage: who notwithstanding that he was against the Frenchmen; yet being abashed at his so sudden comming, was faine to open him the passage, the which he would haue denied him if he had not scene his power.

CHAP. XIII.

Of Skirmishes.

Skirmishes are so neare both to good and euill, that it is easie to take the one for the other.



When two armies come within sight one of another, they cannot be kept from skirmishing, the which is sometime necessary, and sometime verie dangerous. And this poynt (as saith *Machiavel*) is one of that number, wherein the euill is so neare vnto the good, that the

one

one is easily taken for the other . I haue often heard this fashion of making skirmishes blamed by *Monsieur Tawannes*, who would not put any thing in perill, but all to profit . For he would either fight in good earnest, or hold himselfe quiet without fighting, and reserue his forces to some good occasion. Some will say that such skirmishes giue the more courage to men of war, and make them, as it were to record their lessons, and the things that are to be done in battell. It is a making of the to look vpon the wolf, that by beholding of him throughly, they should not be afraid of him . But on the contrarie part also, if the wolfe bite them, it is to be doubted least they will become the colder in hunting him. Three dayes afore the battell of Moncounter, the armie of the *Monsieur*, and the armie of the princes, skirmished vpon the banke of the riuier Dine, but that skirmish was so rough for them, that they began that day to despair of the victorie, & to be shie of the encounter which they had anon after. But now to make some resolution vpon the discourse of the hystorie (which is the thing that I pretend) I say that skirmishes are of two or three sorts . Sometimes when men lie in garrison, and warres are prolonged, they skirmish with a few men to giue a stroke with the speare, or to make some gallant enterprise, as was done at Bolloyne against the Englishmen: For they that were in the great fort, and in the fort of the Chastilion, did oftentimes issue out against the Englishmen that lay in garrison in Bolloyne, and there made certain light skirmishes, and so returned into their holds againe. This fight was commended of men of warre, who should but haue lingered there, if they had not now and then led forth their bands, and come downe into the plaine.

Sometimes it is needfull to make skirmishes to assure and to traine your men, as *Pelopidas* and *Epaminondas* did agaynst the Lacedaemonians . These two captaines were valiant in their owne persons, and had men of good courage, for they sought for their libertie. But they were but meanlie trayned to the warres, and had to do with the
Lacedemo-

The sorts of
skirmishes.

Skirmishes
made to ad-
uantage, do
make the ene-
mie despised.

Lacedemonians, who had not their peeres in all Greece. Therefore to encourage their men, the said captaines did ere-whiles let them loose to the Lacedemonians at aduantage, as men do yong hounds to a hare. And as they were somewhat fleshed, they drew them backe of purpose, and would not hazard them too much afore battell, to the intent that tasting the sweetnesse of victorie, they might learne to shake off the feare of their enemy, which was thought to be inuincible; and contrariwise, that the beholding of him, and the often victories had of him to their aduantage, might cause them to set light by him. Therefore it was needfull to assure them by such skirmishes, afore they should come to battell. *Valerius Coruinus* did the like against the Samnites, for feare (as *Titus Linius* saith) least the new kind of warre, and the new enemy, should dismay them. But such skirmishes must be made with discretion, and not vpon a head, neither must the generall of an armie permit them, except he perceiue some verie great aduantage on his owne part, to be had without losse or danger. Sometime skirmishes are made to begin battels, and those may and must be: for it is the entrance into the battel. But for as much as some do but onely sustaine such skirmishes, without breaking out vpon their enemies, I will speake a word thereof, afore I speake of the battell.

CHAP. XIII.

*Whether it be better to beare the brunt of the enemies,
or to drowne it at the first dash.*



His would not deserue a chapter, no nor to be once spoken of, but that *Machiauel* in his discourses hath made a pretie small chapter of it, with a short resolution therevpon. And forasmuch as in mine opinion, his resolution seemeth not to agree with *Iulius Casars*; I will speake a word of it by the way. Now then he saith, that when

when *Decius* and *Fabius* consuls of Rome, made war against the Samnits and Tuscans, *Decius* went with his whole power to assaile his enemies; and *Fabius* did but only ward him, deeming the lingering assault to be the more for his behoof, by reseruing his force to the vpsur, when the enemy should haue forgone his first heat; and therefore that the dealings of *Fabius*, had better successe than the doings of *Decius*. For *Decius*'s legions were all discomfited, and himselfe slaine; whereas *Fabius* went away with the victory, by reseruing his forces vnto such necessities. Of which example he gathereth his resolution, that the doing of *Fabius* is more sure than the others. But this resolution cannot satisfie me. For it is vnpossible to keepe ones selfe from fighting, when the enemy commeth with full purpose to assaile. Well may ye do so when you be well intrenched, for the enemy cannot assaile you but to his owne losse. But when a day of battell is set, either you must forsake the place, or else fight. And in this case the running together and the shouting of the hostes, giueth the greater cheerfulness and force to the men of war. It is another thing that *Fabius* did in reseruing his forces for battell, while the enemy did spit out his fire in another place. And this policie was practised by the late duke of Guise, at the battell of Dreux: for how much soeuer he was intreated to giue battell, he would neuer come to it, vntill he saw that his enemies had spit out all their fire, and that perswading themselues to be sure of the victorie afore hand, they fell to pillage. For then he set vpon them with all his forces fresh and vndiminished, and gaue them the foile. By the way, it had not ben in the power of the constable to refuse battell, nor in the duke of Guise's power neither, if he had ben set vpon. For then had it behoued him of necessitie to fight, and to that intent came they thether. But it was a great point of wisdom in the duke of Guise, that seeing his enemies had left him behind, he reserued his power for such a need. And therein he did as *Fabius*, and as *Charles* of Anjou did against *Conradine*. But to know whether in a battell, men ought to sustaine the assault of the enemy

We must then reserue our forces for battell, when the enemy letteth vs alone.

Pompeys fault
at the battell
of Pharsalic.

without running vpon him, or to daunt him at the first push; the case is to be ruled by the resolution that *Cæsar* maketh therof in his Commentaries, where he findeth fault with *Pompey*, for causing his armie to stay at the battell of Pharsalie, when they were going forward to the encounter, and readie to shooke with their enemies. Wherein he saith he did a notable fault, because the shoutings and the running together, increaseth the force of the souldiers, who go therewith the more cheerfully and fiercely to the battell. If such a captaine found that fashion of encountering to be best; surely we ought not to reiect it, we Frenchmen (I say) which haue a certain fiery fury at the first, greater than other nations, the which being restrained, would wax so cold afterward, that we should become too slow when we needed to vse our hands.

CHAP. XV.

Of a Battell, and of diuerse policies to be practised therein.



With the end of war consisteth chiefly in giuing battell; I must now speake therof, and of the policies that are practised in that behalfe. Now there are two sorts of giuing battell, either in tarying for the enemy, or in assailing him. He that tarieth, hath the choise of the place, and the mean to cut off himselfe at leisure, if he list to fight to his owne aduantage. But he that assaileth hath many things to looke vnto. Sometimes he must be faine to passe a water to find his enemy, and for that purpose to make a bridge ouer the riuier, the which may be impeached by his enemy that is on the further side of the riuier. And for the prouiding therof, *Philp* duke of Cleueland saith, that great diligence is to be vsed; and artillerie is to be pla-

To passe a wa-
ter safely.

placed on the riuers side to shoot at such as aduenture to come neere the other banke, in the time that the bridge is a laying. And when the bridge is made well and dilligently, he must passe ouer foure faucons, and fiiue or six hundred men on foot, and some cariages with speed to stop them, and also some pioners to make trenches at need. For fiiue hundred or a thousand men inclosed within their cariages wil alwaies hold four thousand tack, vntill the rest of the army may come forward, and then shall it be easie to passe the residue of the host in despite of the enemies. But the best and surest way is, not to vse open force, but to make passage by some policy. When the emperor *Iulian* warred against the Persians, afore he passed a certain riuier, he sent *Lucilius* with fifteen hundred men to the further side of the water, and yet for the passing of the water he vsed no open force, but caused captaine *Victor* with a good number of men of war, to passe ouer secretly in the night season, and a good way off from the camp, for feare least he should be perceiued, and to ioin himself with *Lucilius*. This had so good succes, that being ioined together vnperceiued of the enemy, they charged vpon him behind vnlooked for, wherwith he being afraid betook him to flight. This bickering gaue the emperor leisure to passe his army in boats, and to obtain the further bank. Sometimes halt is made to take the enemy vnprouided, and out of aray, to astonish him and to break the order of his battel, as *Henrie* the bastard of Castile did against his lawfull brother *don Peter*, by the aduice of *Bertrand of Guesclin*. For he saw he had but few men, and considered that if *don Peter* should haue come against him in battell, raunged in good order, he had not beene able to stand against him, by reason of the small number of men that he had to encounter so great a number of well trained souldiers, as *don Peter* brought with him. Therefore he set forward and led his men of war thick set and in good order before him, without any incling of his comming knowne to *don Peter*. And finding him out of aray, with his bands scattered here and there far from him, he discomfited him and put him to the woorst.

The policie of
Iulian in pas-
sing his army
ouer a riuier.

Marius was like to haue ben discomfited, by being taken after that sort vnprouided: and yet by another policy he tooke his enemies in a trip, in such sort as I will tell you. *Bocchus* and *Ingurtha* came to assault *Marius* vpon the suddaine ouer night, as he was retiring his armie into garrison. All that *Marius* could then doe, was but to get two little hills for his defence, very fit for the seating of a campe. And when he had retired himselfe thither to his aduantage, he let his enemies alone, who enuironed the two hills with great noise, and so passed forth the most part of that night. On the contrary part, the Romans made not any noise, but held themselues quiet. But when they perceiued that their enemies began to fall asleepe, and to take their rest, then *Marius* caused his men to issue out with great noise vpon the Moores and Getulians, of whom he slue a great number as they lay asleepe, and compelled the rest to forsake the place, and to go seeke another more sure at the fauour of the night: by means whereof he scaped that daunger. Sometimes men are afraid to giue battell, by reason of the aduantage of the place. In that case policie is to be vsed, as to take a higher ground than where the enemy lieth, as *Paulus Emilus* did against *Perseus* in Macedonie, and *Sylla* against *Tigranes*, and diuerse others of whom I haue spoken heretofore. For then must they either dislodge, or fight to their apparant losse. Or else he must draw them by some traine, as *Bertram* of *Guesclin* did the men of *Nauarre*, who seeing their armie in a high place of aduantage, and on the other side being aduertised that succour was coming to them; the next day, when he and all the army of France ranged in battell, had spent a great part of the day in the plaine, sore vexed with heate and trauel; he thought therefore that it was not for him to fight with them in a place of so great disaduantage. But forasmuch as he was sure, that the *Nauarrians* desired greatlie to come to encounter them, and yet that they would not leaue their strength: to draw them to battell, he made countenance to reure, so long

vntill

The policy of
Marius.

The policy of
Bertram of
Guesclin.

vntill the day began to decline, causing his armor, bagage, and pages to passe over a bridge, holding himselfe alwaies still in one quarter, to see what countenance the Nauarrians would make. And the better to conceale his pretence, he caused many of his men of armes to passe also. Anon one *John Iouell* a captaine of the Nauarrians, contrarie to the aduice of the captall of Buze, went downe the hill and led his men to the encounter, whom the captall of Buze followed and all the army after him. When the Frenchmen saw him in the plaine, they turned againe vpon the Nauarrians amaine, of whome in the end few or none escaped which were not either slaine or taken prisoners. Sometimes when a captaine commeth neere his enemies, he will not by and by giue battell, because his men are wearie of their way. But yet to hold his enemy in expectation, he keepeth his men a long while in battelray, as if he ment to come to handstrokes, and in the meane while maketh trenches: the which being done, he retireth his men faire and softly into them, lodging the hindermost first, and so successiuelie those that are next them one after another, whereat the enemy is astonished, to see the army of his aduersaries lodged safe within their trenches, as *Paulus Emilius* did against *Perseus*. For he made so faire a shew of encountering, and lodged his men so cunningly, that he had by little and little vndone his battell, and lodged his people in their campe well fortified, without any noise or hurlyburlye, ere his enemies had perceiued it. Yet doth it not follow, but that it may at some times be for a mans aduantage (though he be wearie and haue trauelled a long journey) to set vpon his enemies out of hand. But that must be when he is sure to find them out of order, as the countie of *Egnount* did to the Frenchmen neere vnto Graueling, and *Bertram* of *Guesclin* did to *don Peter* of Castile. *Timoleon* intending to fight with *Icetes*, who kept the way to Adrane, twentie leagues distant from Tauromenion, departed thence with all his armie, of purpose to bid him battell. The first day he made no great journey, but the next day he marched more speedlie. And when it drue towards euen-

A policy to pretend battell, and yet not to do it.

A policy to take the enemy vnprovidded.

tide, tidings was brought him that *Icetes* was but then newlie arriued afore *Adrane*, and was there incamped. Whereof the captains hearing, caused the foremost to stay to take their repast, that they might be the better disposed to fight. But *Timooleon* aduanced himselfe forward vnto them, and praied them not to do so, but to march on still, as speedilie as they could, that they might take their enemies out of order. And he himselfe marched foremost as if he had held the victorie in his hand, and so the residue followed him with like confidence. As soone as they came there, they charged vpon their enemies, whom they found all disarmed, and therefore they tooke them to their heeles as soone as they saw them come neere.

The Suiffers vsed the like policie against the Frenchmen, when they had raised the siege of *Paue*, taking them suddainlie vnprovided and not intrrenched. But (as I haue said) this maner of dealing is verie daungerous, if a man be not sure that he shall find his enemies out of order. It was one of the faults that the Frenchmen committed at the battell of *Cressie*, in that they hauing trauelled six leagues, did giue battell to the Englishmen that were fresh and lodged at aduantage. For the Frenchmen were tired and weary, and had the sunne vpon their faces, and had marched in great disorder. In respect whereof, they should haue intrrenched themselues as *Paulus Emilius* did, to the end they might haue had leisure to take breath and gather their strength againe; and to vnderstand of their enemies behavior, and to take aduantage as well as they, and to tary for the rest of their power that was comming after. For the next day after the battell, they also were discomfited, and a seuen thousand of them were slaine, which had the battell ben delaied till the next morrow, would haue ben a maruellous succour to the rest of the armie, and haue helped at need to re-unite the armie when they were broken; as the souldiers of the earle of *Mountfort* did, after that the Frenchmen had discomfited them before *Roche Darien*. For by and by they gathered them-

The danger
of hasting too
much to giue
battell.

themselves together againe to the lord of Cadudall, who coming then newly with a hundred men of armes and certaine footmen, went by the sunne rising to the campe of *Charles des Bloys*, (who doubting nothing because hee had gotten the victory, slept & tooke his rest:) and finding him in that disorder, did put his mento the vtterance, and caried him away prisoner to Hannibout. Sometime in fighting a battell, a man hath the sunne full in his eyes. To auoid this danger, *Paulus Emilius* was so long a raunging his men in battell, that by the time that the battells should ioine, he had the sun vpon his backe. *Marius* vsed the like policie against the Cimbrians, and *Philip Augustus* against the Flemmings. At the battell of Cannas, *Hanniball* helped himselfe both with the sunne and the wind, and thereby chiefly wan he the battell. There blew a mightie strong and boistrous wind like a tempest of thunder and lightning, which raised the parched dust from the sandie plaine as hote as fire, and driuing it through the battell of the Carthaginenses, strake it ful into the faces and eyes of the Romans with such violence, that they were enforced to cast their heads backe, and to disorder their ranks.

The seeking of
aduantage to
fight safely.

Themistocles being determined to fight with *Xerxes* king of Persia vpon the sea, chose a strait and narrow place, that hee might the better reuenge himselfe agaynst the multitude of the kings shippes: and moreouer waited the time most fit and fauourable for his purpose. For hee raunged not his shippes in order of battell, afore a certaine houre; when a great wind was woont to rise vpon the sea-coast, which raised great waues in the channell. Now this wind did no displeasure to the Greeke gallies, because they were low, but it did great annoyance to the Persian ships, which had their hatches high, and their fore-decks raised high, for it made their flankes to lie open continually to the Greekes, who went and dashed lightly against them. The Athenians did the like vnder the leading of *Themisto* against the Peloponnesians. The Athenians had but twentie shippes to keepe Naupact, and those were

but illfurnished to fight vpon the sea, and the Peloponnesians had seuen and fortie well furnished, by reason whereof they stucked not to make their vagaries all alongst the coast of Epyrus, to passe ouer into Acarnania. Neuerthelesse, they were pursued by the Athenians, who compelled them to raunge themselues in bartell, and to fight in the middest of a strait, where for the better fortifying of themselues, and to stoppe the Athenians from issuing out, they raunged their ships in a ring, with their noses outward, and their sternes inward: and in the middes of the ring they placed their small and light vessels, to set them out vpon their enemies when time should require. As for the Athenians, they set their ships all in a row, enuironing the ships of their enemies, and pretending yet more. But *Thormio* had charged them not to fight, vntill he had giuen them a token, assuring himselfe that when the land-wind arose, which began to blow in the morning, the ships of the Peloponnesians would dash one against another. Now as soone as the wind began to blow, the ships fell to iustling in deed: and specially those that were in the middest, being the lighter sort, did great anoyance to the rest: insomuch that they were al occupied in setting planks before their ships, for feare of dashing. And there was so great a crie and disorder among the Peloponnesians, that they could not heare the commaundement of their captaines. Which thing when *Phormio* saw, he gaue a token of battell to the Athenians, who charging lustily vpon them, battered and sunke the first that they encountered, and put the residue to flight.

To come vpon
the enemy
behind, while
he is fighting.

Sometimes a companie of men are kept out of the battel, and are commaunded to set vpon the enemies behind in the heat of the battell, to put them in feare, and to make them breake their array. When *Torsus* was to giue battell to the Romans, he drew aside three hundred men of his armie, and gaue them commaundement, that in the fiercest of the battell, they should charge vpon the Romans behind. Which thing they did so fitly, that the Romans thinking them to be a farre greater number than they were, betooke themselves

selues to flight. *Agnes* a Roman captaine, seeing *Zellisarius* readie to giue battell to the Persians, bestowed himselfe with his men couertly in a valley, and when they were well forward at the battell, he mounted vp a little hill, and taking the Persians vnawares behind, did easily put them to flight. When *Marius* was about to fight with the Dutchmen, he sent *Claudius Marcellus* out of the way, with three thousand footmen, willing him to keepe himselfe close, vntill he saw the Dutchmen tied to the fight with him, and then in the chiefe of the battell, to go charge vpon them behind. The which he did so fitly, that the Dutchmen feeling themselves assailed behind, were forced to turne head, and by that means falling in disorder, were all vanquished. *John* duke of Burgoine, in the battell of *Tongres*, sent a thousand footmen, and five hundred horsemen, to assaile his enemies on their backes in the chiefe of the fight: Which thing when *Pieranes* would haue provided for aforehand, by sending a companie of chosen men to encounter them; the common people would not permit him, and so they felt the smart of their wilfulnesse.

As touching the ordering of an armie, it is done by the eie, according to the aduertiments that are had of the enemy, and after as he is seene to be disposed. Now to giue a certain rule thereof, it is vnpossible; neither is it my intent, but onely to put in practise the auncient histories, and to put in writing the policies that haue beene vsed by men of old time. *Hanniball* that captain of singular experience, ordered his battell in such wise at *Cannas*, that he set the best men of their hands on the two sides, and filled vp the middest with the worser. The which two wings he caused to shoot themselves forth in a point, inioyning them that as soone as the Romans had broken the forefront, and pursued them as they retired backe, so as the middle of the battell came shrinking in, and bowing in compasse like a new moone, and that the Romans were come within it; then they should fall vpon them on either side, and inclose the in behind. Infomuch that the battell which at the beginning was in forme of a wedge, was at length

Diuers manners of ordering an armie.

in forme of a Cressant, which was a cause of the great slaughter. The constable of Clisson vsed almost the same fashion, at the battell of Rosebecke. He led his host diuided in three parts; a vaungard, a maine-battell, and a rereward, and all three neere one another. But when they began to approach, they stepped forth into wings, so as the middleward was somewhat shrunke in, and drawne backer: but the men of armes that were in the wings fell to it so furiously, that the Flemings were not able to follow them that were in the battell, insomuch that it set it selfe in strength againe, and the Flemings being cooped in betweene the three battells, lost almost five and twentie thousand of their men. *Anurat* did the like at Nicopolis. For he caused his two wings to aduance forward, wherein hee had almost threescore thousand men, and set himselfe well closed in the bulcke of the battell, sending eight thousand men afore to skirmish, and to keepe his armie from being discovered, whom he commaunded, that when they were assailed by the Christians, they should retire to the bodie of the battell. The which thing they did so fitly, that the Frenchmen which were in the vaward were inclosed on all sides, and the most part of them slaine or taken, and the rest were driuen to flee, to their great losse. But he that doth this, must haue a great number of men. For it is a dangerous matter to enlarge the ranks, when a man hath but few men, because that thereby he maketh them the thinner, and consequently the easier to be broken. For there is no force like to the force of them that fight close set, for they giue the lesse scope to enter into their ranks. *Paulus Emilius* woon the battel against *Perseus* by this policie: He saw it was not possible for him to worke any thing against the maine battell of the Macedonians. In this despaire he fell to viewing wistly the seat of the enemies campe. And perceiuing that the field where they fought was not plaine, ne lay whole together, he considered that the battell which was lodged formost, could not alwaies maintaine that hedge of pikes and of targets ioyning together, but that by fine force they should be compelled to

open

The ranks
must not be
inlarged
where is but
few men.

open in many places, as it falleth out in all great battels, according to the inforcement of them that fight against them, so as in one place they thrust themselves forward, and in another they be driven backe. Wherefore *Emylius* taking suddenly this occasion, diuided his men into small troopes, appointing them to take vp the places which they found emptie at the front of the battell of their enemies, and so to ioine themselves vnto the, not by maintaining a continual charge vpon the, but by setting vpon them here and there, in diuers places at once by diuers companies. According to this commandment deliuered to the captains from hand to hand, the Romans slipped immediatly into places which they found emptie or ill garded, and being entered in, assailed the Macedonians, some vpon the sides where they were naked and bare, and other some behind, in such sort that the strength of the whole bodie of their battell, which consisted in holding themselves close together, was by and by defeated by being opened after that maner. But to come backe againe to our purpose. When a generall hath but few men, he must choose narrow places, that he may be able to resist many, and not be inclosed about by a great number. For, to do so with a great number of men is vnauitable, yea and sometimes noysome. It was the first mischiefe that *Darius* receaued at the hand of *Alexander*. His wisest men councelled him to tarrie for *Alexander* in a plaine and open cuntry, seeing he had a desire to fight with him, and not to go seeke him in Cilicia, in strait and narrow places, where if he tooke him in the straits, his armie would stand him in no stead to fight, so pent vp. But he not crediting that wholesome counsell, found too late, that a great armie ought alwayes to choose a large place, where a man may with his great number enclose his enemy, which he cannot do in a narrow roome. And so shall the horsemen fight at their ease, whereas in a narrow cuntry full of hedges, they can do no good at all. This was a lesson that *Xanrippis* a captaine of the Lacedemonians taught to the Carthagenenses.

A meane to
open a battel.

What is to be
done when a
generall hath
but few men.

A great armie
must not
chuse a hill-
ground, but
a plain cham-
pion.

Although.

Although the Carthagenenses had a goodly great armie, good footmen, & great store of horsemen: yet were they euer vanquished by the Romans. At length they tooke this *Xantippus* to be their generall, that had the report to be a good captaine. Who hauing considered their warlike furniture, maruelled that they encamped in the mountains, hauing so many elephants, and horsemen, and that they did not rather keepe the plaines, which without comparison was most for their aduantage, seeing that the force of the Romans consisted in footmen, and not in horsemen. Therefore he made them to come downe into the plaines, where he fought with the Romans and ouercame them, vnder their consull *Attilius Regulus*, who was there taken.

The policie of
captaine
Peliman.

A battell oft times is so well ordered on all sides, that there is no way to enter into it. In such case a man must seeke the weakest places, as I haue said already, or else vse the policie of captaine *Peliman*, who to make his men the forwarder in assailing the Macedonians, tooke the Antsigne of his band, and threw it into the thickest of his enemies: whereupon his men pressed with great violence after it, because they esteemed it a great dishonour to abandon and forsake their Antsigne. But yet notwithstanding all was in vaine, and to their losse; because the Macedonians were so fast linked together, and held their pikes so steddie, that it was vnpossible to remoue them.

To reassemble
an armie that
goeth by the
worde.

When an armie goeth by the worde, or is readie to breake their array, the presence of the generall is maruellously behooffull, to make them returne to the fight againe, by his encouragement, or by fighting afore them in his own person. For when they see their generall in daunger, they be ashamed to leaue him without fighting for him. So did *Sylla* against *Mithridates*. For when he saw his armie almost defeated; he cast himselfe a crosse them that fled, vntill he found his enemies, crying, Ye souldiers of Rome, mine honour willett me to die here. And therefore whensoever ye shall be asked where ye haue abandoned your captaine, remember that ye

ye answer, ye forsooke him in Orchomene. Whereat they were so ashamed, that suddenly they turned their faces again, and wan the field.

Julius Caesar being in the like perill in Spaine against the *Pompeyes*, said vnto his men, Seeing ye forsake me thus, deliuer me by and by into the hands of *Pompeyes* sonnes. The which saying made them for verie shame to returne into the battell, the which they woon in the end. At another time he caught the standard out of the standard-bearers hand that fled, and made him to returne, saying, It is here my souldier, it is here that we must fight. *Julian* the emperour seeing certain men flee at the beginning of a battel, caused ten of them that first fled to be put to death, to the intent that the residue, for feare of the daunger that was behind, should fight valiantly, seeing the perill was greater in fleeing than in fighting. *Charles Martell* did the like against the Sarzins; for he appointed certaine men, to do nothing else but to kill such as fled backe. And besides that, he did them to vnderstand, that the gates of Towers were shut, and that they should not be opened for any misfortune that befell. Sometimes, to tempt and allure souldiers, men offer them a prey or bootie, that by being eagre of it, they may breake their aray, as *Charles* the eight did at Foronouo by the counsell of *Trinulce*. For he made all the baggage of the campe to march on the left hand where were all the kings costly Jewels. The which thing whē the Albanois espied, by and by they flang out to that part, killing and ouerthrowing the muleters and pages that made countenance of defence. The foormen perceiuing how the Albanois made spoile, ran thither also, so as it put the armie of the Italians quite out of order, and ministred the more occasion to king *Charles*, to compasse his matters well. To remedie the matter that a man be not surprisid behind, whether it be in assaulting a town, or in giuing battel: he must leaue some men of purpose to abide that brunt, which must intend to that and nothing else; or else he must do as *Demetrius* or *Sertorius* did. When *Sertorius* had laid siege to the towne of Lauron,

To tempt an
armie with
desire of prey.

To let or im-
peach the as-
sailing of an
army behind.

Pompey.

Pompey went thither in great hast to succour it. Neere vnto the citie was a little hill to lodge a campe in, and to annoy the towns-men. By means whereof, the one hasted thither to win it, and the other hasted to keepe it. But *Sertorius* came thither first and tooke it. And anon after *Pompey* came thitoo, who was well apaid that it had so come to passe; thinking to hold *Sertorius* pent vp betweene the citie and his armie. But hee was greatly astonished, when he saw the six thousand of men well armed, whom *Sertorius* had left in the campe whence he departed, to the intent that if *Pompey* came to assaile him, they should sit vpon his skirts. Which thing *Pompey* perceyuing, durst not offer battell, but was constrained to see the towne destroyed before his eyes, and was not able to rescue it.

Ptolomie was deceiued after the like maner. For when he had his armie on the sea readie to encounter *Demetrius*, he gaue his brother *Meneleus* charge, that when he saw them grappled to come to hand-strokes, and that they were busiest in fight, he should set out of the hauen of Salamis, and come set vpon *Demetrius* shippes behind, to scatter them and to breake their aray, with threescore gallies, whereof he had the leading. But *Demetrius* hauing prouided for it aforehand, had appointed ten gallies to stop him, thinking them enow to shut vp the mouth of the hauen that was small and narrow, so as none that were within it could get out. By reason whereof being sure behind, he charged so stoutly vpon *Ptolomie*, that he discomfited him.

When the enemy knoweth that a captaine vseth an ordinarie maner of ordering his battels after one fashion, he ordereth his owne after the same maner. But to beguile him, he must do as *Cornelius Scipio* did in Spaine against *Hastdruball*: who knowing that his enemy was aduertised, that he was wont to place his best souldiers in the midst of the front of his battels, and the worst behind; and doubting least *Hastdruball* would do the like, altered his order in the day of the battell. For he set his best souldiers in the corners of his armie

To beguile
the enemy
in ordering
of ones bat. cl.

armie, and the worser fort in the middest. And when it came to the onset, *Scipio* caused the souldiers of the middle part to march softly, and the two wings to aduance forwarder, who encountering with men of lesse experience, did easily overmatch them. In the which time, those of the two middlewards, which on *Asdrubals* side were the chiefest men, and on *Scipios* side the woorst of his armie were but beholders of the others. By means whereof *Asdruball* was easilie defeated by the Romans.

At the battell of Tongres, when the lord of Pieranes saw the duke of Burgoyne send fiftene hundred men on his back, he altered the forme of his battell, which was pointed triangle-wise, and brought it into a square, setting his horsemen and shot hindermost, to withstand them that were comming behind, and fencing the sides with cariages, by reason whereof he had gone away that day with the victorie, if he had had men that had beene good warriours, and well trayned. But the want of them both, made him to lose both the battell and his life. When the generall of an armie hath too few horsemen, he must set some company of pikemen behind them, and now we may set harquebuzers that are accustomed to fight with horsemen, as *Iulius Caesar* did at the battell of Pharsalie against *Pompey*. For hauing set forth the best and most practised legionarie souldiers that he had, he was suddenly assailed with a great companie of yong Roman gentlemen on horsebacke. To whom when his horsemen had giuen place, they came vpon those old fellowes, who flung their iauclings full in their faces. Whereat the yong gentlemen being astonied, turned themselves by and by to flight.

When a man hath few horsemen.

Sometime to beguile the enemy, a captaine makes his armie to seeme lesse than it is, that the enemy may be the bolder to fight: or else he causeth a brute to be raised, that he hath sent a part of his armie abroad, which he hath not done in deed; by either of which waies manie haue beene deceiued. One armie was sent afore against *Asdruball*, who was come downe into Italic with a great puissance: and in an

To beguile the enemy by pretending weaknesse.

other

other part *Nero* the consull had another armie neer vnto *Hanniball*, and to his seeming well rampired and fortified. *Nero* departed secretly with the most part of his power, and went to ioine in campe with his fellow consull, without increasing the number of Antsignes, so as the campe appeared not to be any greater than it was woont to be. This beguiled the Carthagenenses: who finding greater force than they looked for, were all vanquished. As much befell to *Curio* in Affricke, against *Iuba* king of Mauritania. For the king made a report to be blowne abroad, that he was fore encombered in his owne countrie, and that he had sent but some small number of his men thither; and yet in deed he marched himselfe with his whole armie. But he had sent the said former band a good while afore, and he himselfe came speedily after with his whole power. Whereby *Curio* being deceiued, gaue him battell: Then was he greatly abashed to see his enemies continually succoured with fresh men, and their armie still increasing to the eie, so that in the end he was ouercome. *Ferdinand* king of Naples, being aduertised that the lord of Aubney was but feeble, gaue him battell vpon a iolitic of courage, without further enquiring, and was as brauely receiued by the lord Awbney, who had ioyned vnto his owne the forces of the lord of Precie, and so with those forces together encountered king *Ferdinand*.

Cato's policie.

While *Cato* was in Spaine, ambassadors were sent vnto him from a citie that was besieged, to demaund succour of him. *Cato* graunted them their demaund, & causing the third part of his armie to be imbarked in their sight, dispatched them away, with charge that they should giue notice what succours were sent to them. But as soone as the ambassadors were gone, he secretly caused his imbarked men to come backe againe. The Spaniards thereupon thinking they should haue had to do but with a few Romans, came boldly to bid them battall; but they were ouercome for their labour. Diuerse times when a captaine hath but few men in comparison of his enemy, he will pretend a feare, to make his enemy the more carelesse.

A false pretence of feare.

And

And when he perceiueth him to be so, then aduentureth he to take him vnpurueied, as *Lisander* did the Athenians. Who perceiuing himselfe vnable to match them in strength, rode at anchor in a streit neere to the citie Lampfacum, after he had taken it by assault. The Athenians on the other side, came with great speed into the bay of Sestros, and when they had refreshed themselues with food, they presented themselues to the gallies of Lacedemon, wherof *Lisander* had the gouernment; who on his side ranged his men in order of battel, but he forbad them to fight or to row out against the Athenians. Who retiring themselues towards night, went a land, wherof *Lisander* was informed by such as he had sent after them to marke their demeanor. The next day they did as much, and so the third and fourth daies: insomuch that the Athenians conceiued a great confidence in themselues, and a great disdain of the Lacedemonians, thinking that their keeping of themselues so pent vp, was for very feare. The fift day when the Athenians hauing made the like offer of a battell to their enemies, were retired towards the euening in disorder: *Lisander* sent certain Galjots after them to note their behauiour, commanding the captains of them, that as soone as they saw the Athenians out of their gallies, they should returne to him with all speed possible: and that when they were in the midst of the streit, they should heaue vp a copper shield a high into the aire vpon the point of a pike, as a token to make the whole fleet to come rowing in battelray. By reason whereof, as soone as the shield was lifted vp, *Lisander* hauing all his men in a readines, and being not past one league off from the Athenians, made faile so swiftly in the smooth sea, that the Athenians had no leisure to take their weapons and to put themselues into their gallies, because their souldiers were scattered abroad, some gone to buy vittels, some to supper, some to walking in the fields, and some to sleepe, no man doubting that which happened; insomuch that of nine and twenty gallies, only nine escaped, the which *Conon* saued by swiftnes when he perceiued the disorder: and of this vnfortunat aduenture ensued the vt-

ter ruine of the Athenians. *Iulius Casar* being come but with seuen thousand men in great hast to rescue *Quintus Cicero*, that was besieged by threescore thousand Gaules, was greatly abashed when he saw all the Gaules vpon him, who had left their siege to come against him. By reason whereof he was faine to retire, and to put himselfe into a place fit for a capitaine, which with a few men was to fight against a great number of enemies, forbidding his souldiers to go out to skirmish in any case, and compelling them to heighthen the rampires of their camp, and to fortifie their ports as men that were afraid, to the intent that their enemies should haue them in the more disdain, vntill such time as one day he spied a fit occasion by their disorderly comming to assaile the trenches of his campe, and then he made a salie out vpon them, and put them all to flight, with the slaughter of a very great number of their men. Sometime to deceiue the enemy a capitaine makes his army to seeme greater than it is; As when he raungeth his souldiers, his pioners, and all other sorts of people in battell, vpon the side of a hill, and on the other side setteth his varlets and lackeies on horsebacke with the men of arms, so as it maketh a long and terrible hedge to looke on. King *Ferdinand* vsed that policie, to keepe the lord of Presy from winning the rock of Naples. For he chose a place by the which the French men must needs passe, and there did set his army and fortifie his campe. For he ment not to put any thing in hazard, because he had twice already had prooffe of the valeanties of the Frenchmen, to his very great disaduantage, and the losse of his men. And as he was a making his trenches, the Frenchmen shewed themselues to his Arragonians; which thing made them to leaue their worke, and to put themselues in array ready to giue battel. And therewith he caused the pezants to be armed, so that all the hills glistered of the troopes of them. And below, the host of the Arragonians was imparked in a strong place vneasie to be approached, which thing caused the French army to stop short, and not to hazard the battell, least they should be too few in respect of their enemies.

Antonie

To make an
army seeme
greater than
it is.

Antonie fearing least *Octavian* that was comming against him with his army by sea, should seaze vpon his ships, (which were vtterly vnfurnished of men of war) if he came to the encounter: made the gallislaues to arriue there, and set thē in order of battell vpon the hatches of his ships, and afterward caused all the rowes of oares to be pitched vp an end and set vpright into the aire on either side of the gallies, with their prowes bent against *Octavian*s gallies, at the enterance of the gulfe that be-ginneth at the point of *Actium*. And he held them so in order of battel, as if they had ben furnished as well with men of war to haue abidden battell, as with rowers. Wherefore *Cesar* being deceiued by that sleight of war, retired. *Hugh* of Moncada viceroy of Naples, and *Gobby* an expert and famous captaine of seamatters, intending to giue battell on the sea to the Frenchmen, that were at Naples vnder the conduct of *Phillippin Deree*, caused many fisherboats to be added to their gallies, to amase their enemies withall. But yet this trick was no impediment, but that *Phillippin* wan the battell. *Agésilas*, to hide the flight of such as had robbed him in his camp to go with the Thebans, and to keep his men from being discouraged therat; concealed them as much as he could; and for the doing thereof, ordained that euery morning when they went to visit the straw beds of the soldiers, they should hide the stuffe of them that were gone thether.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the pursuing of victorie.

When the enimie is put to flight, the chiefe thing that the generall hath to do, is to pursue his enemy with all speed, that he may astonish him the more, and not to giue him respite to resolue himselfe what to do. *Julius Cesar* excelled in that point; for he neuer woon battell, but he tooke his enemies campe the same day.

Of the pursuing of victorie.

Alexander neuer left to pursue *Darius*, vntill he saw him quiet in his owne country. On the contrary part, this only fault is noted in *Hannibal*, that he pursued not his victory after the battel of Cannas, by going to besiege Rome then vtterly dismaied with the present losse. Insomuch that one said vnto him, He could well skill to get the victory, but not to vse it. *Aetius* was reprobued for doing the like fault, when he would not proceed to make a cleane dispatch of *Attila*, as he might easily haue done. But he feared least if *Attila* were dispatched, he should haue to do with the Goths, when they once perceiued themselves to be rid of such a common enemy. *Lewis* of Aniou won a battell in the realme of Naples, wherein he discomfited his competitor *Ladislaus*. And it is said that if he had pursued that victory without suffering *Ladislaus* to take breath, he had continued lord of the realme, the which he forwent for want of doing so. The which thing *Ladislaus* himselfe confessed saying, that the first day of the battell, his enemies had ben maisters both of his person and of his kingdome, if they had done their dutie; that the second day they had ben maisters of his kingdome, but not of his person, if they had pursued the victory; and that the 3 day they had not any power, either ouer his person or ouer his kingdome. Also in chasing the enemy, a man must be well ware that he cast not himselfe into danger, as it befell to *Monsieur de Foys* at Rauenna. The Achaians hauing ouerthrowne the Lacedemonians in battell, would needs follow the victory. And among others, *Lysidas* pursued the chase among the men of armes, contrarie to the counsell of *Aratus*, generall of the Achaians, who would not permit his men to passe further, because of a great and deepe bog which they were to passe, and for that the way forth on was vneuen and ill ioined together, which thing *Lysidas* found true to his owne harme. For when he was come thither, he found himselfe in a place full of vines, wals, and ditches, where he was constrained to disseuer his people, whence he could not get out again. The which gaue occasion to *Cleomenes* king of the Lacedemonians, to charge vpon him, to kill him, & to discōfit all his men. And
this

Men must not
be too what
in following a
chase.

this victorie made the Lacedemonians to take such courage again vnto them, that returning back they gaue a fresh charge vpon the Achaians, whom it was easie to defeat, because the one halfe of their power was gone from them. *Demetrius* hauing discomfited a wing of his enemies, chased them so far, that he could not win again with his footmen; by reason wherof they being destitute of their horsmen, were all discomfited. *Philopemen* perceiving that *Machauidas* the tirant of the Lacedemonians, had put his archers to flight at the beginning of the battell, determined to let him passe on without resisting him. And when he saw that the horsmen of *Machauidas* were far enough off from his footmen; he made his men to march against the Lacedemonians, whose flanks were then bare of horsmen, and charging vpon the side of them, did put them to flight with a very great slaughter. The which being done, he met suddainly with *Machauidas* coming back from the chase and thinking to win all: and slue him as he would haue leaped a ditch. The same *Philopemen* did much better, when he had put the army of the tirant *Nabis* to flight. For when he saw his enemies fled, not all on a heape towards the citie, but scattered themselues here and there abroad in the fields, he sounded the retreat, forbidding his men to chase them any further, because the countrie thereabouts was full of couert waies, and vneasie for horsmen, by reason of brookes, vallies, and quagmires which it behoued them to passe. But suspecting that towards the euentide when it began to wax dim, they would retire into the citie one by one, he sent a number of archers to lie in ambush alongst the coasts and hils that are about the citie, who made a great slaughter of *Nabis*'s men, because they retured not in troope, but one by one, and went to put themselves into the hands of the archers, like silie birds that flee into the foulders net. *Iulius Caesar* regarded not to chase the horsmen whom he had put to flight in the battell of Pharsalie, but went on to charge vpon the battell of footmen, as more easie to compass about and to inclose, who being assayled on the flanke by those that had foled the horsmen, and on

How victory is
to be used.

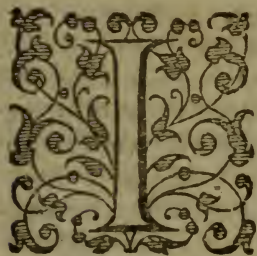
The danger of
fighting with
folk in des-
paire.

the front by the tenth legion, could not long stand and make head, but cleane contrary to all their hopes, saw that by seeking to intangle their enemies, they brought themselves into the briers. Sometimes it is neither good nor expedient to pursue the enemy too much, but rather to make them a bridge of siluer to passe away apace, least despaire drive them to aduventure & to get the victory. For as *Jornand* saith, Easily doth he resolute himselfe to fight, which hath no means to flie away; as befell to the Goths against *Stillico*, and to the prince of Wales against king *Iohn*, who would not admit any reasonable composition. For there is not so dangerous a thing, as the driving of a man into despaire. That was the cause that *Themistocles*, after he had gotten the victorie against *Xerxes*, in the battell vpon the sea at Salamis, would not trie his power any further in fighting with him any more, but rather sent one of the groomes of the kings chamber whom he had taken prisoner, to aduertise the king that the Greeks were resolute, to breake the bridge of shippes which he had made ouer the streit of Hellespont. Whereof he was very willing to aduertise him, to the intent that in good time, he might withdraw himselfe out of the seas of his territorie, and passe ouer again into Asia with all speed possible, in the meane time that he withheld the residue from pursuing him, whereof *Xerxes* was so afraid, that he departed with all the hast he could. *Paul*, a Romane captaine, perceiuing that he could not hold out against the power of *Totilas*, determined to make a salie out, and to sell his life as deare as he could. But *Totilas* dreading this despaire of his, graunted him reasonable conditions, that is to wit, either to giue him entertainment to serue him, or to go home into his owne countrie with all his souldiers; for he would not lose his people against men that were desperat. The Venetians at Foronouo would not stop the way of king *Charles*; but let him go and returne home at his ease; fearing least through necessitie turned into despaire, he should make himselfe way with great blood shed, of those which vndiscretly would haue stopped him. Notwithstanding, the Italians and Spani-

Spaniards being caried away with the contrarie counfel, found to their exceeding great losse, how dangerous a matter it is to hold backe an armie that is desperat, and driuen by necessitie to fight.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the retiring of an armie, and how to saue it when it is in a place of disaduantage.



T happeneth sometimes that an armie, either through the default of the guides, or otherwise, lightheth into such a place, as it standeth them on hand to retire speedilie, if they will not be foyled. In this case the captaine is to vse policie and quicknesse, as *Hanniball* did, who being come into the bottome of a sacke by the ouersight of his guides; to scape the daunger wherein he was, because he had *Fabius* at his side, who would haue starued him for hunger, or made him to fight to his great disaduantage; chose out a thousand oxen, and tied to euerie of their hornes a fagot of willow and of vine twigs; commaunding them that had the charge, that in the night time when he should lift them vp a token in the aire, they should set the fagots on fire, and driue the oxen vp the hill, towards the passage which the Romans had seized. He for his part had set his men in order of battel, and as soone as night was come, he made them to march a ley surely pace. Now so long as the fire that burned the fagots vpon the oxens hornes was but small, the oxen went faire and easily vp the foot of the hill, like as it had bene an armie marching in aray with torches lighted. But when the fire once burned the roots of their hornes, then

The policie of
Hanniball.

Of the retiring of an armie.

they began to push one another, and to run here and there over the hills for the paine that they felt. This did so astonish the Romans that kept the passage, for feare least they should be beset, that they durst not tarie at the passage where they were appointed, but leaving the straits fell to fleeing towards their campe. By means whereof, anon the vauntcurrors of *Hanniball* tooke the passage, wheréat he passed all his host without feare or perill. *Brasidas* being charged by the Illirians, and intending to retire, did cast his armie into a square, and made them to march on so in good order, and he himselfe tarried behind with three hundred of the best and forwardest souldiers of his armie, to abide the snocke of the foreriders. When he was in the plaine, he bethought himself that there was but one narrow passage, whereby he might saue himselfe, which was betweene two rocks, whereof the Illirians had begun to take possession. Which thing when *Brasidas* saw, he commanded his three hundred men that were with him, to run with al the hast they could, to seaze the strongest of those two rocks, afore the Illirians were assembled in greater number. The which thing they did so readily and cunningly, that they draue the Illirians thence, and by that means passed their armie in safetic.

The policie of
Quintus.

Quintus vsed another sleight to scape another daunger wherein he was, when he saw himselfe hemmed in on all sides by his enemies. And this it was. He sent a cornet of Numidians to skirmish with them: who plaid their part so well, that one while approaching them, and another while recoiling, they deceiued their wards, and hauing so done fell to pilling and wasting the countrie, which was the cause that the enemies drawing backe their garrison to chase the Numidian forragers, gaue leasure to the Romans to scape the daunger wherein they were. *Epaninondas*, to turne away *Agesslaus*, and to keepe him from succouring the Mantineans, to the rescue of whom he was come with all his power: departed from Tegoea one night, without any inckling thereof to the Mantineans, and went straight to Sparta by another way than *Agesslaus*

Lais came, inſomuch that he had ſurprized the citie Sparta afore they had any aduertifement of his comming. This feate cauſed *Ageſilaw* to leaue the Mantineans, and to returne to Sparta in great haſt. *Artaxerxes* being entred verie vnaduiſedly into the countrie of the Caduſſians, where he was like to ſterue for hunger, was beſet by two kings, that had their armies incaped aſunder the one frō the other. Now *Tiribaſus* hauing talked with king *Artaxerxes*, & hauing made him priuie what he ment to do, went vnto the one of thoſe kings himſelf, and ſent his ſonne ſecretly to the other the ſame time, doing either of them to vnderſtand, that his fellow had ſent vnto *Artaxerxes* to deſire peace in deceit of his companion. And therefore (quoth he) if you be wiſe, ye muſt get the forehand, and make ſpeed afore the treatie be concluded, and for my part I will helpe you what I can. Both the kings beleued his words, either of them thinking that his companion had maligned him; inſomuch that the one of them, ſent his ambaffadors vnto *Artaxerxes* immediatly with *Tiribaſus*, and the other likewiſe with his ſonne, and ſo was peace concluded betwixt them.

The policie of
Artaxerxes.

Eumenes alſo auoided a great danger, by a readie ſhift. His ſouldiers had ſet theſelues at large to paſſe the winter, againſt his will, and held almoſt threecore leagues of the countrie in length. *Antigonus* being aduertised thereof, determined to ouerrunne them, when they nothing ſuſpected it, thinking it had bene hard to haue aſſembled them together in ſmall time. And to go vnperceiued, he tooke a rough and clendge way. But he was encountered with ſo hideous winds, and ſo great cold, that his men were conſtrained to reſt themſelues, and to make prouiſion againſt the rigour of the ſeaſon. For the doing wherof they kindled great ſtore of fires to warme them, the which being perceiued by thoſe that were neceſt, gaue warning thereof immediatly to the garrifons who were further off from them, whereat they were all afraid. But *Eumenes* appeaſed this great feare by and by, in promiſing them that he would ſtop and ſtay that ſodaine ſurpriſe, ſo as their enemies

The policie of
Eumenes.

Of the concealing of a mans feare.

mies should be three dayes later in comming than they were looked for. Thereupon he commaunded his captains, to assemble their souldiers into a place certaine, and in the meane while he himselfe went to choose a place meet to encampe in, that might be plainly seene, vpon the top of a mountaine where his enemy should passe, in comming on the side of the wildernesse. Then fortified hee his trenches, and departed them in foure quarters, wherein he made good store of fires, in such distance one from another, as are wont to be made in a campe. This was no sooner done, but *Antigonus* came vnder the hill, who perceiuing the fires all along, was greatly displeas'd thereat, thinking that his enemies had been aduertised of his comming long afore, and that they were come to meet him. Wherefore fearing least he should be compelled, to come to battell with them being fresh & well rested, whereas his men were wearie and halfe tired: he returned home an easter way. In the meane while *Eumenes* gathered his men together at his leisure. Sometime a generall of a campe dissembleth his flight, and dislodgeth so secretly in the night, that his enemies are not ware of it till it be too late, as king *Francis* the first did, after he had vittailed *Launderssey*. And in this case he must make fires after the accustomed maner, and in such sort as they may not go out of a long time: he must set vp men of straw in the trēches with some motions, he must lay trunchiōs and bats of wood along the rampire, & leaue matches burning, as the marshall of *Fois* did at *Parma*, to the end it may be thought a far off, that they be harquebusses, & such like conceits as a mā may deuise. But the thing that may most deceiue the enemy, is the leauing of some horsmen to come last away, to occupie the vauntcurrors, in case that any be sent out to follow the taile of the host. But if the retireit be made by day, the daunger is far the greater, as saith *Bellay* in his *Warlike discipline*; because that when a generall retireth without fighting, he abateth the courage of his owne men, and giueth heart to his enemies. For they that haue determined with themselues not to fight, and see their enemies charging vpon them, are

in

The retiring by day is dangerous.

in extreame feare, and do not any thing of value, as befell to the Frenchmen at Saint Quintins, and to the Spaniards at Zerbes, in the yeare a thousand five hundred and seuen and fiftie. For in either of those discomfitures, were mōen vndone for not resoluing themselues to fight, than had beene if they had beene resolutely bent vnto it. The like hapned to *Cleon* chieftaine of the Athenians, against *Brasidas* chieftain of the Lacedemonians. *Cleon* went to view Amphipolis how to besiege it, not supposing that *Brasidas* would haue encountred him, neither had *Cleon* any desire that he should, because he had not his whole power with him, without the which he would not fight with him. But when he saw his enemies come vpon him to bid him battell, contrarie to his expectation, he gaue his men a token to retire, and so they did with al the hast they could. But when *Brasidas* saw his enemies begin to shrink, he had the more courage to presse vpon him. The which he did with such speed, that he ouercame him & got the victorie. He that will read the 11. chapter of the fift booke of Thucidides, shall find there a retreat, much resembling the retreat of the Frenchmen at Saint Quintins, and well neare a like discomfiture. Therefore a captaine must conceale from his souldiers, what feare he hath to fight, and giue them to vnderstand, that his retiring is not to eschue battell, but to draw his enemies into a more commodious place, and of more aduantage: and he must leaue some horsemen in the face of his enemies, as wel to hide the departure of his footmen, as also to stay such as come to skirmish with them: and in any wise he must take the places of aduantage and straits whereat his armie is to passe, as *Hanniball* did by the policie afore mentioned, to the intent that the strait be not an impediment of the passing of his armie, and that it may serue to stop the enemies that would thrust into it to pursue him. *Philopemen* seeing himselfe too weake, made his retreat after that maner in the sight of his enemies, and put himselfe among the hindermōst, to make head against the enemies, that his armie might march away the more safely. And turning often his face

vpon.

upon his enemies, he made them play so oft, that at last being farre disseuered from his troope, he was astonished to see himselfe alone, intangled on all sides among a great number of his enemies, and in the end after long fighting was taken prisoner. The Romans hauing beene well curried, by the Parthians, and considering that they were not strong inough for them, resolued to retire. But they retired in good order and leasurely, and fought valiantly when the Parthians came to trouble them, alwaies making head vpon the enemy. But when they came to the discending of any hills and mountains that were rough and steepe, they were distressed by the Parthians, with the shot of their arrows, and with their darts, because the Romans could not come downe but slowly step by step. Wherefore to saue themselues from those hail-stormes, they deuised this shift. The legionarie souldiers caried ordinarily great paueses, to couer those that were lightly armed. These they made to be set by them, and then kneeling downe on the ground with the one knee, they cast their paueses before the, and they of the second ranke couered the former sort with theirs, and the third ranke likewise couered the second, and so forth through out the rest, so as this maner of pausing and couering one another, was made like the rowes of tiles on the side of a house roofe, and (to see to) resembled the greeces of a Theatre, so as the shot of the arrowes did but glaunce ouer them. The Parthians seeing this behaiour of the Roman legionaries, thought they had been tired with trauell, and therupon couching their launces, approached euen to handstrokes. Then the Romans stept quickly vpon foot, and with their Iauelins slue the formost of them, and put the rest to flight.

When a battell is lost, the retreat is verie difficult, vnlesse there remaine a great surplusage of horsmen. For then may they retire making head, as the Swartruters did at the battell of Mouncounter, and the Spaniards at Rauenna. But commonly in a chase, euery man shifts for himselfe. And in this case the generall may vse dissimulation, when he knoweth that there is yet another power readie, as *Sertorius* did, who to procure

The policie of
the Romans.

How to saue
ones self when
a battell is lost.

procure meane of safe retire to his men that were disperpled, and to ioine them to a new power which he had caused to come, and to gather them all together at their ease, fled openly to a certame towne that was strongly situated, and fell in hand with fortifying it, as if he had ment to abide the siege there, for doubt least his enemies should come thither to find him out. The which they failed not to do. But as soone as he vnderstood that his people were in safetic, and the supplie of new force ready, he went out of the town to ioine his new forces together, with the which he came backe againe to find his enemies. Neuerthelesse, the retiring into a towne, except it be defensible, and well prouided of vittels, is verie dangerous. Yet notwithstanding, sometime a man is constrained to retire thither, because he hath none other place of refuge, as it befell to *Nectanebus* king of *Ægypt*, who was compelled to saue himselfe in a fortresse, wherein he was by and by besieged by the pursuers, who forthwith began to make trenches round about to keepe him in, by reason whereof *Nectanebus* would haue hazarded the small power that was left him, rather than yeeld himselfe by constraint of famin, if *Agessilaus* had not letted him. For he would haue no speech of fighting, vntill he saw the trenches almost finished, and that there was no great space betweene the two ends of them that they were not fully met together. And then he shewed *Nectanebus* how he might escape without daunger, because the trench should serue their turne, and be an impediment to the enemies, that the whole multitude of them should not runne vpon them at once, because it should gard them on euher side, and by that means they should match them with equall number. And in deed as soone as the euening was shut in, they marched in order of battell out at the gap that was not entrenched, and hauing foiled the first that encountered them, they saued themselves at ease.

Sometime a captaine saueh himselfe by the commodious feat of his campe, as *Agessilaus* did; who in accompanying *Nectanebus* king of *Ægypt*, was compelled to turne his backe

The policie of *Agessilaus* to scape out of a towne at the coming of his enemies.

A cawsey may serue for a retreat.

vpon

vpon his enimie and to flee. Neere vnto his campe was a maris with a narrow cawsey, cast vp on both sides with brode and deepe ditches full of running water. He turned so long to and fro in his flight, that at length he drew a great sort of the enemies that lay vpon his hand, vnto the said cawsey, the which he passed, and afterward vpon the midst therof he suddenly stopped their passage with the forefront of his battell, the which he made equall to the bredth of the cawsey, and thereby made the number of his people equall to the number of his enemies, because they could no more come about him, neither on the sides, nor behind: by means whereof, after he had fought a while, he put them all to flight. *Eumenes* being discomfited by *Antigonus*, and fleeing before him, tooke a path a little out of the way cleane contrarie to those that chased him, and trauelled so long, till he came againe to the field where the battell was fought. There he caused the bodies of his men that were slain in the battell, to be gathered vp and to be buried with the accustomed funerals, and also tooke him that had betraid him, whom he had pursued so freshly, that he gaue him no respite to retire to the enemies. And he might also haue taken all the stuffe and baggage of *Antigonus*, but that he thought it would be a let to his escaping.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of Ambushes.



ow must I speak of Ambushes, which diuerse times are the cause of the winning of a battell, and sometime of the taking of a citie, and are practised diuersly, after as the places and occasions are offered. *Hanniball* excelled all captaines in that feat, and neuer fought battell without laying some Ambush. I speake of the journey of *Trebia*, wherein he ouercame the Romans, by laying his brother *Mago* in ambush in a wood with ten thousand men, that the Romans might be assailed both before and behind,

Hanniball wan his victories by his well laying of ambushes.

hind, when they thought least of it. *Demosthenes* being generall of the Athenian armie, feareing to be inclosed by the Peloponnesians, who were farre stronger than he in number of men, sent four hundred men to lie in ambush, in a faire greene way that was ouergrowne with bushes, commanding them to breake out when the battell was begun, and to lay vpon their enemies with inaine blowes. As soone as the battell was once begun, and that the men which lay in stale, saw the Peloponnesians fetch about to haue inclosed the Athenians, they assailed them behind, so as they put them out of array, & finally to flight. When *Brasidas* discomfited the Athenians at Amphipolis, he kept a good sort of men in store, who were of the citie, to fall vpon the enemies when they were in the hottest of the battell, saying that they which come suddenly to a conflict, strike more fear and terror into them, than they that fight face to face. *Selim* woun the field of *Acomat* his elder brother, by means of an ambush. For afore the battell, he sent his brother in law *Camolis* with a thousand good horses, into a forrest neere hand, willing him to come out and assaile his enemies behind, when euerie man was most busie on all sides: and that onely thing woun him the battell. For *Acomat* being a valiant prince, entred violently euerie where with a few men, and began to ouerthrow *Selims* people: when suddenly *Camolis* came vpon him, and assailed his men behind, at such time as they fought best, and made them to turn towards him with great outcries. Then *Selims* footmen began to march close linked against *Acomat*. And *Selims* horsemen that were fled perceyuing that, returned to the battell, so as *Acomats* armie was enuironed on all sides, and cut in peeces.

Marius did as much to the Almans, by sending *Marcellus* to lie in a stale behind a little hill, as I haue said afore. *Iulius Caesar* vsed the like feate against the Swissers, by sending *Laelius* with two legions in the night, to winne a certaine hill, when he was to shew himselfe the next morning in the field, to bid the Swissers battell. But the enterprise abode vnperformed, by reason that he was falsly aduertised, that the
Gaules

Gaules had taken the hill aforehand, which caused him to draw his armie backe. *Hanniball* hauing chosen a faire plaine, wherein there was a deepe vallie, and a certaine little hill, verie aduantageable for his armie, which had beene no hard matter for him to haue gotten; to the intent to draw *Minutius* to battel, left it indifferent for a bait to train his enemies to the encounter. And one night he couched a certaine number of his men of warre in those, and afterward at the breake of the day, sent a small troope to take the said hill: *Minutius* likewise sent out his vauntcurrors, and after them all his men of armes, and finally when he saw *Hanniball* come thither in person, he himselfe also went thither with the rest of his armie, and gaue a great assault to haue driuen away those that defended the hill. Then *Hanniball* perceiuing that his enemy had cast himselfe into his nets, gaue the watchword to his men that were in ambush, who brake out with a great noyse vpon the taile of the Romans, of whom they slue a great number at the first dash, and had put the rest out of aray, but for the readie succour of *Fabius*, who aided him at need, and wrested the victorie out of *Hannibals* hand. Insomuch that *Hanniball* founding the retreit, said smiling to his friends, concerning *Fabius*: Did not I tell you that yonder cloud which we see houering vpon the top of the hills, would one day breake out into a stormie tempest, that should light vpon vs? Also *Flaminius* the Roman consul, was discomfited by a like policie. For *Hanniball* suffered him to win the passage that was in the hills aboue the lake of *Trasimenus*; but yet higher aboue the, he had laid his men in ambush. Now beyond the passage that was kept (by the Romans) there was a faire plain, where *Hannibals* armie was; so as the Romans being cooped vp, in a place where they had their enemies both before and behind, lost the battell.

The same *Hanniball*, perceiuing that *Marcellus*, neither by vanquishing, nor by being vanquished, could hold himselfe from troubling him, vsed this policie, when he saw him nie him. Betweene the two camps was a certain peece of ground

of strong situation, & couered round about with bushes, & therein were high places where a man might discover them far of towards both the camps, and at the foot of it ran many springs and brookes; insomuch that the Romans marueled that *Hanniball* who was come first, had not seazed it. But his so doing, was for that it seemed to him a very fit place to lay stales in, to which purpose he chose rather to reserue it. Therefore he stuffed the woods, the watersprings, and the valley throughout, with a good number of men of armes of all sorts, assuring himselfe that the place it selfe would draw the Romans thither; wherein he was not deceiued. For the two consuls *Marcellus* and *Crispinus*, went both thether with two hundred and twentic horses, to view the place. Which thing when the Carthaginenses perceiued, they suffered them to come on, vntil they were ful against them, and then suddainly stepping vp and winding *Marcellus* in, began to draw to him both with shot and with handblowes, so long til he lay dead vpon the ground, and his fellow being wounded to death, recouered to his campe by the swiftnesse of his horse, where he died by and by after. The countie of Anguien was discomfited almost after the same manner, as he would needs giue battell almost hard at the bars of Gaunt. For the men of Gaunt being desirous to intrap him, because he was valeant in battell, laid a hundred men in ambush for him without the towne, who hemmed him in so close when he was come a litle too forward, that there was no meane to saue him, and so fighting valeantly, he died vpon the field, and all his men with him. Sometime a stale is made by occasion of a pretended feare. As for example. *Hanniball* taking occasion to flee, vpon the discomfiture of a ten or twelue hundred of his men, withdrew himselfe behind the hills as a man dismaid, leauing in his campe from whence he was dislodged, great abundance of riches and vittels: and departing in the night, left the burning fires in his campe, as though his meaning had ben to conceale his departure from the Romans. But this trick was discovered by *Paulus Emilius*, and so it stood him in no stead. *Thomyris* queene of the Massagets, after the destruction of hir army wherwith she lost hir sonne, had great reason to flee and to hide herselfe in the mountains. But of

An ambush vpon occasion of counterfet feare.

that flight she made a bait, to draw *Cyrus* forth into the mountains, from whence it was not easie for him to get back againe; and so it came to passe. For *Cyrus* courageously pursuing the Queene, found himselfe hemmed in on all sides in the mountains, where he lost an armie of two hundred thousand men, and his owne life with them. The emperour *Aurelian* seeing his enemies too strong for him in horsemen, and better weaponed and armed than his, prohibited the Romane knights to abide the battell, and willed them to flee as soone as they were charged vpon, vntill they saw their enemies horses wearie and tired with the pursute; and then to turne head. The which thing they did so handsomely, that the emperour wan the victorie. *Paulus Vitellius* hauing beene troubled two whole daies together by the pesants on the coast of Genes, who slang stones and darts and shot arrowes at him from the hills, (yea and some of them were so bold as to come downe into the plaine and to fight with him): bethought himselfe to pretend as though he would saue himselfe by flight, and retired so farre, that he was chased in full race by infinit pezants. But when he saw his game at the best, he made all his troopes to mount on horsebacke, and to turne their faces; in somuch that all at once they charged vpon the pezants of the mountaines and discomfited them. *Secco* a Florentine beeing desirous to draw *Monfronk* captaine of the Pisanes to battell, who of his owne nature was forward enough to it, laid an ambush betweene Bientina and Pifa, commanding them not to stir, vntill he gaue them their watchword. Then sent he forth certaine light horsemen into the fields, euen into the view of the citie Pifa, who a long while pursued the forragers of Pifa. When *Monfronk* out of the higher part of the towne saw these forragers, and thē that did couoy them, to be pressed by the ouergreat number of them: he also made certaine of his light horsemen to go forth, and anon he himselfe followed them with his men of armes and footmen. *Secco* did the like on his part, so as the fight was full, and well foughten. At length *Secco* of set pupose began to recoile and turne his backe, as it had ben for feare. *Monfronk* followed after him liuely, not giuing him

him any respite to assemble his men together againe, vntill he came to the stale, where issued out men both on horsebacke and on foot, which so inclosed the Venetians and Pisanes on all sides, that hauing hemmed them in euery way, in the end they ouerthrew a great number of them. *Malatesta Balion*, to make his enemies that were in garrison at Veron to fall into his snare, commanded his Albans to go into the marches of Veron, and to gather all the cattell that they found, and to driue them towards the stale, which he had laid a good way off from thence. The which the Albans did with such noise, that the garrison of Veron vnderstood it out of hand. Whereupon some of them mounted vpon their horses to pursue those robbers. The Albans to conceale their craft the better, did first shock themselues on a heape, and begin to turn their backs and to driue the cattel afore them a full trot. Which thing when *Succar* (who made the falie out) perceiued, he made no nicenes to pursue with all the hast he could. Then *Malatesta* who waited for them vnder the couert of certain trees, did suddainly giue a watchword to assaile them, and therewithall running ouerthwart in an open path, assailed his enemies behind as they pursued his men exceeding wholly; and enuironing them on all sides, did put them to the foile. *Bertram* of *Guesclin* perceiuing the Englishmen were come to succor the men of Sireth, and doubting least the townsmen would make some falie out by reason of their comming, held himselfe still in his camp, forbidding any man to stir, without his commandement. In the mean while, he laid an ambush of two hundred men, and then went to pull down the pales that were about the towne, that the townesmen might the easlier issue out, which disappointed not his hope at all. For there issued out about a threescore of them, hoping that they which were without, would haue set vpon the Frenchmen behind, as soone as they heard the bickering: but it was quite otherwise. For being enuironed by them that lay in the ambush, they were all either slaine or taken, afore the Englishmen wist it. The maior of Rochell intending to put the citie into the kings hand, bethought him of this policie. He told the captaine of the campe, that he had receiued letters from the

The policy of
Bertram of
Guesclin.

king of England, wherby he was commanded to take musters both of the townesmen and of the garrison. This letter well sealed, was shewed to the captain of the castle, who knew the kings seale, but could not read. The maior made semblance to read the letter, which contained no such thing as he spake, and yet neuertheles he red it as boldly as if it had ben written, clean contrary to the tenor of the writing. According to this commandement, the next morrow euery man was readie with his armor and weapon in the place appointed, and the captain of the castle sent thither threescore men well furnished, reseruing not past a dosen or fiftene men to keepe the castle. Now the maire had aforehand laid two hundred men in ambush behind the old wals & houses of the town, which were not far from the castle. When they of the garrison were a litle gone forth, they found themselues inclosed by the townsmen well armed, and in great number before, and by them that lay in the ambush behind, so as they could not return into the castle, and the captain who with so few men was not able to resist them, was faine to yeeld himselfe. *Constantine* being imbarked at Pirey, to giue battle to *Licinius* that was at Adrianople, pretended to make a bridge over the riuer Ebron, and to that end prepared a great quantitie of timber, to busie his enemies about the keeping of that passage, while he bestowed fivie thousand men secretly in ambush in a wood. As soone as they were passed, he himselfe also passed the riuer with a few men at a shallow foord, causing al the rest of his army to march leisurely after him, and he with those few men that he had, assailed his enemies vpon the suddain vnprovided, by which taking of them vnawares, he did maruelously astonish them. But when they that lay in ambush shewed themselues, then was there nothing but running away; insomuch that all the host of *Licinius* was ouerthrowne, and foure and thirtie thousand of his men were slain in the field. The *Enthalits* seeing themselues ouerlaid by the *Persians*, made countenance to flee to the mountains, among the which there was a faire large way that had no way out, but was environed with hils. Now the *Enthalites* in small number fled continually before the *Persians*, towards the greater part of their armie, the
which

The ambush of
Constantine.

which they had laid in ambush in those hills, where shewing themselves suddainly on all sides, they made the Persians to agree to what conditions they listed. *Charles* of Aniou being greatly incumbered in resisting *Conradine*, who was entred with great power into the realme of Naples, found in very good season, an old French knight named *Alard*, that came from Hierusalem. By whose counsell *Charles* ordered his army in such sort, that he made three squadrons; wherof the first two were led in the plaine by the Palentine, the one marching a mile before the other, and therof was chieftaine *Philip* of Mountfort marshall to *Charles* of Aniou, apparelled and attired like a king, with the standards of *Charles*. And in the second squadron was the said *Philip* of Mountfort. In the third squadron, which was of the men of most valor, marched *Charles* himselfe, and this squadron lodged in a little valley vnderneath the enemies. *Alard* did set himselfe vpon the hill of Alba, betweene the valley and the plaine, to giue order to all euents as need should require. *Conradine* on his side had two squadrons, much stronger than the squadrons of *Charles*; wherby the formost squadron of *Charles* was so well handled, that *Philip* of Mountfort was faine to aduance his squadron forward to the rescue therof, and by that means was driuen to sustain the battell three houres, without stirring out of that place, and yet in the end was discomfited and slaine. Vpon the brute of whose death, it was beleeued that king *Charles* himself had ben dead; insomuch that his men taking it to haue bin so, betook themselves to flight. By reason wherof *Conradines* souldiers fell to rifling out of order, insomuch that euen his guard ran to the spoile, and left him all alone, accompanied with a few pages and other people vnfit for war. *Alard* seeing from the hill this fit occasion to do some good exploit, caused *Charles* to go out of his little valley well and close set in battelray, and with great violence to charge vpon his enemies loden with preies and in great disorder, whom he had no great ado to break asunder: insomuch that they were all slain, taken, or wounded; and by that good counsell *Charles* abode maister of the field. The duke of Guise did the like at the battell of Dreux, as I haue said afore. For when he saw that the prince of Condie was rushed into the

The good counsell of *Alard* to *Charles* duke of Aniou.

A policy of
Sertorius.

battell, where the constable was who was taken : he stood still and would neuer stir to rescue the others, but waited still to see them in some greater disorder, vntill they fell to the spoile, as if they had won all. And then he rushed vpon them so boistously, that within a while he was maister of the field. *Metellus* finding himselfe short of vittels at the siege of the Lagobrits, sent *Aquinus* with six thousand men, to recouer some vittels. *Sertorius* being aduertised therof, laid an ambush for his returne, in a valley couered with wood, where he bestowed three thousand men in wait to set vpon him on the back, while he himselfe assailed him on the face. By this means he put him to flight, and tooke the most part of his men prisoners, so as *Metellus* was driuen to leaue his siege with dishonor. The Spaniards being within Paue, made a salie out vpon *John Medices*, and foiled his guard. To haue reuenge herof, *John Medices* laid a double ambush, the one in ditches neere the town, and the other further of. The Spaniards spared not to make another sally out; and when they had chased those good fellows a good way, they perceiued the ambush a far off, wherwith they began to retire. But their way was cut off by the other ambush that was laid neerer the town, inso-much that finding themselues assailed both waies at once, they had no meane to saue themselues, but were all put to the sword.

CHAP. XIX

Of the taking of Towns.



Here are diuerse manners of taking of towns, either by force or by policy. We will treat here of policies, and onely of some such policie as the men of old time haue vsed. For new be daily deuised, the which I ouerpasse with silence, because it were vnmeet for me, to giue counsell to such as haue bin at them and seene them, and haue inuented and practised them. Sometime great speed, and suddain comming vnlooked for,

Of the taking of Towns.

471

for, giue occasion of the taking of a towne, as it did to *Demetrius* at the citie of Athens, which had receiued the garrison of *Prolo-*
mie; whom *Demetrius* was desirous to expulſe, to the intent that *Pro-*
lo-
mies ſhuld not pruaile againſt him in ſo great a citie. Where-
fore he rowed thither ſo ſwiftly with his gallies, that he was
ſcene there ere his comming was heard of. Inſomuch that *Prolo-*
mies gariſon, ſuppoſing they had bin *Prolo-*
mies gallies, went out to receiue them. But perceiuing too late what they were, they had
no way to defend theſelues; for *Demetrius* was come within the
hauen, the entrance whereof he had found wide open. And to
bring his enterpriſe the eaſilier to paſſe, he made proclamation
by the ſound of a trumpet, that his father *Antigonus* had ſent
him to deliuer the Athenians from all gariſons, and to ſet them
free: the which thing cauſed the Athenians to turn vnto him, &
to yeeld him the town, ſo as the gariſon was put away, and they
were ſet at libertie. *Nicias* intending to lay ſiege to Siracuſe, ſent
a man of Catana thither as a ſpie, to tell them that if they would
take the campe of the Athenians vnawares, they ſhould come
with all their power towards Catana at a certain day that he ap-
pointed, becauſe the Athenians would for the moſt part of the
time be within the citie, wherein there were a number of natu-
ral citizens, which fauoring the affairs of Siracuſe, were determi-
ned to ſeaze the gates of the citie as ſoone as they perceiued the
Siracuſanes to approach, and at the ſame time to ſet fire vpon the
ſhips of the Athenians; and there were a great ſort of the towns
men of that confederacie; who did but wait for the day & houre
of their comming. By this policie he made the Siracuſanes to
come out into the fields with al their power, ſo as they left their
citie vtterly empty, & he in the mean ſeaſon departing frō Cata-
na with al their fleet, took the hauen of Siracuſe at his eaſe, and
choſe a place to plant his camp in, where his enemies could not
indomage him. The Athenians hauing ſecret conference with
ſome of the citie Megara, ceiſed one of the gates afore dailight,
by the which the ciuſens were woont to take in a Briganture,
which they ſent a nights to ſcoure the ſea, & afore day brought
it in again vpō a chariot, within the incloſure of the wals, which
went frō the city to Niſey, where was their hauē, which was the

Of the taking of Towns.

cause that the gate could not be shut so soone, but that the Athenians ceised it, and mounted vpon their wals, giuing a push to take their citie. But the garrison of the Peloponnesians arriued there in that instant, who had beene a sufficient impediment to the Athenians, if the Athenians had not bethought them to make proclamation by the sound of a trumpet, That al the Megarians which would yeeld themselues to the Athenians and lay away their weapons, should be saued. Which thing whē the Peloponnesians heard, fearing least all the townesmen had bin of that confederacie, they forthwith forsooke the sea, and saued themselues at Nisey. *Alcibiades* tooke the citie Celibrie in Hellespont, by intelligence with some of the citizens, but not without some perill of his owne person, yea and to his confusion, if he had not remedied the matter quickly. He should haue bin neere the citie by a certaine houre, and for his watchword a burning cresset should haue bin put vp about midnight: But they that were within, were constrained to put vp their token afore the houre, for feare of one of the confederacie, who repented him of his doing. Which token when *Alcibiades* perceiued, although he had not his troopes readie, yet would he not let slip the occasion, but taking with him thirtie men, and appointing his troopes to follow him with all speed possible, ran streight to the walles. There was he receiued, and the gate opened vnto him, whereinto he entered with his 30. men, and 20. others that came by chance. But they were no sooner entred, but they heard the townsmen cōming in arms against them, so as there was no likelihood that he should haue escaped, if he taried there. On the other side he was loth to flee, and leaue the taking of the towne. Wherefore he aduised himself vpon the sudden, to cause silence to be made by the sound of a trumpet; and when the noise was appeased, he made it to be proclaimed, that the Celibramians should not take weapon against the Athenians. This did somewhat cool those that were desirous to fight, because they doubted least all the armie of the Athenians had bin already within the citie. And so as they were parlying, the rest of his armie came in, by means whereof he became master of the towne. Also he vsed another policie to get Bizance, which is now called Constanti-

The policie of
Alcibiades.

Constanti-

Constantinople. For lying in siege afore the citie, he had secret intelligence with two of the towne, which had promised to betray it vnto him. To bring this enterprize to passe, he made a shew to leuie his siege, and to go his way into Ionie with great diligence, for some that had made an insurrection there. And in verie deed he departed in the open day with all his gallies: but the same night he returned back againe, and comming on land with his men that were best armed, approached near the wals without making any noise. And he had appointed the rest of his men that were in the ships, that in the meane while they should with all speed row into the hauen, and there make as great noise as they could, to the intent that the Bizantines should draw thitherward. In which meane time he himselfe by the helpe of his intelligencers, entred the citie and woon it, howbeit not without fighting. As *Robert* of Artois besieged Vannes, he caused an assault to be giuen in three places at once, and the assault endured all the day long. At night euery man retired; and the French men put off their armor to rest and refresh themselues. But *Robert* of Artois suffered not his men to vnarme them, but onely to rest them a litle, and to eat and drinke. Afterward hauing set his three battels in order, he began the assault againe in two places, commanding the third battell to stand still, vntill it were time to depart: and because it was night, the assailants had kindled so great fires, that they which waked on the sudden, went right whether soeuer they saw the fires, without attending any commaundement of the captain, and without putting themselues in order. During the time that euery mans hands were full, the third battel chose another part of the town vnfurnished of warders, and there setting vp store of ladders, did so much that they entred the citie, and put the whole garrison of Vannes to flight. The earle of Derby perceiuing that he could not win the citie of Naunts by assault, vsed this policie by the aduice of one *Alexander* of Chaumont, a Gascon. In the morning he made countenance to dissodge, leauing onely a hundred men behind vnder the leading of the lord Wentworth, telling thē what they should do. And in a couert vally not far from the towne, he laid a stale. The men of Naunts ran with 400 men vpon the 100: who retiring

The policie of
Robert of
Artois.

The earle of
Derbies po-
licie.

Of the taking of Townes.

ring to the passage, drew the Frenchmen into the ambush. And when they were passed, one companie went right to the towne, and took the gates which they found open, (for the Frenchmen thought them to haue beene their owne men,) and they that issued out were inclosed both afore and behind, and vtterly ouerthrown. The Seneschal of Beauquere vnderstanding that great store of rotherbeasts should passe by the towne of Athenie, sent threescore men to driue them, and in the mean while lay in ambush himselfe neere the towne. The Englishmen with the more part of the garrison of the towne, ran to the rescue, so farre that they fell into the ambush, who chased the Englishmen so lustily, that they defeated them euery chone, and therewithall went streight forth to the towne, the which they tooke by assault, for want of men to resist them. *Lucullus* purposing to take the Mitilienians by policie, besieged them with maine force. Then suddenly in the open day, and in the sight of the townes-men, he mounted vpon the sea, and rowed towards the citie Elea. But in the night he returned back secretly, and without making any noyse, couched himselfe in ambush neere the towne. The Mitilienians doubting nothing, went out vnadvisedly, and without order the next morning; and without standing vpon their gard, went to rife the campe of the Romanes. But *Lucullus* stepping out suddenly vpon them, tooke a great number of them prisoners, and slue about fise hundred that stooode at defence, and wan about six thousand slaues. *Fredericke* vsed another policie to get Saminimat. It happened that he had receiued a great losse before Parma, where his armie was ouerthrowne, and he was faine to take the way of Tuscan for to returne into his realme of Naples. There was no likelihood that he minded the of Saminimat, that had plaid the traitors and rebels against him, neither was he determined to rest there. But to compasse them without great paine or studie, he dissembled their treason, and chose a number of his best, most couragious, and most loyall soldiers, whom he caused to be chained together as if they had bin prisoners. The which being done, he caused his mules to be laden with a great sort of hampers, full of all kind of armor and artillerie, and couered them with the same sumpter clothes, wherwith

policie of
Lucullus.

policie of
Frederick Bar-
rossa.

with the sumpters of his chamber were wont to be couered. These prisoners so made at the instant, he sent vnto Saminimato, with *Peter* of the Vineyard, his steward of household, secretarie and chauncelor, who had the whole gouernment thereof, and was a prisoner in deed, accompanied with messengers of credence, which should declare vnto the inhabitants of the towne, that the emperour hauing not a more loyall towne, sent them those prisoners men of importance, and his preciouslest stuffe with them, praying them to keepe them carefully till his returne, because that being now on his way into his kingdom of Naples, he would not be troubled with such baggage. The men of Saminimato seeing the emperour in armes round about them, made good countenance, notwithstanding that they mistrusted theselues to be bewraid, and thereupon shewing themselues verie obedient, receiued all the traine with good cheere, causing them all to come into the citie. When the souldiers of *Fredericke* saw their conuenient time, they cast off their chaines, (which werē disposed in such sort as they might vnlinke them when they list) and out of hand taking them to their weapons, wan the gates, whereat they let in the emperour *Fredericks* armie, so that the towne was yelded to his obeysance.

The Slauonians vsed another policie to take another town. There approached a certaine of them to the wals, so few in shew as were not sufficient to take the towne, and yet did they incontinently giue an assault. They that were within beholding the small number of them, ran out vpon them, & folowed beating them a good way off from the towne. And when they were a sufficient tarmette, the residue shewed themselues behind them, and slue a great sort of them, so as they could not recover into the citie againe. Then the Slauonians comming to the assault, entered at ease, because there were none but the citizens left to defend the towne. The king of Portugall perceiuing how the Britons that were within Feroll in Castile, made ofensalies out; laid fiftie men inambush, and a three daies after, went with a few men and skirmished hard at the barriers of the towne. The Britons failed not to come out
against

against him, and pursued the Portugals so hard, that they tooke about fīue and twentie of them, and were fain to open the barriers wide, to let in the prisoners, and to let out those that pursued them. At length, they that lay in ambush, riding as fast as they could, right to the barriers, and making themselves masters of them, entred mingled with the Britons into the towne. The men of Capua being desirous to receiue the Imperials into the citie, and to expulse the Frenchmen, willed the Imperials to lay themselves in ambush neere the towne, and when they knew them to be laid, they would persuaide the Frenchmen to make a rode out of the citie, to fetch vittels afore they were more straitly besieged. The Frenchmen perceiuing their reason to be apparant, went out to do so. But when they came backe againe, they found the gates shut, and vnderstood that the Capuans had receiued the Imperials in at another gate. *Sertorius* vsed another policie to win the Characitanians, which did nothing but rob him and spoile him, and mocke him without feare, because they retired themselves into rocks and caues that could not be come vnto. He considered that right against their caues, there was a light clay that fell to dust like sand, the which the northwind blowing full into their caues, did ordinarily carie vp that in dust, and driue it into their dens. When *Sertorius* had detected this in himselfe, and vnderstood by the inhabitants of the countrie therabouts, that the like was don customably: he commanded his men to gather together a great quantitie of that light earth, and thereof to make a huge mount right against their caues. When this great mount was finished, he made his horsemen trot vp and down on it, and anon the wind taking the dust as soone as it was raised from the ground, caried it full into their caues, striking it right into the eies and eielids of them. Wherby their eies were stopped, and their caue was filled with a hote and sultrie aire. Infomuch that being not able to take breath but with great paine, they submitted themselves the third day after to his discretion. When a man hath taken a citie, it is not enough to enter into it, and to sacke it, except he set a good guard at the gates, for feare of afterclaps; as befell to the Castilians in Spaine, who with the helpe of the Grifemans, rebelled

A policie of
Sertorius.

belled against the Romans for their ill vsing of them, and slue a good sort of them. As soone as *Sertorius* heard the vprore, by and by he gat him out of the towne with a few of his men, and assembling together such as were escaped, returned againe to the towne, and finding the gate still open, whereat the Grisenians were entered in, he slipped in also, and setting a good gard at the gates, (in which point the Grisenians had ouershot themselves) and in other parts of the towne, did put all to the sword that were of yeares to weare armour. Then apparelled he his soldiers, in the apparell and armour of those whom he had slain, and went in that maner to the citie of the Grisenians, from whence those came by whom they were surpris'd by night. The Grisenians thinking at the sight of their owne furniture, that they had beene their owne men, opened them their gates, and went out to meet them as their friends, whom they thought to haue dispatched their matters verie well. So the Romans slue a great number hard at the gates of their citie; and the rest yeelding themselves to the mercie of *Sertorius*, were by him sold. At such time as the prince of Orange sacked the citie of Rome, *Guy Ration* came to the gates with his light horses, and eight hundred harquebuzers, thinking to haue gone in to defend it: but when he vnderstood those newes, he retired backe. Many were of opinion, that (considering the disorder of the Imperials,) if he had entered in by the castell (which was vngarded) he might haue done some notable feat, or at leastwise he had deliuered the Pope. But (as it is commonly said) little woteth a man what is done in his enemies host; and it had bin a great hazard, to haue put himself in daunger with so few men, against so great a number of enemies. *Bellisarius* perceiuing that he could not win *Panormus* by land, made his ships to come into the hauen: Then hauing manned certaine small vessels with crossebowes, he made them to mount vp into the tpps, (the which were higher than the wall) and from those small ships to shoot incessantly at the townsmen, whom they saw lie open; insomuch that the townsmen seeing themselves so greatly annoyed by them, were faine to yeeld the towne to *Bellisarius*. The Lord of Estourney surpris'd the towne of Audenard in this

A policie of
Bellisarius.

A policie of
the lord of
Estourney.

maner:

maner. He laid foure hundred chofen men in ambush, neere the gate of Graundmount. Then sent he two chariots laden with prouifion, and foure fouldiers apparelled like carters to driue the chariots, wel armed vnder their apparell, who feigning them felues to come out of Henault, caufed the great gate to be opened vnto them. Now when they came vpon the bridge, they ftaied, and plucked out the taypinnes that held the traces. The warders being offended at their long tarying, tooke the horfes by the heads to make them go, but the chariots abode behind, becaufe the horfes were loofned. Then the warders perceiuing themfelues to be deceiued, began to ftrike the carters, who defended themfelues fo well, that they flue two of the warders. In the meane while the lord of Eftourney hauing good leysure to approach, came at the instant, and tooke the gate, whereby he became mafter of the town. If they that enterprifed to take the citie of Turin in the yeare 1542, had fo vnyoked their oxen, or turned a chariot within the gate, the towne had bin loft. For it was faued alonely by the letting downe of the portcullis, which ftopped a ten or twelue hundred men that came in good array, while thofe that were entred into the town in chariots couered with hay, were fighting at the gate, and at the place. The citie of Ortingas was taken after that maner. *Peter* of Auchun, who lay in garrifon at Lourd, fent in the moneth of May, two good fouldiers apparelled like feruingmen, to feeke mafters in the towne. They had not beene long there, but they were prouided of marchantmen: whom they ferued fo well, that their feruice was veriewell liked. About the middeft of Auguft, a faire was kept in that towne, wherevnto many marchant ftrangers reforted. Now while the townesmen bought and fould, and made good cheere, *Peter* of Auchun went out about midnight, and laid himfelf in ambush vvithin a vvood neere the towne, hauing fent fix men afore vvith two scaling ladders, vvhereby they entred fecretly into the towne, by the helpe of the two fouldiers, while their mafters was drinking. As foone as they were entred, the two fouldiers brought thē to the gate where was the bodie of the gard ready to fet forward asfoon as they fhould whistle thē. Herewithal the two feruing mē knocked at the gate, telling the warders

warders that their master had sent them for good wine. The warders knowing them opened the gate, and suddenly at a vvatchword, the other six souldiers came running thither and slue the warders. This being done, they tooke the keyes of the gate, and did let downe the bridge so softly, that no man perceiued it. As soone as the bridge was downe, they began to sound a blast of deceit, whereat, *Peter* of Auchun and his companie set forward, tooke the bridge, and made himselfe master of the rowne. To famish the cite of Athens, *Lisander* vsed this deuise. After he had ouercome the Athenians by sea, he determined to lay siege to Athens. But afore the doing thereof, he went with his fleet to all the sea-townes, where he commaunded vpon paine of death, that as many Athenians as were there, should get them home to Athens, which thing he did vpo a policy, to pester them vp close together within the wals of Athens, that they might the sooner be famished; and so it came to passe. For whereas he was not able to ouercome them by force, he suffered them to rest a while, and afterward when he knew that vittails began to wax scant, he besieged them so narrowly, that they were faine to yeeld the cite to the Lacedemonians.

The policie of
Lysander.

To attempt the taking of the rocke of Vandois which was impregnable, the vicount of Meaus laid a stale of 1200 men in a caue neare the fort, and sent others to skirmish with them at their bars, charging them that if any came out of the towne against them, they should retire softly vntill they came to the stale. The Frenchmen failed not to make countenance, but went slowly to the skirmish, as if they had beene men vnwilling and smally trained, which thing gaue courage to *Cuion du sel* (who had the gouernment of the fort in the absence of *Amerigoell Marcell*) to sallie out with certaine of the garison. And he chased the Frenchmen so farre, that he was inclosed betweene their ambush and their campe, so as he could not saue himselfe, nor any of his companie. Whereupon the Frenchmen approached nearer the castell, and told him that he and all his companions should die, if the fortresse were not yeelded, and that if it were yeelded, they should all be saued. They that were within
perceiuing

perceiuing that they were like to lose the best men of all their companie, yeelded themselues at his perswasion. The earle of Arminak was discoinfited almost after the same sort by *Iaques* of Berne, before Alexandria: which was the cause that the siege of Alexandria was broken vp.

CHAP. X X.

Of the defending of Townes.

Here is not so great a mischief, but there is a remedie for it. And as the common saying is, Well assailed, well defended. For when he that is within a towne, knoweth that another would haue it: then by good watch and carefull diligence, he keepeth himselfe from being taken on the sudden. And if he be aduertised of his enemies comming, he doth what he can to keepe them from comming neere the ditches, vntill the greatnesse of their number enforce him to retire. The like is done when a citie is to be assailed by sea and by land. For he that is within, doth either by force or by policie impeach their landing as much as he can, as did that gallant pyrat named *Frاندay*, at Port Venerie. The Arragonians intending to haue taken that place vpon the gate toward the sea, approached with the prowes of their gallies to the hauen, to haue set their soldiers a land. But *Frاندay* had caused the great stones, whereupon they were to leape, in comming downe from their gallies, to be besmeared with greace, so as the most part of them fell downe through the slippernesse of their footing, and the cumberfomnesse of their armor, among the stones which were verie high. Sometimes a citie is in hard case, for that they cannot certifie their state by reason of the straitnesse of the siege. In this case they must do as the Gothes did, who being straitly besieged by *Bellisarius*, and not able to giue intelligence of their distresse to *Vitigis*, made a great noise one midnight: whereat *Bellisarius* wondring, and

and fearing some ambush or treason, commanded that every man should stand vpon his guard, without remouing out of his place. While *Bellisarius* was thus musing, more to gard himselfe than to looke to the wals of his enemies: the Goths sent out two men, to giue knowledge to *Vitigis* in what state they stood. But *Bellisarius* did yet much better when he himselfe was besieged in Rome. For vwhen he vnderstood that succors were comming to him, fearing least the Goths should set vpon them by the vway; he caused a certaine vvall, vvherwith one of the gates of the citie vvas dammed vp, to be beaten downe in the night, and set a good number of men of vvar at it, causing a thousand horsemen to issue out at one of the other gates, whom he comanded to returne to the same gate againe vvhen they vvere charged by their enemies. Now vvhile they vvere in hand vvith their enemies, *Bellisarius* vvent out vvith a great power at the gate that vvas towards the sea, vvhereof his enemies had no mistrust, and easily putting those to flight that encountered him on that part, he vvent on till he came right against the other gate, vvhere he assailed his enemies behind, as they vvere fighting vvith his men that had issued out first, in vvich conflict many of his enemies vvere flaine; vvho being sufficiently occupied in defending themselues, gaue leisure to the Greekes to ioine vvith the armie of *Bellisarius*, vvithout any let. Sometimes there is scarcetie of vittels in a towne, so as it needeth to be vittelled. And therefore he that hath the charge therof, seeketh by all means to get some in, vvithout the enemies priuitie. *Bellisarius* intending to vittell the citie of Rome, which was streitlie besieged by the Gothes, vnder the leading of *Totilas*; deuised this shift. *Totilas* had made two towers of timber to be builded vpon a bridge ouer the riuer Tiber, to keepe men from comming to Rome by water. And without the ouerthrowing of these towers, there was no way to passe. To do it by plaine force it was not possible for him, for he had too few men. Wherefore he took two lighters, and ioined them together with rafters: vpon the which he builded a tower of timber, of equall heighth to the other two; vpon the top wherof he had a little boate full of pitch and brimstone. After this towerboat followed two hundred

The policy of
Bellisarius.

dred other boats couered ouer with boord , and made full of loopeholes, that his men standing surely fenced in them, might shoot at their enemies . Within those boats he put great abundance of vittels garded by the choifest of his souldiers, by whom vpon either banke of the riuer (as neere as might be) he sent of his souldiers both on horsebacke and on foot. When he came at the towers of the bridge , he cast vpon them the said little boat that was full of brimitone , which immediatly burned vp the towers and the two hundred men that were within them. In the meane while the Romans brake downe the bridge; and made way for the litters that conueied the vittels , the which had out of all doubt gone forth to the citie, had it not ben for the fault of *Isaces* one of *Bellisarius* captains, who by his rash going out of the hauen towne of Ostia, contrarie to *Bellisarius* appointment, was discomfited and taken pritonier by the Goths. For *Bellisarius* being abashed therat, and thinking that the towne it selfe had ben taken, wherin was his wife and all his mouables, returned suddainly back thither, without accomplishing his enterprife. Sometimes either men or monie be to be conueyed into a towne; in which behalfe example may be taken at the doings of *Bellisarius* : who hearing that monie was brought him from Constantinople , to the intent that the bringer thereof should not be taken by the Goths that besieged him in Rome, caused a report to be noised , that he would giue battell to the Goths. In the meane while he sent out two hundred horsmen to safecundit the monie, and the next morning caused his men to go out and raunge themselues in battel-ray; and the Gothes did likewise. At noone he caused his men to dine , and in the afternoone fell to skirmishing, so that while they were bickering so together, *Attalius* that brought the monie, entered into Rome without any daunger. The duke of Guise vnderstanding the distresse wherein the Marshall of the March was; within Peron, for want of men and poulder; departed from Han with two hundred men of armes and foure hundred chosen harquebusers , and comming by night neere the campe of his enemies , led his harquebusers secretlie and without noise to the side of the marris : and hauing with him all the trumpets that

To get vittels
or mony into
a citie.

that he could get together, did suddainly giue an alarme to all parts of the emperors camp, so as they tooke them to their weapons. During this great alarme, which letted the enemies to intend to any thing else, or to heare the flashing of the water through the which the dukes mē went, the harquebusers were receiued into the towne, euery of them carrying vpon his neck, a bag of poulder weying ten pound. The viceroy of Naples and *Antonie de Leua*, to conuey monie into Paue, procured two men whom they trusted, to carrie foure hoggesheads of wine to sell, to the French campe that besieged the towne, within the which hoggesheads were three thousand French crownes. And for the selling of their wine, they went and lodged as neer the towne as they could. *Antonie de Leua* being aduertised thereof, made a sallie out on another side, and while they were busie at the skirmish, one of his men brake the hoggesheads and tooke away the three thousand crownes, with the which he saued himselfe in the towne. Sometime sallies are made of purpose to surprise the enemies in their campe, as the Siracusans did at the campe of the Athenians. But *Nicias* to remedie the daunger speedily, commanded fire to be put to wood, and to the engines that he had made to beate the towne, which doing caused the Siracusans to stay, because that when they saw so great a flame in the aire betweene them and the Fort, they returned out of hand to the towne. Many times they that are besieged haue scarcitie of water, and by that means are in daunger to yeeld themselues, if it be not prouided for, as *Sertorius* was in perill to haue doone to the Lagobrits. Who caused two thousand Goats skinnes to be filled with water, promising a good sum of monie for the bringing of euery skinne. The which thing manie men vndertooke. And therewithal he gaue commaundement at the deliuering of the bags, that all vnnecessarie mouthes should forthwith depart out of the towne, that the water might serue them the longer, vvhich abode to defend the towne. Sometimes skirmishes are made to vex the besiegers, that they may be made to breake vp their siege; and such sallies doe crewhiles turne to the vwinning of a battoll, as befell to the Englishmen

A sallie of the
Englishmen

Under the conduct of the earle of Derby before Amberoch. Who hauing laid a thousand men in ambush in a wood, and being aduertised that succours were comming to the besieged, went together vpon the Frenchmen and defeated them. This discomfiture came of the Frenchmens disdain of the Englishmen, for the small number of them, whom they thought not to haue bin so bold, as to haue assailed them, by reason whereof, they stood not vpon their guard. As much befell the Athenians, who were ouerthrowne by *Brasidas*, because they despised him for the small number of his men, not looking that he durst to haue encountered them. But *Brasidas* taking this their skornfulnes for an occasion to do some good exploit, did set vpon them vnawares, and discomfited them. *Marin* did as much to the Carthaginenses, after the discomfiture of the *Scipios*. For he coniecturing that they would be negligent and disdain him, tooke them vnprouided. The Suissers did as much to the Frenchmen, by the aduice of *Martin* their coronell, who told them that the Frenchmen comming but to haue a lodging, looked for nothing lesse than the comming of the Suissers, and that the accidents that happen vnlooked for and vnforseen, do soonest ouertake men. According to which counsell, they assailed the Frenchmen and ouercame them. Wherefore the surest way is, not to despise the enemy, but to stand warily vpon ones guard. For nothing is so dangerous, as an enemy vntrusted. Necessitie draue *Leopold* to make a sallie out against *Valter Brenne*, the which fell out well and happily on his side: For he discomfited those that had besieged him, and tooke the countie of Brenne prisoner, as I haue said in another place. But to returne to our matter againe: *Oliuer* of *Cliffon* and sir *Valter Manny*, hauing intelligence that *Leuis* of Spaine meant to cut off the heads of *John Butler* and *Hugh Fresnoy*; vsed this policie to saue them from that inconuenience. They had ben long besieged within Hannibout by *Charles de Blois*. Now one day about dinnertime, they issued out of the towne with a thousand men, and went with great force to assaile the campe of *Charles de Blois*, so that all of them were at the alarme.

Nothing is so dangerous as an enemy vntrusted.

alarme, and drew towards the trenches where the fight was sharpe and hard on both sides. In the chiefeft of the fight, *Walter Manny* and *Oliuer Clifton* issued secretly out at a little postern, and came on the backside of the host vnperceiued, to the tent of *Charles de Blois*, where the said *Butler* and *Fresnoy* were, whom when they had recouered, and had mounted them on two courfers which they had brought thether of purpose, they returned againe to Hannibout the same way they came out. *Renze* being besieged in Crescentine by *Siluius*, and finding occasion to inuade his enemies on their right side, which was not fortified with any trench or rampire, because of a marris which had no comming to it but by a broken causey, coniectured that his enemies would misdoubt nothing that way, wherefore covering the marris in the night-time with hurdls and planks, he caused his footmen to passe ouer, and he himselfe staid in a conuenient place with his horsmen, to succor them if need were. In which time the footmen quitted themselves so wel, that they slue the skoutwatch, and then passing on to the camp, threw wild fire vpon the vwarders half asleepe, and vpon the souldiers lodgings that were nearest, which they had brought with them closed in trunks of wood. In somuch that their tents were burned in the turning of a hand, and the fire glistering through all the campe in the night, strake such a terror into the souldiers so assailed both with sword, and vvith the fire that was cast incessantly out of the trunks and firepots; that vvithout any regard of *Siluius* commandement, they fled thicke and threefold, to shun the fire. By reason vvherof the Venetians falling vpon those dismaied people, defeated a great part of them; and bending their artillerie vpon them that fled, killed a great number of them, and so returned with a verie great bootie of horse and men. The Plateians being streitly besieged by the Peloponnesians, and hopelesse of all succour, found this shift to get out of the towne. The Peloponnesians had made a double wal about the citie Plateia, one towards the towne to keepe them from comming out, and the other along the side of the camp, to keep the succours of the Athenians from going in, which walles were distant sixteene foot asunder. Betweene the two walles were the

Of the defending of Towns.

lodgings of the that garded the, and at every tenth battlement were towers that coupled the two wals together, so as a man could not passe along the wall, but he must go through those towers, into the which those that kept the watch a nights, withdrew themselves when it rained. To compass their determination, the Athenians made skaling ladders full as high as the wals, the heighth whereof they tooke, by considering the thickeesse of the bricke whereof it was made, numbering them from the top to the foot. The townesmen therefore hauing gotten intelligence of the manner of the watch, spied a night when it rained and the wind blew lowd, and the moone shined not: and came to the foot of the wall vnperceiued, because of the darkenesse of the night, and went seuerally by themselves one from another, least the iustling of their harness together, should make any noise. When they had set vp their ladders against the void spaces where they vnderstood that no man warded, they that brought the ladders mounted vp first, and after them the rest. Now when a good sort of them were vp, they that watched within the towers perceiued them, by a crannie of one of the battlements that was cast downe in their comming vp. Infomuch that at the first alarme, all the campe came to the wall, not knowing wherfore, by reason of the night and the foule wether. On the other side the Plateians that abode in the citie, went out and assailed the walles in other places, to busie their enemies heads, who were all sore amazed what the matter should be, so as neither they, nor those that garded the towers, stirred not out of their places. Neuerthelesse, they that had the charge to releiue the watch, lighted vp beacons on the side towards Thebes, to betoken the comming of enemies. Which thing the townesmen perceiuing, lighted vp a great sort of them vpon their walles also, to the intent that their enemies should not know wherfore those fires were made, and that their companions might saue themselves, afore any rescues came to the watch. In the meane time, those that mounted vp first, wonne two towers, and hauing slaine them that were within, got vp their fellows that remained yet beneath, putting those backe with shot and

throwing

throwing of stones, which came to rescue the wall. Inſomuch that all they which were to ſalie out of the towne, mounted vpon the wall, and then going downe from the towers, came to the ditches on the outside, vpon the brim whereof they found thoſe that ſhould haue ſuccoured the watch, who had lighted vpon the beacons; by means whereof, being well and perfectly ſeen, they were ouerthrowne by the Athenians, and by the townefinen with ſhot of arrowes. And ſo the Plateyans paſſing the ditch with eaſe, did knit themſelues well and cloſe together, and ſo paſſed all in good order by the way that leadeth to Thebes, becauſe they doubted that the way to Athens was garded. But when they had gone that way a while, they turned aſide the way of the hill, and by a priuie path came all to Athens without diſturbance.

Sometime to commaund a towne, they make a mount: and in old time it was vvoont to be made againſt the vvall, becauſe there was none other fighting but with handblowes, for artillarie was not yet inuented. *Cabades* king of Perſia made ſuch a mount of earth to be caſt vpon againſt the vvall of Amyda, which he ſaw to be impregnable. But the Anydans to defend themſelues from it, made a mine within their wall, whereby they drew away a good peece of the ground that vpheld the mount, and vnderpropped it with timber-worke, that it might not be perceyued. And when they ſaw the mount couered all ouer with Perſians, they let it ſinke, ſo as all that were vpon it were ſlaine, which cauſed them to raiſe their ſiege.

Spartacus hauing but a few men with him when he rebelled againſt the Romans, tooke a mountaine that was verie ſtrong and vnapprochable, where he was beſieged by three thouſand Romans, who garded well the paſſage that hee ſhould not ſcape. For there was but onelie one place to goe vpon or downe at, the reſidue was a rocke cut ſteepe. *Spartacus* finding that there grew wilde Vines aloſt vpon the rocke, did cut off all the biggeſt twigges, and with them made ladders of coards, ſo ſtiſſe and long, that beeing faſtened aboue, they reached downe to the bottome of the plaine, Vpon the which they went all

The policie of
Spartacus.

downe secretly, sauing one who taried casting downe their armour after them, and when he had so done, he also saued himselfe by the same means. The Romans mistrusted it not. By reason whereof, they that were besieged, coasting round about the hill, came and assailed them behind, putting them in such feare with their sudden comming vpon them, that they all tooke them to flight, so as he tooke their campe.

C A H P. XXI.

Of diuerse policies and sleights.

Cannot passe with silence certain other policies and sleights, that diuerse braue captains haue vsed, the which I will set here vnorderly. *Eumenes* being put to flight by *Antigonus*, as he retired, found *Antigonus* stufte, the which he might easily haue taken, and diuerse prisoners therewithall. But he would not, because it vvould haue hindered his flight. And besides that, he saw it vv as vnpossible to haue kept the Macedonians by direct means, from rifling so great goods offred into their hands for so goodly a prise. Therefore he commaunded them to ease themselves a vv while, and to bait their horses, and then vpon the sudden to go and distrust the baggage. But in the meane vv while, he sent aduertisement by a secret messenger to *Menander*, who had the charge of conueying the said stufte, that he should vvith all speed get him out of the plaines, to the hanging of a hill neere hand, vv which vv was not to be approached by horsemen, and there to fortifie himselfe; telling him that his giuing of this aduertisement vnto him, was in respect of the friendship that he had erst had at his hand. *Menander* vnderstanding the perill vv wherein he vv was, made the stufte to be trusted vp out of hand, and then *Eumenes* sent out his foreriders openly to discouer him, and therewithall commaunded euerie man to put on his armour, and to
 bridle

bridle his horse, as if he had bin minded to haue led them against their enemies. But anon returned the foreriders, vvhom made report that there was no means to force *Alexander* to fight. Whereat *Eumenes* pretended to be fore displeas'd, and so pass'd on. *Themistocles* vs'd the like policie towards *Xerxes*, vvhhen he caus'd him to be secretly aduertis'd, to get him cut of Greece vvvith all the hast he could, that he might auoid the hazard of battell, as I haue said elsewhere. *Hermocrates* being aduertis'd of the intent of *Nicias*, in breaking vp his siege before Siracuse, & ingoing his way; & perceiuing that as that day (because it was a festiuall day, and they were occupi'd in doing sacrifice to their gods) he could not cause his men to march to take the passages, that he might vanquish the Athenians at his more ease; sent a familiar friend of his to *Nicias*, with instructions to tell him, that he came from such as gaue him secret aduertisements vvithin the citie, vvho sent him warning to beware that he vvvent not on his vvay that night, vnlesse he vvould fall into the ambushes that the Siracusanes had laid for him. *Nicias* being bleared vvith those vvords, taried all that night, so as the next morning the Siracusans tooke all the passages: by meanes vvherof the Athenians vvvere vnfortunatly ouercome. *Eumenes* perceiuing that the rest of the princes enuid him, and sought means to kill him: to the intent to preuent them, bare them on hand that he wanted money, and borrowed a good round sum of euery of them, chiefly of those vvhom he knew to hate him, to the intent that thenceforth they should trust vvnto him, and desist to lie in wait for him, for feare of loosing the monie that they had lent him: By meane whereof it came to passe, that other mens monie was his safegard, and the assurance of his life. And whereas other men are vvooont to giue monie to saue and assure themselues, this man did set his life in safetic by taking. There was not a greater cause of the bringing in againe of king *Ednard* the fourth into the realme of England when he was driuen out, than the marchants and other men to vvhom he vvvas indebted, and the vvomen that were in loue vvwith him, because he vvvas voluptuous, vvwho to the vvtermost of their power, perswaded their husbands to be a meane of his returne. Sometimes

it is needfull to set neighbours at odde; but that must be done couertly and cunningly, leaſt it be perceiued. The Athenians fearing the power of the Lacedemonians, had forſakē the league which they had made with the Thebans, and in ſtead of holding with them, had ſhewed themſelues to be againſt them, which was a meane to ouerthrow the Thebans vpside downe. But *Pelopidas* and *Gorgidas* captains generall of Beotia, eſpying a way how to ſet the Athenians againe in a iealouſie and heart-burning againſt the Lacedemonians, found out ſuch a praetiſe aſ this. There was a captaine named *Sphodrias*, a verie valiant man of his perſon, but therewithall light-headed, and fond conceyted, ſuch a one as eaſily conceiued vaine hopes in his head, vpon a fooliſh vaine glorie to haue done ſome goodly feate in his life. *Pelopidas* linked to him a merchant of his familiar acquaintance, who tolled him on to attempt great things, and to go and ſurpriſe the hauen of Pyrey, while the Athenians miſtrufteſt no ſuch thing, and therefore kept it not with any ſure guard; aſſuring him that the lords of Lacedemon would like of nothing ſo well, as to hold the citie of Athens vnder their obeysance, and that the Thebanes, who wiſhed them euill to the death for their forſaking and betraying them at their need, wou'd not inanie wiſe ſuccour them. *Sphodrias* being moued with his perſuaſions, tooke thoſe men of warre with him that he had, and departing by night, went into the countrie of Attica, euen to the citie Eleuſine. But when he came there, his men were aſraied, and would go no further. And ſo being diſcouered, hee was faine to returne from whence he came. Whereby he procured to the Lacedemonians a warre of no ſmall importance, nor eaſie to be vndone againe. For thence-foorth the Athenians fought the alliance of the Thebanes againe, and ſuccoured them verie earneſtly.

Coriolanus vſed the like praetiſe. For when he ſaw he could not cauſe the peace to be broken, that was betweene the Romans and the Volſes, he procured a man to go tell the Magiſtrates of Rome, that the Volſes had conſpired to runne vpon the Romans as they were looking vpon their playes and gamings,

nings, and to set fire vpon the citie. Whereupon, the Volſes were commaunded to depart out of the citie of Rome, afore the Sunne going downe. Wherewith the Volſes being displeaſed, proclaimed warre againſt the Romans. *Alcibiades* vſed the like tricke. For the Lacedemonians were come to treat of peace with the Athenians, and had for their patron one *Nicias*, a man of peace, and well renowned among the Athenians. *Alcibiades* went vnto them aforehand, and warned them in any wiſe to beware, that they told not that they had commiſſion to conclude a full agreement, leaſt the people compelled them of authoritie to graunt them whatſoeuer they would haue; counſelling them but onely to ſet downe certaine conditions, as in way of conference. The next morning *Alcibiades* asked them verie ſmoothly, what they came to do. They aunſwered, that they came to make ſome proferſ of peace, but had no commiſſion to determin anie thing. Then fell *Alcibiades* to crying out vpon them, calling them vntruſtie and variable, telling them that they were not come to do anie thing that was of value. And ſo the amballaours were ſent home without doing any thing, and *Alcibiades* was choſen captaine to make warre againſt them.

Coriolanus to encrease the diſſention which he knew to be betwixt the nobilitie and commons of Rome, cauſed the lands of the noble men to be with all care preſerued harmles, cauſing the peoples in the meane time to be waſted and ſpoiled: which thing cauſed them to enter into further quarrell and diſagreement one againſt another, than euer they had done afore. The noble men vpbraided the common people, with their iniurious baniſhing of ſo mightie a man; and the people charged the nobilitie, that they had procured him to make warre againſt them in their reuenge. *Hanniball* to bring *Fabius* in ſuſpition, whom he feared aboue all the Romans, cauſed his lands of purpoſe to be kept harmeſſe, when he waſted all other mens, to the end it might be thought, that he had ſome ſecret conference with him, and that that was the cauſe why he would not fight with him, howbeit that in verie deed, his reſuſing to encounter, was of great wiſedome, to make his enemie

Of diuerſe policies and ſleights.

conſume away without putting any thing in hazard. *Timoleon* practiſed another notable policie, to ſhift himſelfe from the hands of the Carthaginenſes. Whereas he was ſent by the Corinthians, to deliuer the citie of Siracuſe from the tyrannie of *Dennis*, as ſoone as he was arriued at Rhegium, *Icetes* whom the Siracuſanes imploied to the ſame effect, and who diſſembling his purpoſe, intended to take the place of *Dennis*, and to do as much as he; ſent meſſengers to *Timoleon*, deſiring him not to paſſe his men into Sicilie, becauſe the warre began to draw to an end, and the Carthaginenſes, with whom he had ſecret intelligence, would not that his men ſhould paſſe into Sicilie, but that he himſelfe ſhould come alone, to aid them with his counſell in ſuch affairs as ſhould be offered to deale in. And becauſe he doubted leaſt *Timoleon* would not conſent to his requeſt; he had deſired the Carthaginenſes (who lay neare vnto the ha- uen of Rhegium with twentie gallies) to ſtop his paſſage ouer, and to fight with him, if he attempted to enter by force. *Timoleon* ſeemed to like well of the ſaying of the meſſengers, neuertheleſſe he ſaid it behoued him for his diſcharge, to haue the ſame decreed in the aſſembly of the Rhegians, and in their preſence, as of them that were friends to them both. The which thing he did offet purpoſe, to hide his owne intent the better, by making the Rhegians priuie to the matter. The next day all the parties met in the Mootehall, where the whole day was purpoſely ſpent in talke, that *Timoleons* gallies might haue leyuſure to prepare themſelues vnſuſpected of the Carthaginenſes, for aſmuch as they ſaw *Timoleon* preſent with them. Who aſſoon as he vnderſtood that his gallies were departed all, ſauing one that ſtaid behind for him, went his way ſecretly through the præſe by the Rhegians, who being ſecretly made priuie to the matter by him, had ſtaid him from ſpeaking any more. And ſo embarking himſelfe without any diſturbance, he arriued within leſſe than an houre at Tauromenion, where *Andromachus* waited for him. *Sylla* in the ciuill warres, ſeeing his enemies to be many in number, thought it ſtood him on hand to uſe policie, as well as force. Whereupon he ſolicited *Scipio*, one of the conſuls, to come to agreement with him: the which thing *Scipio* reſuſed

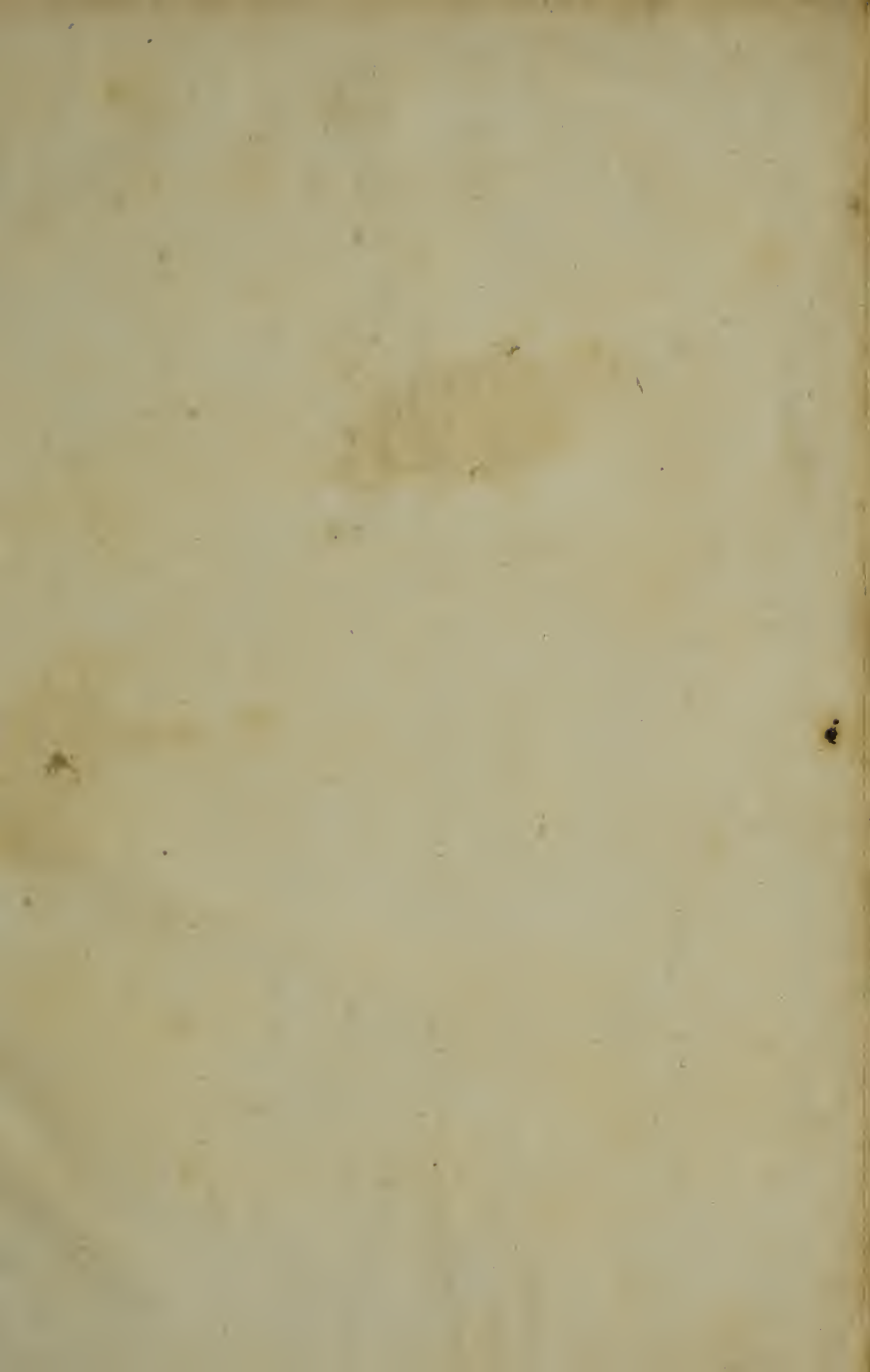
not. Hereupon many goings and commings were about the matter, because *Sylla* protracted the conclusion verie long, finding still some occasion of delay, that in the meane while his souldiers (who were made and accustomed to such policies, as well as their captaine) might practise with *Scipios* souldiers to forsake him. For they going into *Scipios* campe, inueigled some of his men with mony, some with promises, and other some with necessitie, so that in the end when this practising had continued a certaine time, *Sylla* approched to their campe with twentie Antsignes, where his souldiers fell to saluting *Scipios*, and they saluting them again, turned and yeelded themselues vnto them, so as *Scipio* abode alone in his tent, where he was taken and not suffred to go away any more. Thus like the fowler with his fine birds made to the stale, *Sylla* with his twentie Antsignes, drew forth Antsignes of his enemies into his net, whom he led all into his owne campe. Which thing when *Carbo* saw, he said, That in *Sylla* he had to deale with a fox and lion both together, and that the fox did him more harme than the lion. The emperour *Iulian*, to keepe himselfe from being disappointed of the number of prisoners that he demaunded, vsed such a policie as this, to the *Almans* whom he had vanquished, and to whom he had graunted peace, vpon condition that they should deliuer him all such prisoners as they had of his. For doubting least they would not deliuer him all, but keepe some good number of them, he demaunded of euerie of them that were escaped and saued out of prison, what were the names of them that were prisoners, because it could not lightly be, but that they were either of kin or of alliance, or neighbours, or friends vnto them; and he wrate their names in a paper. In the meane season, the ambassadours came with their prisoners; of whom *Iulian* caused the names to be set downe in writing, and the secretaries conferring the one paper with the other, marked those whom the ambassadours mentioned not, and named them secretly to the emperor behind him. The emperor began to be angrie with the ambassadours, for that they had not brought him all his prisoners; telling them that they had kept backe such and such of such a citie or towne, naming them all by their names; whereat the *Al-*

mans were sore abashed, supposing that it came by reuelation from God. Whereupon they failed not to deliuer all. *Triunlce* perceiuing the garrison of Millan, and specially the Millaners themselues, to be astonished at the comming of *Maximilian* and the Swissers into Lumbardie, bethought himselfe of this policie, to put a suspition into the emperours head, of some cause of distrust in the Swissers. He wrate letters with his owne hand, and sealed them with his seale, to the chiefe leaders and captains of the Swissers, that he might bring them in suspition with the emperour, and sent them by a seruant of his owne that spake the Swissers tongue well. By these letters he willed them, to performe within two daies the thing that he and they were agreed vpon, for he should then haue all things readie according to their platfourme. The messenger offered himselfe of purpose be taken by the emperours scours, and being examined wherefore he came thither without the watchword, he praied pardon, promising to tel the truth, and therupon confessed, that he brought letters to the captains of the Swissers. At that word his pardon was graunted him: and he plucking off his neatherstocke, tooke out the letters which were sowed in the sole of it, the which were caried to the emperour immediatly. When he had read them, although he was in great perplexitie, yet was he not of opinion that they should be shewed to the cardinall of Sion, because he would not accuse a captaine of so great authoritie among the Swissers, and much lesse cause them to be attached, for feare of putting his affaires in daunger. But in his heart he distrusting the disloyaltie of the Swissers, he repassed the mountaines againe, without making any further speech of it, and returned home into Germanie. *Cyrus* by the counsell of *Crasus*, vsed this policie to saue Sardis from sacking. He caused it to be cried by the sound of a trumpet, That no man should conuey away the bootie, because a tenth part thereof was to be giuen of necessitie to *Iupiter*. And for that cause he set warders at euery gate, to see that nothing should be conueyed away. He did this to hold them at a bey, for feare of som mutinie, if he should haue taken it from them by force. But when they saw the king did it of religion and deuotion, they obeyed him without gainsaying,

by meanes whereof, the greatest part of the goods of the citie was saued.

Thus haue you a part of the feats of warre of times past, the which I thought good to adde vnto the antient quicke sayings, and to the principall points of the goodliest hystories, to the intent that a prince may find in one place, and take out of this celler or warehouse, whatsoeuer he listeth to choose. For it is farre easier to take in one place, the wares that come from diuerse parts of the world, than to go seeke them a farre off, and in places dispersed. And yet is it to no purpose to seeke them all in one place, vnlesse they be sorted out aforehand, so as a man may put his hand to whatsoeuer he requireth. For that cause it behoued me to vse a method, in referring euery hystorie to his proper place. There are many other points of warre to be found in hystories; the which my hast to make an end of this my discourse, causeth me to let alone, and to content my selfe for this present, to haue declared vnto you the things that I haue drawn out of *Plutarch*, *Thucidides*, and some other authours that came to my remembrance. Also I haue left many, which you may see in the *Monsieur de Langies* Discipline of warre. Of others I will say as an euil painter, That they lie hid behind the Ciprescloth. As touching the feats of warre of our dayes, I will not presume to speake of them, because they which are yet aliue, haue seene the practising of a great part of them, and can better and more particularly report them, than they be written. And to say the truth, when I considered the feats of warre of these times, I find them so honorable, that they be nothing inferior to those of old time. But it is better to leaue the reporting of them, to those that were at the doing of them, than to speake of them like a clearke of armes, for feare least it be said vnto me, That the things were not so done as they be written: The which I doubt not but men will thinke, euen of those also which I haue here alledged. But they be drawne out of such authours, as for their antiquitie and authoritie, haue purchased prescription against all reproches.

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